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Edited by Ruth Wodak and Bernhard Forchtner

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Contents

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Ruth Wodak and Bernhard Forchtner

PART I
Theoretical approaches to language and politics 15

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Sara Rubinelli

)URP.DUO0DU[WRQWRQLRUDPVFLDQG/RXLVQWKXVVHU
Bob Jessop

-UJHQDEHUPDVEHWZHHQGHPRFUDWLFGHOLEHUDWLRQDQGGHOLEHUDWLYH\
GHPRFUDF\
Simon Susen

OLFKHO)RXFDXOWGLVFRXUVHSRZHUNQRZOHGJHDQGWKHPRGHUQ
VXEMHFW
Reiner Keller

-DFTXHV/DFDQQHJRWLDWLQJWKHSVFKRVRFLDOLQDQGEHRQGGODQJXDJH
Yannis Stavrakakis

KHGLVFRXUVHWKHRURI(UQHVVWR/DFODX
&KULVWRüHU.QYUDD

3LHUUHXRUGLHXDOORUIRHRIGLVFRXUVHDQDQDQVLV"
Andrew Sayer

&RQFHSDXDKLVWRUWKHKLVWRURIEDVLFQFHSDX
Jan Ifversen

&ULWLFDOVFRXUVHGXGLHVDFULWLFDOSSURDFKWRWKHVWXGRI
ODQJXDJHDQGFPPXQLFDWLRQ
Bernhard Forchtner and Ruth Wodak

PART II

Methodological approaches to language and politics

151

RQHVDQV
Roberto Franzosi

&RUSXVDQV
Amelie Kutter

&RJQLWLYH/LQJXLVWLF&ULWLFDOVFRXUVHGXGLHVFRQQHFWLQJ
ODQJXDJHDQGLPDJH
Christopher Hart

&RPSHWLWLRQPHWDSKRUVDOGLGHRORJOLIHVDVDFH
Jonathan Charteris-Black

/HJLWLPDWLRQDQGPXOWLPRGDOLW
Theo van Leeuwen

IDUUDWLYHDQV
Anna De Fina

KHWRULFDODQV
Claudia Posch

QGHUVWDOGLQJSROLWLFDOVXHVWKURXJKDUJXPHQDWLRQDQV
Ruth Amossy

&RQYHUVDWLRQDQVLDQGWKHVWXGRIODQJXDJHDQGSROLWLFV
Steven E. Clayman and Laura Loeb

3ROLWLFVEHRQZRVGVHWKQRJUDSKRISROLWLFDOVWLWXWLRQV
Endre Dányi

PART III
Genres of political action

307

3DOLDPHQDGHEDWHV

Cornelia Ilie

RYHUQPHQWFRPPXQLFDWLRQ

Sten Hansson

3UHVVFRQIHUHQFHV

Mats Ekström and Göran Eriksson

3ROLFPDNLQJGRFXPHQWVDQGDZV

Kristof Savski

KHVHPLRWLWFVRISROLWLFDOFRPPHPRUDWLRQ

Martin Reisigl

0HGLDWLVDWLRQDQGSROLWLFDOODQJXDJH

Michael Higgins

3HUIRUPLQJSROLWLFVIURPWKHWRZQKDOOWRWKHLQDXJXUDWLRQ

Jennifer Sclafani

HQUHVRIISROLWLFDOFRPPXQLFDWLRQLQ:HE

Helmut Gruber

0XVLFDQGVVRXQGDVGLVFRXUVHDQGLGHRORJWKHFDVHRIWKH

QWLQODQKHP

David Machin

KHODQJXDJHRISDUW\$URJUDPPHVDQGELOOERDUGVWKHH|DPSOHRI

WKHSDUOLDPHQWUHOHFWRQFDPSDLJQLQ&UDLQH

Lina Klymenko

&DULFDWXUHDQGRPLFV

Randy Duncan

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Jo Angouri and Lorenza Mondada

PART IV

Applications and cases I: language, politics and contemporary socio-cultural challenges

485

OLPDWHFEOHDQWHRFLRHRFRORJLFDQFUVLV

Anabela Carvalho

**2OGDQGGHSHQGHQWWKHFRQVWUXFWLRQRIDVXEMHFWSRVLWLRQIRUSROLW
DQGFDUH**

Bernhard Weicht

/DQJXDJHDQGHJHGHUHGSROLWLVFWVKHGRXEOHEHQG#QDFWLRQ

Tanya Romaniuk and Susan Ehrlich

**XHHULQJPXOWLOLQJXDOLVDPDQGSROLWLVFUHJLPHVRIPRELOLW\
FLWLJHQVKLSDQGLQYLVLELOLW**

Tommaso M. Milani and Erez Levon

/DQJXDJHDQGJOREDOLVDWLRQ

Melissa L. Curtin

**FXOWXUDOSROLWLVFDQHFQRPRIR&RUSRUDWHRFLDOHIVSRQVLELOLW\
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Ngai-Ling Sum

KHFWLRQDOLVDWLRQRISROLWLVFV

Ruth Wodak and Bernhard Forchtner

HOLJLRQDQGWKHVHFXODU

Teemu Taira

PART V

Applications and cases II: language, politics and (de)mobilisation

601

LVFMLYHGHSROLWLVFLVDWLRQDQGSROLWLVFDQGLVHQDJHPHQ

Matthew Flinders and Matt Wood

,GHQWLW\$ROLWLVFVRSXOLVDPDQGWKHIDUULJKW

Anton Pelinka

DFHUDFLVPLVFRXUVH

Dávid Kaposi and John E. Richardson

7KHPDWHULDOLWDDG RILQHTXDOLWDQGFODVVVWUXJJOHDQG
ZDUIDUHWKHFDVHRIKRPHHYLFWLRQVLO6DLQ
David Block

44 Language under totalitarian regimes: the example of political
GLMLQLHUPDQ
QUHDti

LMMLQHUSLQUDQWHUURLF
Adam Hodges

,QGH[

Figures

6DXVØHDQDQG/DFDQLDQDOJRULWKPV
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The West Wing advisers rushing through the corridors of the White House

Tables

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3ROLWLFDOSDUWLHVWkdWHQWHUHGWKHNUDLQDQSDUOLDPHQWLQWKH
parliamentary election 444
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David Block LV,\$ Institució Catalana de Recerca i Estudis Avançats HVHDFK 3URIHVVRU LQ RFLROLQJXLVWLFVDW WKH QLYHUVLWRI/OHLGDSDLQHLVLQWHUHVWHG impact of political economic, sociological, anthropological and geographical phenomena on P\WLPRDO SUDWLHVDOO NQLQGLQDO PPHQ\ P\WLFWKDOLF EL P\WLOLQOLFQWKHDKLWLQMDDEHVQHQ\HDKHKDNG SHEPOORLEHUDOLFQWKHGRLQVLGHORRHPSRDUHHLWLDQEDQDO class as a key dimension of identity. He is author of *Social Class and Applied Linguistics RXWOHGJHDQGRDXWKRUZLWK-RKQEDDQGDQDUQLHROERURZRNeoliberalism and Applied Linguistics RXWOHGJH H LV (GLWRU RI WKH RXWOHGJH ERN VHULHV Language, Society and Political Economy DQG \$VRFLDWH (GLWRU RI WKH RRYLQDO Linguistics Review.*

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Political Speeches: Rhetoric, Discourse and Metaphor* 3DOJUDYH 0DFPLOODQ
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of *The News Interview: Journalists and Public Figures on the Air*&DPEULGJHDQG
Talk in Action: Interactions, Identities, and Institutions:LOHDFNZHOO

Melissa L. Curtin 8QLYHUVLWRI &DOLIRUQLD 6DQWD 2UEDUD 86\$V D 5HVHDFKHU LO
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RI VHYHUDO MRXUQDO DUWLFOHV JUDQ]RVL KDV KDG D ORQJWWDQGLQJ PHWKRGGRORJLFD
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Analysis* *DJH* *Quantitative Narrative Analysis* *DJH* *Landmark Essays:
Tropes and Figures* *RXWOHGJH*

Helmut Gruber LV DQ \$VRFLDWH 3URIHVVRU DW WKH HSDUWPHQW RI /LQJXVWLWV DW 9
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FRQVWFRPPH LFDWLRQFRPPH LFDWLRQLQWKHQHGHGLDDFDGHPLFZULWLOJUHVFHDFK
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DVVFLDWRQRIDFDGHPLFZULWLOJ*, 6

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RPEULGH QMUWVJHVODWHW EHLWWHQWK QOD PLWK LV
Belligerent Broadcasting: Synthetic Argument in Broadcast Talk *RXWOHGJH*

Adam Hodges LVD9LVLWLOJ \$VLVWDQW 3URIHVVRUR (QJOLVKDW & DUQHJLH0HOORQ8QLY
4DWDUHLVDWKRURKH PDURO7HUURU PDUDWLYHLVFRXVHDQG, QWHUWHWV DOLWLQW
Construction and Contestation of Sociopolitical Reality *2IRUG QLYHUVLWUHV*
editor of *Discourses of War and Peace* *2IRUG QLYHUVLWUHVVDQGFRLWRUR*
Discourse, War and Terrorism *-RKQH QMDPLQV EVUHVHDFK GUDZVIURPVFLR*
linguistics, linguistic anthropology and discourse analysis to examine the social, cultural
and political dimensions of language use.

Jan Iversen LVFQJHQWOQLFHHDQIRUWKH)DFWRISWVDW DUKX8QLYHUVLWVHQPUN
and Professor of European studies. He has been writing on conceptual history for many years.
QRHGDQWUQLROURKH *History of Concepts*, together with colleagues.
He is a member of the editorial committee of *Contributions to the History of Concepts*.

Cornelia Ilie LVFQJHQWO)DO3URIHVVRURILQHVV & RPPH LFDWLRQDW DNG8QLYHUVLWV
8QLWHG DDE (PLUDWHV 3ULRUWRWKDWVKH DV) DO3URIHVVRUR (QJOLVK /LQJXVWLWV

University of Malmö, Sweden. She held visiting professorships at several universities in
 WULDLODQ, WDO\$DLQ5RDQDKHLWKHSHUR, KRHDQ
 BUOLDPHQDU\LMVSHU DQ SUHMGHQ, KRHDQHWRE
 7UDQWQDODQ, QHUGLESOLQULDONDEUGPHPEHUBDQDPHPEHUKH
 SHUHQ URKSHUWVKHU GFWLQDQ GFWLQ SO RWKH, \$
 , QHUQWLQDQDWLMMULWLVHUUHMUKLQHUHWUHPDLQ, QHUGLESOLQU\
 and she has published extensively on institutional pragmatics and discourse practices
 SDUWLQDUOSQLWLBOPHGLDDQDQBHPLGLMMQWUHUVWKOXHWLEQGLDORF
 DURHQDWLQDGLWLVSHURKDSWHUVHHUHHGMEQODQHQRDHLG
 articles, her publications include the following authored or edited books: *Language and
 Ideology, Vol. 2: Descriptive Cognitive Approaches* -RKQ HQMDPLQV *European
 Parliaments Under Scrutiny: Discourse Strategies and Interaction Practices* -RKQ
 HQMDPLQV *Evolving Genres in Web-mediated Communication* 3HWHU/DQJ
International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction: LOHQDFNZHOQ
*Parliaments and Parliamentarism: A Comparative History of Disputes about a European
 Concept* HUJKDKQRNV

Bob Jessop is Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Co-Director of the Cultural Political
 R5HMDUK HQUH DW DQWHU QMULW\8H LVEHW R KLV
 contributions to state theory, critical political economy and social theory and, more recently,
 KDGHMOBHG WRWKHUZWKDLLQD WUDQLESOLQU\SSURKLVQKHQDO
 EHQDQWQDQSOQLWLBQHR/ KLVWDNVPLQMQDQPHDQQ
 PDNULVWKLQKHUDPHRRLWLBQHRSHHQSKOLEWLQDGH
The Future of the Capitalist State: LOH\
Beyond the Regulation Approach FR
 DXWKRUGHGZLWKIJDL/LQJXP(GZDUG(OJDU *State Power*: LOH\
Towards Cultural Political Economy FRDXWKRUGHGZLWKIJDL/LQJXP(GZDUG(OJDU DQG
The State: Past, Present, Future: LOH\
 LOH\

Dávid Kaposi received his PhD at Loughborough University and is currently working at the
 SHQMUWQDMVWKHULQDOKRRLVKOLEWLQDGHEN
 ,PUH.HUWpQWVQKHRSQHHEHWZHQQKSHQWDQHUKRKRHP
 as well as theoretical issues about truth, memory and identity. His latest project involved
 publication of the monograph *Violence and Understanding in Gaza: The British Broadsheets’
 Coverage of the War* 3DOJUDYH0DFLOODQZKHUHKHZDORRNQJIRULQVVDQDFHVRI
 GLVFRXUVHZKHUHLGLDORJXDPLGLYLRQHQWFRQAFWZDQDQDQZKHUHLWZDQVQRWSRVVLEOH
 WRGHYRWHKLVIXWXUHSURMHFWVWRWKHQVYZDYLXFORWRO

Reiner KellerLV3URIHVVRURI6RFLRORJWVEMJ8QLYHUVLWVHUPDQMLVIRQGHUDQG
 Co-Editor of the *Journal for Discourse Research/Zeitschrift für Diskursforschung*. His
 research centres on knowledge and culture, discourse studies, sociological theory, pragmatist
 RRRLQGHQURHQVDOUHQQRKDVKOLKHGZGHQVQKHM
 areas, including the books *Wissenssoziologische Diskursanalyse The Sociology of
 Knowledge Approach to Discourse* 96HUODJ:LHVEDGHQ(QJODQVODWLRQLQSUSUDWLRQ
 IRU6ULQJHU *Michel Foucault* QLYHUVLWVYHUODJ.RQVVDQDQDQDQVODWLRQLQSUSUDWLRQ
Research DJHDVZHOODVWHYHUDOFRHGLWHGYROXPHVRQGLVFRXUVVHUHVHDUFKLQFOXGLQ
*The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse: Conceptual and Methodological
 Applications for Research* RXWOHGJHLQSUHS)RUXSGDWHGLQIRUPDWLRQVHHKWW
 kellerskad.blogspot.de.

Lina Klymenko LVD5HVH DUFKHU DW WKH .DUHOLDQ ,QVWLWVH DOG DO \$MDFW 3URIHV
HSDUWPHQWRI6RFLDO6FLHQFHVRIWKH8QLYHUVLWRI(DVWHUQ)LQODQG)LQODQG6
3K'LQ3ROLWLFDO6FLHQFHIURPWKH8QLYHUVLWRI9LHQODWULDHU UHVH DUFK LQV
include politics of memory and national identity, political culture and democratisation in
post-Soviet countries, and teaching and learning politics.

Christoffer Klivraa LV5VRF LDWH3URIHVVRULQWKH6HFWRQRU(MRSHDQ6WGLHVHSDUW
RI&DWH DQG6RFLHW\$UKY8QLYHUVLWQHDPUNLVUHVH DUFK LQWHUHVW DUH RU
towards the construction of European identity, nationalism and extreme-right
PHPHQV WKHRLHGHRRQLMRBLWLDODuHWDQPRLOLDWLQVHHQ
SKOLDWLQGHRRHDQVDMHWKH\$RLWLDOPWKDQWKHDuHFLM
SWHQLDOIRLDQPDQLQULHGHRRHDQGHQVWLQ *Journal of Common Market
Studies* KHQDWXUHRIQDWLRQDOLVP3RSXOLVWUDGLFDOULJKWSDUWLHVROFRXQWUVLG
DQGFOLPDWHQVire and Culture

Amelie Kutter LV5HVH DUFKHU DQG/HFWXHUHQ(MRSHDQ3ROLWLFVDQGLVFRXVH6WGLHV
(MRSHDQ8QLYHUVLW9LDGULODLQ)UDQNIMW HUPDQ6KH KROGVD3K1URP9LDGULOD
DOG DO \$URP)UHLH8QLYHUVLWIIWUOLQLSROLWLFDOVFLHQFHDQGDQSROLWLF
6ODYLFVWGLHV7HFKQLVFKH8QLYHUVLWIIWUHVGHQ6KHLVFXUHQWOGLUHFWLQJDSU
UHFROJLDWLRQRIFHQWUHDQGSULSKHULQWKH(MRSHDQ8QLRQZWKLOWKHIUDPHR
ODULH&MLHJUDQWIGHGEWKH(MRSHDQ&RPPLVVLRO\$HOLH.MVWHUKDVUNHGRQWK
QDQFLDO FULVLV (MRSHDQ LQWHJUDWLRQ SRVWVRF LDOLVW WUDQVIRUPDWLRQ DO
SROLWLFDOFRPPDLFDWLRQDW/DQFDVWHU8QLYHUVLW)8UOLQ(MRSHDQ8QLYHUVLW
78UHVGHQ DOG &(5,6FLHQFHV 3R 6KH VSHFLDOLVHV LQ GLVFXVLYH SROLWLFDO VVGL
methods of textual analysis.

Erez Levon LV5HDGHULQ6RFLROLQJXVWLFVDW4KHQODU8QLYHUVLWRI/ROGRQ8. LV
work focuses on language, gender and sexuality, and in particular, how gender and sexuality
LQHUHFWWKWKHUBWHRLHMLGH[SHULHFLQGLQDQWLQQRDODV

Laura Loeb LVD3KFDQGLGDWHDW8QLYHUVLWRI&DOLIRUQLD/RVQJHOHV86\$UHVH DUFK
explores political interviews and interaction practices outside the traditional news
SURDPPH KQHEPQV DQKHU GLMUWDWLQHM DUK \$RLWLDQ
WDQKHUHVH DQW WKH HOHFWLNDQELQDQWLDQDQV
ZWKDQQLWDWLMRSDULQ

David Machin LV3URIHVVRURIOHGLDDQG&RPPDLFDWLRQDWgUHEU\$QLYHUVLWVGHQV
books include *Introduction to Multimodal Analysis* ORRPVEXU\ *Analysing Popular
Music* DJH *The Language of Crime and Deviance* ORRPVEXU\ DQG *The
Language of War Monuments* ORRPVEXU\

Tommaso M. Milani is Professor of Multilingualism at the University of Gothenburg
HGHQEURGHU DUHDUHM DUK HRSVDQHSRLWLPHGLDGLMM
multimodality, and language gender and sexuality. His recent publications include the book
Language Ideologies and Media Discourse FRHGLWHG ZLWK DOO-RKQVRQ & RQWLQXXP
DVZHOODVDUWLFOHVLQVHYHUDOLQWHUQDWLRQDOMRXUQDOVHLVWKHHGLWRURIWKH
Advances in Sociolinguistics ORRPVEXU\ DQGRWKHMRXUQDOVHLVWKHHGLWRURIWKH
& Language.

Lorenza Mondada LV3URIHVVRUIRU/LOJXVWLFVDWWKH8QLYHUVLWRIHODQGLVWLOJXV
 3URIHVVRUDWWKH8QLYHUVLWRIHOVLQNL)LOODQGHUHVHDFKGFHDQVZWKVRFLOJXV
 in ordinary, professional and institutional settings, within an ethnomethodological and
 conversation analytic perspective. She has extensively published in *Journal of Pragmatics*,
Discourse Studies, *Language in Society*, *ROLSI* and has co-edited several collective books
Representation of Mobility, *Mobility and Knowledge in Interaction*,
 mobility, multiactivity and knowledge in interaction.

Andreas Musolff JUDGOWHG IURP VVHOG RUI 8QLYHUVLW'DQG LV 3URIHVVRU RI ,QWHUFRQGLWV
 &RPPXLFDFWLRQDWK8QLYHUVLWRI(DVW\$JOLD1RUZFK8. EVUHVDUFKLOWHUHVWV
 RQ,QWHUFRQGLW'DODQGHUHVHDFKGFHDQVZWKVRFLOJXV &RPPXLFDFWLRQ&RPPXLFDFWLRQ
 LVFRVH\$DOVLV\$XOLFDFWLRQVLOFQGHWKHPRQWUHQDQX Metaphor Analysis:
Discourse and Scenarios ORRPVEXU\ Metaphor, Nation and the Holocaust: The
 Concept of the Body Politic RXWOHGJH Metaphor and Political Discourse:
 Analogical Reasoning in Debates about Europe 3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQ DQG WKHFR
 edited volumes *Metaphor and Intercultural Communication* ORRPVEXU\ Contesting
 Europe's Eastern Rim: Cultural Identities in Public Discourse 0XOWLOLQJXDOODWWHUV
 and *Metaphor and Discourse* 3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQ

Anton Pelinka LV3URIHVVRURI3ROLWLFDO6FLHQFHDWWKH8QLYHUVLWRI,QQVEUKNWULD
 WR 3URIHVVRURI 1DWLRQDOLVP 6WGLHVDQG 3ROLWLFDO6FLHQFH &HQWUDO (MRSHDQ
 8QLYHUVLW'GDSDVWQJDUVLQFH3XOLFDFWLRQVROHPRFUDWLF7KHURU The
 Politics of the Lesser Evil UDQVDFWLRQ DQG &RPSDUDWLYH 3ROLWLFV Dhocracy
 Indian Style UDQVDFWLRQ

Claudia Posch LV \$VLVWDQW 3URIHVVRU IRU)HPLQLVW /LOJXVWLFV DQG 3ROLWLFDO 5
 8QLYHUVLW'RI ,QQVEUKN WULD DQG 9LVLWLOJ 5HVHDFKHU DW 8QLYHUVLW'RI 6
 6ZWHUODQG 5HVHDFKHU LQWHUHVW LQFQGHUKHWRULF DQG DUJHQWDLWLRQ IHPL
 analysis, language and gender, and corpus linguistics.

Martin Reisinger KROGVD 3K'LO \$SOLHG /LOJXVWLFV DQG LV WHDFKLOJ DW WKH HSDUWPHQW
 /LOJXVWLFV DW WKH 8QLYHUVLWRI 9LHQQDQWVHQDQGHKHDVEHHQDQW \$VLVWDQW
 3URIHVVRU IRU 6RFLROLOJXVWLFV DW WKH ,QVWLWXWH IRU HUPDQ 6WGLHVDQG WKH &
 6WGLR/DQJH DQGHQ 6RFLHW'6/68QLYHUVLWRIUHQHVDV \$VLVWLVH 3URIHVVRU
 IRU HUPDQ /LOJXVWLFV DW WKH 7HFKQDFDO 8QLYHUVLW'RUPDQ -DQG WKH
 8QLYHUVLWRI DPEKHUWKHUPRUHKHVDYLVLWLOJ SURIHVVVRUDWWKH &HQWUDO
 (MRSHDQ 8QLYHUVLW' (8LQGDSDVWWDQ) RUPDQ HUVKHUNHG DVD
 /HFVWHU IRU \$SOLHG /LOJXVWLFV DW WKH 8QLYHUVLWRI 9LHQQDQW EVUHVDUFKLOWHUHV
 &ULWLFDO LVFRVH \$DOVLV DQG GLVFRVH WKHRUWHW OLOJXVWLFV VRFLOLOJXV
 pragmatics, politolinguistics, rhetoric, language and history, linguistics and literature,
 argumentation analysis and semiotics.

John E. Richardson LVD5HDGHULO&ULWLFDO LVFRVH 6WGLHVSUWPHQWRUI 6RFLDO6FLHQ
 /RJKERURXK 8QLYHUVLW8. EVUHVDUFKLOWHUHVWVLQFQGHVWUHWXHGVRFLDOLQHTX
 WLVLVK IDVFLVP UDFLVP &ULWLFDO LVFRVH 6WGLHVDQG DUJHQWDLWLRQ EV \$XOLFDFWLRQ
 include the books *(Mis)Representing Islam: The Racism and Rhetoric of British Broadsheet
 Newspapers* -RKQHMDPLQV Analysing Journalism: An Approach from Critical
 Discourse Analysis 3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQ Analysing Fascist Discourse: European

)DVFLVPLQ7DONDQG7H[W5RXWOHGJHFRHGLWHGZWK5XWK:RGDMDDG's of Post-War British FascismRXWOHGJHFRHGLWHGZLWK1LJHO&RSVHDQGGDFDGHPLF articles on Critical Discourse Studies, newspaper representations of Muslims, balance and LPSDUWLDOLWL&HRSWLNDHODOHWLHDURHVDWLRQHDGHUQHWWHUSRLWLDO RPDWLQDQSDUW\SRWLWLDOOHDÀHWHLVWUHVVOZLWLQERHULO LEMLWRLDOQOVRWLWLKDEWGLMMLELGHPPUODJDQ UHMDUKLOVKHRPHRDWLQRVWIPRLDODLQWDLQLGLWRWKH international peer-reviewed journal *Critical Discourse Studies* and is on the editorial boards of various journals.

Tanya RomaniukLV\$VLVVDQW3URIHVVRU1QWKHHSDUWPHQWRI&RPPDLFDWLRODW3R 6WDWH8QLYHUVLW'3RUWODQG86\$KHKDVSKOLVKHG1QWKH DUHDVRI GLVFRVH DO language and gender, and political discourse in mass media. Her recent publications include ãH[W WUDMHVRLHDQPHGLDGLMM7UDNHQHUHGHUHSUHMVDWLQSUHMGHVLDQ SRLWLQGender and LanguageãXUVXLQJDOVZHUVWR TXHVWLRQV LQ EURDGFVDW MRXUQDOLVQArch on Language Social InteractionDQGãHVWLRQLQJFDQGLGDWHV¶ ZLWK&ODPDQLQTalking Politics in the Broadcast Media-RKQHMDPLQV

Sara Rubinelli holds a degree in Classics and Philosophy from the Catholic University of LODQVDDQDKURWKHBMULWRIHGZWKHDUHDURRBUKHVDWLQ WKHRDQKHWRERWRKHDKHEHVLGLQWRWKH,VLWVH of Communication and Health of the University of Lugano, Switzerland. Since September KHKDVHGHVLEGLQWRWKHRDRLQWDDWVUDSOHLF 5HMDUKZWHUODQDQOHDGWKHBUHQVUHGHDOVKBUHUKWKUH6H 6SWHPEHU KHKDEHHQVDQVBNLQDOWKEHVZWKDR communication sciences, at the Department of Health Sciences and Health Policy of the BMULWRIHQDUD5KLQOOLWRLRHMDUKDQWHDKLQGH WKHRLHDQPHORPDWLQKHWRERUHVWDLQKHREDUHQVHuHVDQ persuasion, health communication, knowledge translation, advertising, semiotics, critical thinking and communication skills in academic and professional curricula.

Kristof SavskiLVD/HFWVHVDW3ULQFHRI6RQJNOD8QLYHUVLW'DWDL7KDLODQG&VPDLO research interests include historical and critical sociolinguistics, with a particular focus on WKHURHDLQVVLQWKHGMMORPHVVKHOMQODQHLOQKH WKDQWK HVKLHDQVHPSRDU7KDLODQHHLGHVWLRRLHVV

Andrew SayerLV3URIHVVRURI6RFLDO7KHRUDQGG3ROLWLFDO(FRQRPDW/DQFDVWHU8QLYH 8LVS&KOLFDWLROVKDYHEHHQLQWKH DUHDVRI SKLORVRSKRIVRFLDQVFIHQFHFIHQFH and Social ScienceRXWOHGJH HWKLFVDQGVFLDOVFLHQFH Why Things Matter to People &DPEULGJH QLYHUVLW'3UHVV FODVV KHORUDO6JQLFDQFHRI&ODVV, DPEULGHBMULWRIHQVSRWLWLDOHRIJ :K\H&VWGWKH Rich3ROLF3UHVV

Jennifer Sclafani LVDDQVLVVDQW3RIHVVRRI\$SOLHGLOKVVWLFVDW HOOHQFPHLFDQ 8QYHUVLW'VHQHFDQQLVWLQVVLVVDQW3RIHVVRRILOKVVWLFVDWVHRIHWRQ 8QYHUVLW'86\$H HVHDERV WHGLVFNLYHFRQVWLRQISROLWLFDO LGHQVLWLQ66 presidential campaigns and teaches courses in sociolinguistics, cross-cultural communication, and language and gender.

Yannis Stavrakakis VVGLHG SROLWLFDO VFLHQFH DW 3DQWHLRQ 8QLYHUVLWRI WVKHQV UHHFH UHFHLYHGKLVORURPWKH, GHRORJDQGLVFRXVH QDOVLV3URJUDPPHDWWKH8QLYHUVLWRI Essex, UK, where he also completed his PhD under the supervision of Ernesto Laclau. He has ENG DWWKHRMUMWLHI(DQVWLQDPEHHWDMNSKWLQDWWKH S/LWVWOHBMUMWRKH DORN UHHHLQ LWKH DWR R Lacan and the PoliticalRXWOHGJHDQ The Lacanian Left (GLQEXUJKQLYHUVLW3UHVV3UHVV DQG R(GLWRURI Discourse Theory and Political Analysis 0DQFKHVWU QLYHUVLW 3UHVV DQ Lacan & Science. DUQDHLV3ULQFLSDO, QYHVWLJDWRURWKHUHVHDFK SURMHFW 2386RSXOLVWL VFRXUVHHPRFUDFZZRSXOLVPXVJU

Ngai-Ling SumLV6HQLRU/HFWX HULQWKH3ROLWLFV DGGORRIR QHS DUWPHQWDQ &RLUHFWRU ZWK RE -HVVR RI WKH &DWDQDO 3ROLWLFDO (FRORP5HVHDFK &HQWU Lancaster University, UK. She has research and teaching interests in regulation approach, LVHUQLWLDOSBLWLDORRUDPEQRDQDOLDWLQRSHWLWLMLV RSRDWH RDO 5HSVLEOLW\HWKH DDDUGHG ZWK B-HVWKH QUGDOB\HEWKHNRHDQDLWLWLURBLWLDORLV for their co-authored book, Beyond the Regulation Approach: LOH\QVKH FRDXWKRUG ZLWK RE -HVVR D FRPSDQLRQ YROXHWLWQH Cultural Political Economy(GZDUG(OJDUKHSXEOLVKHVLQMRXUQDOV XKH) and Society, Critical Policy Studies, Development Dialogue, New Political Economy, Critical Asian Studies, Competition & Change, Capital & Class, Urban Studies, and Language and Politics as well as contributing book chapters to many edited collections.

Simon SusenLV5HDGHULQ6RFLRORJDW&LW8QLYHUVLWRI/ROGRO8.HLVWKHDWRKURI 7KH)ROGDWLROVRIWKH6RFLDQWZHQ&ULWLFDO7KH RU DQGH5HLYH6RFLRORJDUGHO 3UHVV The 'Postmodern Turn' in the Social Sciences 3DOJUDYH0DFLOODQ 3LHUUHUXUGLHXHLOV LQFWLQVRFLDHQHVVDLSKLORVRSKLTXH3HWHU/DQJDQ 7KH RRRYHOOHVWUWHU AKH (LWHQLDOLW RHWZWK DWULNHUW BOUDMDPLOODQRWK ROLDORQ7HUHLWDEHOKHHLWHG Ciudadanía territorial y movimientos sociales. Historia y nuevas problemáticas en el escenario latinoamericano y mundial(GLFLRQHVGHQ, &RHWKHUZLWKVQ6 XUQHUKHHGLWHL Legacy of Pierre Bourdieu: Critical Essays QWKHP3UHVV The 6LULWRI/XFRQWDQVNL(VVDVYRQ WKH RUDJPDWLF RFLRORJRI & ULWLTXHQWKHP3UHVV DVZHOODVD5HFLDO, VVXHRQWKHZRUNR Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, which appeared in the Journal of Classical Sociology; QDGLWLRQKHHGLWHGDSHFLDO, VVXHQURdieu and Language, which was published in Social Epistemology HLVDQ VRFLDWH 0HPEHURIWKHDXPDQ, QVWLWXWHDQGWJRHWKHUZLWKVQ QUQHUHGLWRURWK Classical Sociology.

Teemu TairaLV6HQLRU/HFWX HULQWKHSDUWPHQWR6W6RI5HOLJLRQV8QLYHUVLWRIHVLQ)LODQGHVLDFRDXWKRUR Media Portrayals of Religion and the Secular Sacred WKJDWH ZLWK.LP.QRWDQ(OLJDEHWK3RROH&R(GLWRURIThe New Visibility of Atheism in EuropeZLWKXWK, OOPDQVSHFLDOLVVXHWQ Teaching Religion DQGDWKRURIWKUH PRQRJDSKVLQ) LQQLVKLVDUWLFQHVKDYHEHHQSEOLVKHGLQMRXUQDOV XKH KDV and Religion and Journal of Contemporary Religion KWWSWHPXWDLUDZRUGSUHVFRP

Theo van Leeuwen LV (PHULW 3URIHVVRU DW WKH 8QLYHUVLWRI 7HFKORORJ6QH VVUDOLDQ3URIHVVRUR/DQJDQ&RPPQLFDWLRODWWKH8QLYHUVLWRI6RWK

HOPDUNH KDV SXEOLVKHGZGHORQ & ULWLF DOLVFRXUVH QDOVLVPXOWLPRGDOLWVRFLDO semiotics and visual semiotics. His books include *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* ZLWKXQWKHU.UHVVRXWOHGJH *Introducing Social Semiotics* RXWOHGJH *Speech, Music, Sound: The Language of Colour and Discourse and Practice* DOUDHDPLOODHLNHLGLWRWVKHMRQO *Visual Communication.*

Bernhard Weicht KDVVW&LHG6RFLDO (FRQRPLFVLQ9LHQODXWULDDQG6RFLDO3ROLFLQ 1RWWLQJKDP8. H UHFHLYHG KLV 3K1Q6RFLRORJURPWKH8QLYHUVLWRI1RWWLQJKDP UHVHDFKQWKHVRFLDODQGPRUDOFQVWUWLRQRIFDUHIRUHOGHUOSHRSOHLVFXU EDVHGDWWKH8QLYHUVLWRI,QQVEUNXWULDWUQKDUGKDVSKOLVKHGRQWKHFQVWU care, ideas of dependency, migrant care workers, the intersection of migration and care UHLPHDQWKHUVWLRLQQRGHUSHROHHLVFKDLUWKHRRHQ RRRDQDWLGHMUKHWNILQRHQDPHPEHUVKHHGLWRLDO board of the *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy.*

Ruth Wodak is Emerita Distinguished Professor of Discourse Studies at Lancaster DMUWSDQDvOLDWHGWVKHDMUWRHQHVGHVULWKHUSULHV KHDDZUGHG WKH:LWWHQLHLRQLWH5HMDUKHUVQDQDU\ WRDWHURWKHDMUWRUHEULGHQHLDPHPEHUVKHWLWLK DGHPRDOEHQDQDPHPEHUVKH Academia Europaea, QVKHZD DZDUGHG WKH.HUVWLQHVVOJUHQ&KDLURIWKH&HGLVK3DUOLDPHQDWWKHQLY gUHEUKHLVFRHGLWRURWKHMRXUQDQD and Society, *Critical Discourse Studies,* and *Language and Politics* HUHVHDFKQWHUHVWVIRFXVRQ&ULWLF DOLVFRXUVH WXGL gender studies and language, politics, prejudice and discrimination, and on ethnographic PHWK&DLWLHOGESHQVKNOLDWLQGH The Politics of Fear. *What Right-wing Populist Discourses Mean* DJH WUDQVODWHGLQWRHUPDPolitik mit der Angst. Zur Wirkung rechtspopulistischer Diskurse..RQWXUHQ The Discourse of Politics in Action: µPolitics as Usual’ 3DOJUDYH0DFLOODQQUHYLVHGHGLWLRQ Migration, Identity and Belonging ZLWKHODQW3-RQHV/LYHUSRROQLYHUVLW3UHVV The Discursive Construction of History. Remembering the German Wehrmacht’s War of Annihilation ZLWKHHU:0DQRVFKHN3ROODN(8 The Politics of ([FOXVLRQHEDWLQJ0LJUDWLRQLQXWULDZLWK0.U]PQRZVNLVDQVDFWLRQ The SAGE Handbook of Sociolinguistics ZLWKBUEDUD-RKQVWRQHDQDQ3DXO.HUVZLOODJH DDO\LQJ)DVFLVWLVFRXUVH)DVFLVPLQDONDQGH[WZLWK-RKQ&FKDUGVRQ RXWOHGJHDQGH Rightwing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse ZLWK0MLG .KRVUDYL1LNDQGLJLWVH0UD0RRPVEXU\

Matt Wood LVD/HFWHULQWKH8QLYHUVLWRI6KHvHOGHSDUWPHQWRI3ROLWLV8.HL DOVRHSXLUHFWRU RI WKH 6LUUQDUG & ULFN & HQWUH IRU WKH 3ROLF 8QGHUVWD 3ROLWLVU:RRGVRUNIRFXHVROWKHSHKHQRPHQRORIDQWLSROLWLVFDQGRZWDuHFV OHJLWLPDFDQDQWKRULWRISKOLFJHVDQGLQVWLWVLRQVLEVRUNKDVDSSHUHGLOGL journals including *Deviant Behavior, Government and Opposition, British Journal of Politics and International Relations, New Political Science, and Critical Policy Studies.*

Introducing the language politics nexus

Ruth Wodak and Bernhard Forchtner

Sketching out a long history

The *Handbook of Language and Politics* contributes a single-volume reference work to this field, covering a wide range of methodologies, classic genres and contributions on salient, socio-cultural challenges.

It is, in a wider context of how language use has been viewed in relation to politics, and theoretically, that is, pointing to perspectives when approaching the language-politics nexus. We close with an overview of the various contributions to this volume.

The volume is concerned with the polis, the political community and its best constitution; in a well-known sense, why:

man is a political animal in a greater measure than any bee or any gregarious animal

DOGWKHUIRHLVSRVVHVHGEWKHRWKHUDQLPDOVDVZIOOE~~XWVSHHF~~KLVGHVLIQ~~HO~~
indicate the advantageous and the harmful, and therefore also the right and the wrong

Ⓢ

\$LW~~W~~OH~~D~~

7KL~~W~~HBSW~~H~~H~~K~~D~~W~~W~~H~~Q~~L~~Q~~W~~R~~W~~W~~P~~S~~K~~D~~M~~H~~H~~K~~L~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~S~~U~~R~~K~~D~~U~~L~~Q~~
M~~H~~S~~R~~Q~~Q~~H~~M~~Q~~W~~K~~K~~W~~B~~D~~H~~U~~W~~D~~Q~~L~~S~~B~~L~~W~~L~~E~~W~~OL~~P~~L~~W~~H~~G~~W~~R~~L~~W~~W~~O~~H~~Y~~

concern for households and city states, the importance of speech, and here, we include other
modes of meaning-making, such as writing, visuals, music etc., in politics has hardly diminished.
,Q~~H~~H~~G~~U~~K~~H~~W~~R~~L~~K~~D~~N~~B~~H~~G~~L~~D~~Q~~R~~G~~I~~W~~K~~U~~R~~W~~N~~N~~H~~Q~~W~~Q~~L~~H~~W~~LOW~~G~~D\

With the development of mass communication in the nineteenth and early twentieth
H~~Q~~W~~L~~H~~W~~H~~U~~H~~W~~L~~Q~~D~~H~~M~~L~~Q~~P~~E~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~L~~W~~H~~u~~H~~W~~W~~H~~U~~H~~G~~D~~H~~W~~D~~H
H~~P~~L~~Q~~O~~W~~H~~I~~W~~U~~H~~W~~L~~P~~Q~~D~~W~~H~~G~~E~~W~~K~~H~~S~~H~~U~~H~~L~~M~~G~~H~~u~~H~~W~~L~~M~~C~~P~~M~~H~~G~~L~~D~~D~~Q~~S~~U~~R~~D~~D~~Q~~D~~
D~~W~~W~~K~~H~~E~~H~~L~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~W~~W~~L~~H~~W~~K~~H~~Q~~W~~L~~Q~~K~~H~~P~~D~~W~~W~~K~~H~~W~~L~~S~~S~~P~~D~~Q~~
S~~D~~Q~~L~~Q~~S~~H~~E~~H~~M~~G~~H~~V~~D~~O~~W~~H~~U~~L~~S~~S~~P~~D~~Q~~-~~K~~H~~I~~Z~~Z~~N

H~~I~~D~~P~~S~~O~~H~~E~~D~~U~~R~~G~~D~~M~~O~~O~~Y B~~R~~D~~D~~Q~~D~~W~~H~~K~~Q~~M~~L~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~:E~~O~~G:DU, P~~S~~E~~F~~W~~D~~Q
U~~H~~M~~D~~U~~K~~D~~M~~W~~K~~H~~U~~P~~E~~H~~R~~W~~H~~G~~E~~H~~Z~~K~~U~~H~~H~~M~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~R~~W~~H~~G~~W~~D~~W~~H~~K~~D~~B~~

Lazarsfeld in the context of the ~~H~~R~~D~~G~~L~~R~~H~~M~~D~~U~~K~~ and later the *Bureau of Applied
Social Research* S~~W~~H~~U~~W~~K~~H~~H~~FR~~Q~~G:RU~~O~~G:DU/DV~~V~~Z~~H~~O~~O~~D~~Q~~G~~I~~D~~W~~K~~D~~Q~~H~~L~~W~~H~~V~~S~~X~~E~~O~~L~~V~~K~~H~~G

R~~Q~~H~~R~~I~~W~~K~~H~~PR~~V~~W~~L~~PS~~R~~U~~W~~D~~Q~~W~~V~~W~~X~~G~~L~~H~~V~~R~~Q~~T~~X~~D~~Q~~W~~L~~W~~D~~W~~L~~Y~~V~~H~~P~~D~~Q~~W~~L~~F~~V~~L~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~F~~O~~G~~R~~I~~O
S~~R~~O~~L~~W~~L~~F~~V~~G~~H~~Y~~H~~O~~R~~S~~L~~Q~~J~~D~~S~~S~~U~~R~~D~~F~~K~~H~~V~~I~~U~~R~~P~~FR~~P~~P~~X~~Q~~L~~F~~D~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~D~~Q~~G~~P~~D~~V~~V~~P~~H~~G~~L~~D~~U~~H~~V~~H~~D~~U~~F~~K~~

W~~U~~D~~G~~L~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~F~~K~~D~~U~~D~~F~~W~~H~~U~~L~~V~~H~~G~~E~~D~~P~~R~~U~~H~~T~~X~~D~~O~~L~~W~~D~~W~~L~~Y~~H~~R~~U~~L~~H~~Q~~W~~D~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~L~~V~~W~~K~~D~~S~~U~~R~~S~~R~~V~~H~~
)U~~D~~Q~~N~~I~~X~~U~~W~~6~~K~~R~~R~~O~~V~~X~~F~~K~~D~~V~~K~~H~~R~~G~~R~~U:6~~R~~U~~Q~~R6~~R~~U~~Q~~R~~H~~W~~D~~O~~D~~Q~~G~~/H~~R~~/~~Z~~H~~Q~~W~~K~~D~~O~~
/~~Z~~H~~Q~~W~~K~~D~~O~~X~~W~~H~~U~~P~~D~~Q

,Q~~A~~X~~H~~Q~~F~~H~~G~~E~~W~~K~~H~~X~~V~~H~~R~~I~~S~~U~~R~~S~~D~~J~~D~~Q~~G~~L~~V~~W~~L~~F~~O~~D~~Q~~J~~X~~D~~J~~H~~G~~X~~U~~L~~Q~~J~~W~~K~~H~~H~~F~~R~~Q~~G:RU~~O~~G:DU~~D~~Q~~G~~
the emerging Cold War era, research on the intricate links between language and politics

U~~H~~H~~P~~H~~U~~H~~G~~W~~K~~U~~K~~W~~R~~H~~H~~U~~H~~W~~K~~H~~G~~W~~R~~L~~D~~QO E~~F~~H~~H~~Z~~Z~~O~~O~~
D~~D~~M~~D~~Q~~W~~S~~R~~O~~V~~E~~H~~S~~D~~U~~W~~H~~R~~W~~K~~H~~G~~H~~M~~O~~R~~P~~H~~O~~V~~E~~W~~L~~U~~H~~Q~~Q~~O~~G,Q

Germany, critical linguistic research into the interdependence of language and politics
G~~N~~L~~Q~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~R~~D~~O~~L~~P~~D~~S~~U~~L~~P~~D~~U~~L~~O~~Q~~W~~H~~G~~E~~V~~W~~E~~.O~~H~~P~~S~~H~~U~~H~~U~~D~~Q~~E\

S~~R~~W~~H~~U~~Q~~H~~U~~H~~U~~H~~U~~K~~D~~U~~G~~W~~E~~D~~Q~~:L~~O~~K~~H~~O~~P~~P~~D~~Q~~O~~Q~~O~~H~~P~~S~~H~~U~~H~~U~~D~~M~~O~~O
D~~W~~H~~U~~Q~~H~~U~~H~~U~~W~~E~~D~~Q~~O~~Q~~P~~S~~O~~H~~G~~W~~H~~R~~L~~M~~G~~D~~Q~~G~~H~~W~~L~~E~~H~~G~~W~~K~~H~~E~~G~~M~~G~~G~~L~~Q

W~~K~~H~~D~~J~~U~~H~~L~~P~~H~~P~~D~~Q~~G~~K~~D~~G~~D~~K~~U~~H~~G~~Q~~Z~~H~~D~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~U E~~G~~Y~~U~~H~~R~~E~~L~~G~~G~~H~~Q~~
E~~G~~E~~V~~U~~H~~G~~U~~R~~W~~K~~H~~U~~O~~D~~H~~K~~D~~V cigarette D~~Q~~G~~Q~~H~~R~~O~~R~~J~~L~~V~~P~~V~~Q~~H~~Z~~Z~~R~~U~~G~~V

were created; similar language policies were adopted by former communist totalitarian
U~~H~~L~~P~~H~~E~~D~~N~~L~~U~~K~~R~~U~~B~~O~~L~~Q~~D~~H~~L~~Q~~K~~L~~D~~L~~P~~S~~O~~L~~H~~D~~Q~~W~~W~~H~~P~~S~~W~~W~~R~~
U~~R~~W~~K~~H~~W~~K~~L~~N~~Q~~S~~U~~D~~W~~L~~H~~R~~H~~O~~H~~

W~~P~~L~~O~~D~~U~~K~~D~~U~~D~~W~~H~~U~~L~~M~~G~~W~~K~~H~~G~~H~~M~~O~~R~~P~~H~~O~~V~~E~~H~~R~~G~~L~~M~~D~~Q~~O~~M~~W~~K~~H~~V~~
D~~Q~~W~~K~~D~~W~~L~~W~~K~~H~~E~~N~~U~~U~~L~~H~~G~~W~~E~~D~~K~~H~~O~~K~~H~~Q~~W~~R~~D~~W~~H~~G~~G~~L~~M~~D~~Q~~O~~V

E~~H~~[D~~P~~S~~O~~H~~E~~K~~H~~H~~U~~H~~O~~D~~H~~M~~D~~Q~~O~~M~~G~~L~~R~~G~~H~~U~~W~~U~~G~~H~~H~~S~~H~~U
L~~G~~H~~R~~R~~D~~O~~P~~H~~D~~Q~~K~~L~~M~~W~~H~~U~~H~~W~~L~~Q~~D~~H~~H~~S~~D~~U~~W~~B~~Z~~G~~H~~U~~K~~L~~W~~W~~E~~G~~U~~G~~H~~R~~M~~Q

L~~W~~W~~D~~Q~~L~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~U~~O~~E~~H~~L~~W~~Z~~W~~K~~L~~W~~V~~W~~V~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~Q~~W~~H~~H~~Q~~K~~D~~Q~~H~~D~~U~~O~~W~~H~~W~~L~~H~~W~~K
H~~Q~~W~~L~~H~~W~~K~~H~~U~~O~~D~~H~~S~~O~~D~~Q~~P~~S~~E~~W~~D~~Q~~U~~B~~H~~L~~E~~W~~H~~U~~M~~U~~H~~U~~D~~Q~~7~~K~~R~~D~~V

N~~D~~Q *The social construction of reality* D~~V~~Z~~H~~O~~O~~D~~V~~D~~W~~W~~K~~R~~X~~J~~K~~L~~Q~~D
G~~L~~u~~H~~U~~H~~Q~~W~~P~~D~~Q~~Q~~H~~U~~E\{R~~F~~X~~V~~L~~Q~~J~~R~~Q~~G~~L~~V~~R~~X~~U~~V~~H~~L~~Q~~S~~R~~V~~W~~V~~W~~U~~X~~F~~W~~X~~U~~D~~O~~D~~S~~S~~U~~R~~D~~F~~K~~H~~V~~P~~R~~V~~S~~U~~

U~~H~~S~~U~~H~~V~~H~~Q~~W~~H~~G~~E~~Q~~L~~F~~K~~H~~O~~)R~~X~~F~~D~~X~~O~~W

)U~~R~~P~~R~~Q~~Z~~D~~U~~G~~V~~U~~H~~V~~H~~D~~U~~F~~K~~R~~Q~~political discourse expanded further IR~~U~~H~~I~~D~~P~~S~~O~~H
:L~~O~~V~~R~~C~~W~~E~~L~~H~~V~~H~~F~~R~~Q~~K~~W~~H~~G~~R~~O~~R~~P~~P~~E~~D~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~W~~K~~S~~R~~O~~L~~W~~L~~F~~D~~O~~R~~I~~D~~Q~~V~~D~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~I~~R~~U

H[DPSOH (XURSHDQ 8QLRQ FRPPLWWHHV DOG GHFLVLRQPDNLQJ SURFHVVHV .U]DQRZNL
2EHUKXEHU 0XQWLJO :HLVV :RGDN WKH8QLWHG 1DWLROVRO]VFKHLWHU
WKH (XURSHDQ 3DUOLDPHQW :RGDN DV ZOO DV RO WKH XQLTXH FKDULVPDWLF VWOH RI
SROLWFLDQVIRUH [DPSOH7RODLU) DLUFORXJK -UJDLGHU:RGDN3HOLQND
86VHQDWRUUVXUDQWLRQSROLWFLDQVSHHFKHVDQGWKHSROLWLFVRIWKHSVDVWIRUH [DPSO
XVWHUPXKOH HUHWDQ & KDUWHULVDFN (QVLQ6DXHU0DUWLO
:RGDNROULJKWZQSROLWFLDQDQGDVFLVWUKHWRULF5LFDKUGVRO:RGDN
:RGDN HW DO RQ OHJLWLPDWLRO DQG SHUVXDVLRO IRU H[DPSOH &DS
&KRXOLDUDNLYDQLMNYDQ/HHXZQDQGRQLQWHUYLHVZWKSROLWFLDQVLO
WKPHGLDIRUH [DPSOH7ROVRQ(NVWUP

DLQVW WKH EDFNJURXQG RI WKLW GLYHUVH UHVHDFK S PLQ XUNKDUGW DPRQJ RWKH
proposed a typology by emphasising the use of:

SRLWLBORPDLWLDNHULWHUPRSULMDOOVSHXOLEWLVWLVRO

and private talks on political issues, that is, all types of texts and genres typical of politics and political action, as well as the use of lexical and stylistic linguistic instruments characterizing text and talk about political contexts.

MKDUGWS

While attempting to transcend purely hermeneutic or philological approaches to text and
WDOKHOLW E GLUHUHU SURGHVDSUWLNDUO\$URLMOPHWKEDQWHKQV
WEH MG E LGHRODO UHHUWLR OH[LDO MPDQVLFWHKQVDOOVLV RI
FDWFEGVDQYDONRGVRIHSHPLVPVDQRILGHRORJLFDOSROVHP
WH[VWHPDQWLF SURFHGXUHVDDOVLVRIWURSHVRIVHPDQWLFVLRWRSHVDQGRILQF
H[FOXVLRQVWUDWHDUWLFWH[WOLQJXLVWLFVDFRQLRHRUPVRIDGGUHV
VSHHFKDFVWDOOXVLRQV SUHVXSSRVLWLRQV DUJXPHQDWLRO UKHWRULF TXRWDWL
LQWHUWH[WXDOLWDDQVDFRQLRWHFKQLTXHV LFRQ VPERO DQG VHPLRWLF DQDOVL
KHVHGLVWLFWRQVKDYHUHFHQWOEHHQWDNHQXSDQGXUWKHUODERUDWHGEU
VFKRODUVIRUH [DPSOH HLVLJO EXWKRZHYHU WKHVHFDWHJRULHV DUH GHQHG
ODQJXDJHXVHLVLQWULQVLFDOOQLQNHGWRWKHPDQGWZRZKDWZHODEHOGRQLQSROLV

Understanding politics

OHQWLRQLQJ XUNKDUGW IXWKHUPRUH UDLVHV WKH TXVWLRO RI KDW FROVWLWV
LVVXVIRU XUNKDUGW SROLWFLDO FRPPDLFDWLRQLVFRQFHUQHG ZWK DOO WSHV RI
institutional and private talk about political issues; thus, the topics are clearly marked as
GHDOLQWKREDOSRLWLBODHQPWDMPLQWKDMORUNGWKHEN DULHV
between the private and the public, what is traditionally viewed as the sphere of the
SRLWLBODUHKLWLFMHOVODQLQKWRWKWKSOKDOLWVWKHRLHMHOUDO
and the wide range of perspectives held by contributors to this volume in particular, this
KDQENWDLQRHULQWDEOHLQHGHWLRRHUWDQLRDLWLF
DQSRWLBOLMV

One such understanding could refer to individuals coming together in order to take
GHEMDQ WKLVDPNLOOXWUDWHGEVQKSHQWVNLK SRLWLBOD
power is perceived as the result of acting in concert, that is, of actors coming together in
order to achieve a certain purpose. Political power is thus based on consent and rational
H[KDFDQWVHUESHQW S QHYSU SULK

ZHQHYHUSHRSOJHWWRJHWKHUHQGDFWLOFRQFHUWQOGLWLVLOVXFKDUHDOLVDWLRQR
FRPLQJWRJHWKHUHQGGHOLEHUDWLOJWJKDWSRZIUWKDWLVSROLWLFDOSRZIUFDQEHFROVL
be legitimate; it is reproduced as such through constant deliberation.

QWKK ZWKLQ GLuHUHQY UDPHZNHUHQEHUPDYS PSHO R
communicative action and discourse ethics radicalises this approach to the extent that
QHUWDQLDQRHUDWLRUHUHWHGLWYKHLQYKWLMPHGHRSHWHQYKMHWY
NNQOSURGXHKKGZUUDQDGHOLEHUDWLMH[KDHRDUHQYDQWKH
DELOLWWBLNYYHUHWLQLKWRPWKDWDUHDHSWDEOHWBOOWKNLQMG
DQDuHWHGDEHUPDXKHGHOLEHUDWLMPSHOLWKNLQLKOHLWLPDWH
SHULM[HUEMGRHOHFLMOQGHMLWKDWDuHWDUHPWEHEDMGRHR
OHMHHDQHEOH[KDHEHWZHQQLGNOV

KDRSWLBRWGHQWDQGLMUHHPHYLQHHLGLWLEDMGNWKH
very fact that disagreements exist, although framed by an orientation towards understanding
DQDUHHPHYKDUSEHUHLKHWYNOGLPHRRLWLDQEHQ
is highlighted in Marxist-inspired approaches that stress class antagonism as the driving
force of political developments. Here, politics is not – at least not in a classic understanding
YHZGDDQWRMOGEWQWLPDWHOWLHGWRRLYEHODWLESDQLDQ
RDRQWKLMEHUUHEGLHNUHWKDW

ERLWLEDWUHHWRPSMWKHOHLWLPDWHLSULQSOHMLRQGLMRQ
other words, the one that is dominated and recognized as deserving to dominate, that is
to say, charged with symbolic violence.

EGLHX

KDQWDQWUEHRWWDLOQHHPQWUWURDEDWHG
ZWKSXNDWLRQDSSURKHKDWKURUQWBDDEQ&DQDOX
KH DDDXDDXK KKHZRLWLEDDPDWWHUR

exclusion and decision, as that type of action which aims, ultimately, to implement one
MQSHSHYHFLMDKHHPRFHUHSRLWLEUWKH[LQHDQDO
UHODWLEQRH[WRDGLDORLHCHOLQDQHUWDQLQ
to the distinction between *politics* and *the political* KHODWWHU UHIHUVWRWKHRQWRJLFDQ
level, where antagonism is viewed as a principle characterising human relations. *Politics*,
in contrast, concerns actual party programmes, institutions, and so on – the ontic level –
DQ LQLDWHWVKH HQPEOH BSUDWLHYGLMMVQ LQ/LWXLK MHNR
HWDEOLKDHUWDLRGHUJELGS, QHYELGDRWLPHORHPEDF
SRLWLEWVLCGRHWLWLEKWLQWLOLWVQWULQVRGHM WKH SMHQWLDQ
DQDRFWKDWHLWVQKQDQHODWLEWQDQPLHYVQDGMUDLHYVKH
EDMKDUHGSULQSOHYLEHUDOGHPEDQLEHUWDCHEPOLWLVQYKHEDEV
of a basic consensus.

DJWKHDEHPHYLQGNKDMQDGRWHGDQHUWDQLRRLWLEHLQ
HLWKHUUHWULWHGWYKHYKHUHMUPHYDQSRLOHHLWLRQWKRDSHEF
WKHRLWLEBOWUDGLWLESRWLKWHUHLBURGOMHNGDEHLNKLWMEHLQ
about the ordering of social relations in both public and private life. Making something
SRLWLEBQDLPLQVWKNQDQDOUHODWLEWLDWLEWLDWLRQ
DQWUHEHMUWKHGLWULEWLRQMRHUDQUHMHQHGGKHUHWKHUHLV
SHUWKHUHLVRLWLEDLQSPDLQDLQ

DEYHOGDQQUHYZWKRHUDMPLODUOEURGENQHQWLRLWLF
GHQYKHODWWHHUDV

Scholars who adopt a source-centred approach focus on the communicative behaviour of
 S [HPSKDMKVKH DWLRLWLEDQCMKQOLWVPHGLD
 WHQDQMKHQWKHKHLQHUDHEHWZHQRLWLEDQQWKHPHGLDWKH
 HIWHQVKHLULQHUDWLRQWKHGLDOHWLWKHLUUDWLRQLSDWGLHFRHNU
 LOOXUDWHLKRLWLEDQFHUWUDWHLHQDQWHKQWR attract public attention,
 present themselves in a positive light and their adversaries in a negative one, convince
 DLHQWRSRWHUWDLRLSURDPPHQKWK7KHMDWLRWLHUUHODEHOHG
 in manifold ways, such as political public relations, strategic communication, political
 SURDDQD SRLWLBO PHGLD PQQPHV SRLWLBO PDUNWLRQHEHUJHW DO
 SRLWLBO RSDUWEUDQLQLQLQWLRQLQLPDHPDQDQ
 PDMORPEWLRQWHOODQKWK

KWKHUPRHZBDMUMDQDHDMLQKH 'mediatisation of politics' – a process by
 KLK SRLWLBOQHHLQH UDQOEHRHVRHQDQPRHGHSHQHVKH PHGLD
 WUPEINWKLWVULEWHWRWKH LQHDMSURMOLDWLRQSRLWLBO
 RPEWLRQSEWDOVQSKOLRHKRKGHURPEWLRQHHPWEHLHQ
 EWKHLUSUHNDWLRQWKLQLEGNQOEODPHDQGDHNSHUHLMGULN
 PHGLDWHGQDQDOHUQODNQDQDQVUQWK WKHLURDQWLRQ
 UHSWDLWRUSHVQHUUDMSHSEPOQRDUENQWKLQ Discourse
 Studies QJHUPXOOHUHWODQDQ Critical Discourse Studies)ORZHUGHZEFKDUQVRO
 DUW &DS :RGDN OHHU KDYH GHYHORSHG LQQRDYLWYH WRROV IRU
 VWHPDWLFDQGHWDLOHGQDOVHVRISROLWLFDOVHWDQGHWDQGLQ

Research includes, among other topics:

- B Studies of political metaphor and discursive framing in persuasive political text and talk.
- B Cognitive and evolutionary linguistic analyses of political discourse, with a focus on expressions of spatial, temporal and modal dimensions.
- B RSMWVHGQDQOLWDLWLMUHMDUKRSRLWLBO SDUWLHQRSRWLWLEDQ
- B Studies of rhetoric and argumentation in parliamentary debates, speeches, committees, and government reports.

MHGOLNWRPSKDMWKDWQHUWDQLSRWLWLWKHSURGNHHEMR
 PDNQDQWUHWLWLUHQRKHREHWLBOLVHUHWDMQVHUGLESOLQU
 endeavour; analysing, understanding and explaining the dynamics of everyday politics on the
 URWDHDQEDWDHDUHDORPLQVUHOHQLSUDWLRQSRLWLWLMQHDMDQ
 perceived as an elitist endeavour, with participation by citizens often seen as lacking, this
 volume also hopes to contribute to making politics more transparent.

Outline of The Routledge Handbook of Language and Politics

7KLV YROXPH LV GLYLGHG into *Critical Approaches to Language and Politics*,
 Methodological approaches to language and politics, Genres of political action and two
 QDWLWLDLQGLHOLHQGHEDWHWKDWLQOLMLULWKHRLHQPHWKEV
 WKHULQMLHQQMDDHLQQSRLWLW

KHVVWVFWLRQ *Theoretical approaches to language and politics* outlines perspectives
 RQDQPHVDQSWNOOHMOWKLMKDEHHQHUW7KLMWR
 suggest that approaches and theorists not presented in this section are not relevant, but
 GHMORPHVWHWLPHEHQWKHHGLWRVHPLWKDMSUHMVHGWKHLQMKWKHU

FKDSWHUV,QWKHUVWFKDSWHU6DUD5XELQHOOLUHFRQVWUXFWVWKHGHYHORSPHQWR
FODVVLFDUHDLQKLFKODQJXDJHDQGSROLWLVFKDYHUVWPHWEH[DPLQLOJUHOHYDQWD
IURPFODVVLFDUHHFHWRWKHEHJLQLOJRI PRGHUQLWVKLV LV IROORZIG ERE -HVRSV
FKDSWHURQ.DUO0DU[QWRQLRUDPVFLDQG/RXLVQWKXVWHULQKLFKHLQWURGXFHVDOQ
compares their thoughts on language, ideology and politics, emphasising continuities as
well as discontinuities, and assessing their contemporary relevance.

7KH WK LUG KDSWHU ELPHQHDOZWK-UHQEHUPDQVWHPSW WDRWH WKH
normative grounds of deliberative democracy in the rational foundations of language.
,QHGHQDLODLQKDWDEHUPDQSWLRHPRDEMSDUDEOOLNGWR
KLVSWLRHPRH QWKKMSWLBO RWKH H[WHQ WKLK DSHV WVKLV
deliberative model of democracy can be applied to large-scale societies, the chapter
concludes by addressing a number of issues that arise when confronted with the task of
DMMQWK WKH DOLGLW DQ WKH MSHVDEHUPDQRPDWLQKHRHWLW
account of democracy.

5HLQU.HOOHU GLKQKHONWVFNQUBHWKHODWWHUQ
WKHPGHUQMHWDEHLQWDEOLKHG WKUKDPHFWUXKQDQSKUBHGH
regimes, including discussions of key concepts, such as archaeology, genealogy, discursive
formations, *dispositif*ELRSROLWLVFVJRYHUQPHQWDOLW DQGDQDOWLVFRISRZHU,QKLVFKDSW
RQ-DFTXHV/DFDQV6WDYDNDNENWVVRQWKROHRIODQJHLQVFRDQOWLV
WHRHVSHFLDOODFDQRLJLQOHRNLQRI6DXVNDQLKVVWLVFDQWKDFDQ
psychosocial conceptualisation of the *symbolic*, before examining how Lacan shifted his
attention from language to MKKH KULWRHU .QVDD GLMWHWEDDQ
GLVFRMHWRDQWKHPHWHQDQGDPLFVRISRQWLVFDOKJHPRQHVWKHLQWHU
elaborating on a post-structuralist understanding of discourses and their dislocation,
.QVDDSRQWKHWHWDQHPWLQLRQVHHOHPHQVSRWLWLBQGLMNV
struggling for hegemony.

QUHZHU LQUBHWHUHH EGLHWHQRDGHQJHODWLQLS ZWK DWEO
ODRH M DQ GLMM E/GLKWK PDLQSWWKUK KLK EGLHX
LQVHUSUHWVDO SUDWLHW DVKDELWVHOG BSLWDO DQ VERLSKU DQ
UHQUNWKHUHOHDEHGLHFNQHUWDQLQKHLQVHUGHSHQH
language and politics.

QDSWHU -DQUMQVQVRSWBO KLWRDQLW DQOMEDMDO
RSWVQKHLU UDHPDQVLEHODWLQKH KLWRRSWKHPDLQDLQV
LQVHUHWHGLQKHPHUHWDELOLW DQKDPVRSWQLuHUHQKLWLBQVH[
,QHGHRSWUHHMZGDMQLDWRHEKLVWLBOKDHWKHQOKDSWHULQ
WKLMLVLMUQDUGRQWUDQ5WK:GDNQUBHNLWLBOLMMVGLHV
QKWHUWRQKUDPHENKDW DEOLWDWHWKH DQOMPHDQDNDQ
UHODWLQVKGHU RHWDO SKU WUNKHWHQVH[WHOLM VULRSWV
URDUDRQDOWKHELXKLMHQOLQHPSLULBODQOMWKLKDSWHU
is characterised by a certain overlap of theoretical and methodological foci and thus serves
DQWUDQWLQVUGMFLQ

Methodological approaches to language and politics introduces a range of methods for
DQOMDQHDQSRWLWVHDGRVWHPSWLQVHUHQVUHVKHUHDWHW
possible number of methods of data analysis, we have attempted to provide a useful overview
of tools for the analysis of *semiosis*KHRSHQLQJFKDSWHURIWKLVVHFRQGVHFWLRQLVSURYLGHG
EREHUWR)UDQJRVLZKR GLVFXVVHVFRQWHQWDQDQVLVH WUDFHV WKH GHYHORSPHQW
TXDQWLWDWLYHPHWKRGRIVH[WDQDQVLDQGLQOXVWUDWHV DQRYHODSSURDFKADQWLW
QDQVLELQYHVWLJDWLQJQH ZVSDSHUDUWLVFOHVUHSRUWLQJOQFKLQJVLQHRUJLD±

&KDSWHU EPHOLH.XWWHUUHYLH\FRUSXVDQDOVLVWKDWLVFRPSXWHUDLGHGVVDWLVA
analysis of large samples of digitised texts. Kutter provides an overview of the tool-kit of
corpus linguistics and illustrates this method by drawing on an analysis of crisis discourse
LQDORPHQDU\

KULWVKHU DUW KMKVO\WQVIRWLM OLQWLQDQ WKH MDPH R
conceptual structures that are invoked by language, and the ideological potential of those
conceptual structures, in communication contexts. He argues for a connection between
cognitive linguistics and multimodal approaches, and illustrates his claims by analysing
GLKMLWLBOOSUWHWKDSWHUE\RWKDRDUWHULMDNDORUHG
with cognition and introduces the reader to conceptual metaphor, looking at the use of the
RSHWLWLMUDHPPHWDKRLQHEWVWKH\WLKSDUOLDPHQ\

7KH Q\W KDSWHU E\7KHEDQH\KHUVDQMUH\Z\WRDQM
multimodal legitimation in discourse and highlights three types of legitimation – legitimation
through authority, moral evaluation legitimation and rationalisation legitimation – which
DUHH\HPSOLJGED\SOHWKEDR\DPHODH\QLQVGHUUDWLMDDQMLQ
PKGHWDLODQPSKDMMLWMDPHEWVKHWGRRLWLEKDSWHURR
WKHU WKLM LQ GLMVDWHU QUUDWLM\QDQ WKH QUUDWLM\DDQMUGD\
context-sensitive practice. She concludes her chapter with a brief discussion of video
QUUDWLM\SWHG EPHPEHUWKH\HDPHU\SDUW RWKHLU DPSDLQVSKR
migration reforms in the United States.

7KHMKMKVQKDSWHUEQDGLDKGLMVKHWRLBODQOMUWORDW
the interdependence of rhetoric and politics. She then presents a number of rhetorical devices
DQWKHLU\WLVWKHLQ\HUSUHWDLR\HUMMHWUDWHLHMSRLWLBOODH5WK
PKMKVO\HODERDWHWKH PHDQSRWLWBO DUKHO\DWLRLQDSWHU
EHRHDSUBKLDUKHO\DWLRLQHODWLR\ELMDDQOM\POOXUDWHWKH
DUKHQ\DWLRLQGLM\SSURK WRRLWLBOGLMMDDDQOM\PSHHK
GHOLMUHGE\VDHOLB\LPHQWUHU\MDPLQ\WDQKFW WKH\QWHGDLWLVHMQ
QDPDQDNDRELQVGH WKH PHWKE\HUDWLRQOM\DDQGHFWH
approach to the detailed study of interaction in language and politics, including the
KDUDWHULWLRP\WDWDWKDWDUHHPSOR\GDQPHWKE\HODQ\KLMOOXUDWHGE\
reference to exemplary work in the analysis of radio phone-in shows, political speeches and
interviews.

,KDSWHU QUHQ\GHUWVKRDSK\DDQUSRO\W\HUWDQWKH
R\WLRHW\H\PHDQ\DDQSRWLWLKHD\KRELQXUDWHMDRQOMQ
D\SRWLWLEHR\EG\WVKH\HULDQSDUOLDPHQ\DD\DM LQRQ\DQ
demonstrates how ethnography sheds light on the complex relationship between bodies,
texts, symbolic objects, communication technologies and many other entities.

H\WLRQ *Genres of political action*, moves on to the description of a range of ways in
KLVSRWLWLE\SHURPHG\HOLD,OLH\RHQKDSWHU UH\U\WVKHSDUWLQDU
UDWLHGSUDWLH\HUOLQ\DUOLDPHQ\DUGHEDWHGUDZRMULHM\DPHOMUH
,OLHLOOXUDWHWKHPKDDQ\HOLEHUDWLRGMUDULDOLWDQSRDULDWLW\KDW\GHU
SRWLWBO\H\LDWLRLQSKUWUWH\H\U\PHQ\RP\DWLW\HQ

Hansson provides suggestions as to how communication practices of executive government
institutions can be conceptualised. Hansson supports his analysis with examples taken
URDQ\WUDWURD\RELQ\W\HQ\HOHMDM\Q\UM\DDQ\PSDLQWKH
R\H\HDQSKOLBRL\WDWLRLD\SHUR\G\WLR\W\DD\WUP
and Göran Eriksson examine another relevant genre in and through which politics are
SKOLD\SHURPHGDQ\H\LDW\HGSUHU\HU\H\W\SHED\POOWKHLQURND

range of relevant aspects, from the history of the genre to press conferences as resources in
policy genres in institutional contexts; third, the genesis of policy texts; and, fourth, the
trajectory of policy meanings.

7KLMNO PQRSTU VWXYZ ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
argues that commemoration needs to be viewed as a multimodal process and event which
the relationship between media and political language by deploying the concept of
imperatives of the media. Higgins claims that the political use of language continues to
evolve in parallel with ongoing developments in media technology and practice, and
provides a range of examples.

-HIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
to inauguration, as *identity performances*. Drawing on interactional sociolinguistics, she
WUDWHLHMULKRNHWODGGMQWEMEHWDUWDWDHQS UHMGHVLDOBQLGDWH
DQ LGLuHUHV [WVW KDOO PHHWLGHEDWHVPSDLGGMUWLMPHV DQ
SHHKHV

HOPWUKHULVUGHMQR LWLDBORPEWLRQHE SUHMVLQ
DWLWRLHQHG HQHBSWLWKDWLDGHEWHR GHVLELQDQDQOMQPLF
PWLPLGDOLOHUDWLQDOPHGLD SODWRPWH SHEPOOKH UHMHVWKH V
OLWHUDWKH QW SRLWLEDV EWLHQPEWLRQMQRRLWHLQVEWLHQ
communication. David Machin investigates the particularities of the use of music in politics
EQRDQWLRBODQKHPMDHQHHSRQVWKHDuRGDEHQDQMEQ
general, and how anthems in particular play an important part in legitimising and naturalising
political ideologies.

KDSWHUELQ.OPHNPDULMVHMDUKKQKHKDUDFWHULWLRLOOEBUGV
and party programmes as genres of political communication. She illustrates how these
HGHVQEOHG SRLWLDOSDUWLHVQVKH SDUOLDPHV DU\HOHWLDBPSDLQVWKH
NDLQWRSSURKWHUHUQQWLVWVRELWDQQWLRORQWLMQ
&KDSWHU5DQPLQPLODUOMVWKHMOELQURKQULBWKH DQ
RLHSRQWRREHPSOLBWLQHKQNR[DHUDWLRQMNQ

in order to engage in political rhetoric, facilitating, for example, the undermining of
DWKRLWVRLDQEHQDGDGDNWKLMLWLRQDSSURKLVKHHQH
of meetings in terms of social gatherings of small – as well as larger – groups of people
RLQWLVWLRQDQSURRQSKSNVKGHLM[DPSOHRMSRLWLDQEKV
DQPWLOLQOPHWLQLOHKLKOLKWLQPLODULWLHVQGLuHUHVVKH DWKRV
argue that this form of institutional talk promotes several important issues, the politics of
meetings, such as the right to speak and to be listened to, of choices which lead to varying
degrees of participation.

7KHQOWWLVROXWUDWHDSSOLBWLQKHDREPHVQLGWKHRLHWHWKBRRHV
DQHQSRLVWVSDUWLQDUOLQHWVHQDQHDQSRWLWFKHJWVWKHM
sections, entitled *Applications and cases 1: language, politics and contemporary socio-*
cultural challenges LQFOXGHVHLJKWFKDSWHUV &KDSWHUEQDEHOD &DUYDOKRDGGUHVV
the perhaps most urgent challenge of our time: climate change. Here, Carvalho argues that
responses to the issue have been increasingly privatised as techno-managerial approaches

KDYHJDLQHGXUHQFVWKRJKDOWHUQDWLYHYRFLFHVGRH[LVW&KDSWHUEMUQKDUG:HLFK
 GHDOVZWKDQRWKHUWRSLFRIVHQSUHVHQWHGLQDSRFDOSWLFVWUPVWKHFRQVWUXFV
 DOG GHSHQGHQWTV DQDOVLV VVUHVHV WKDW EHRPLOJ ROG LV QRW WR EH XQGHUV
 continuous process; associations and symbols create a dichotomy of the young on one side,
 and an ageing population on the other. While drawing on an analysis of newspapers and
 WKVRWKHSDQWULD:HLKWLOOXUDWHKWKKHOGHUODUHUHSUHMVHG
 DQKWKQOWKHGLMMVUNLHLQGCGHQDQKDSHWKH
 possibilities of political action and struggle.

7KH Q[W KDSWHU E7DQ 5RDQDQ QCUOLK DGGUHMVODQH DQ
 gendered politics, that is, the distinctively masculine culture that continues to characterise
 SRLWL DOKU UHYHTVKHOLWHUDWKHGHDOLOQWK RHOQBLWL DQ WKHLU
 UHSUHMV DWLWKHDXKRDQOMWKHGLuHUHQ UHHSWLQDKWHUGKLUYKHSUHMVGHVLDQ
 SULPDULHELOODUQLVROQOMEDUKWKDW RHOHURPDHVV
 politicians are still evaluated according to a dominant, cultural script steeped in masculine
 hegemony.

,KDSWHU 7RPDLQDQ DQ UHJHNDU R WKH KHULQ
 multilingualism and politics by focusing on the relationships between mobility, sexuality
 and citizenship, and the role played by multilingualism and multi-semioticity in mediating
 KUHODWLKLSVKHLOOXUDWH WKHLU DSSURKLD DGHWDLOHG DQOMVWLOLOQ
 SUDWLHMVDHOBOWLQ

7KHQ[WKDSWHULQKLMVLRVUGHGGEHOLMVKWLQRPSKDMVHGG
 RSWHOLDWLQORDOLDWLQDQH DQOLQWLSUDWLHEVGLQV
 WKHQDHRDOLDWLQRVWKHORDOLDWLQDQH DQWKLUGSDUWLQDU
 OLQWLSUDWLHQ LGHORHVVWVHWGLQVHEVH[WKH RGHVZWK DQ
 DSSHDODQDQH DQORDOLDWLQDOMWLHPHPHQV KLG XSEW
 SEWLQOWHUORDOLDWLQKDSWHUEDLLQWLDWHWKHGLMMV
 DQSUDWLHEVSRDWHRDO5HVELOLWKLQKHQH[WORDOQRLEHUDO
 BSLWDOLPKHVWLVUQHMMVWSDOSBLWLBOHRRDQSSURKWHHUWDQWKH
 interdependencies of language and politics, and then focuses on the rise of global production-
 UHWDLOKDLQVODUWDQWKLUGRLWLEVWKHODVWHUUDWLHMVQO\
 DUHWKDWGRHUDWHMVHUPHQVWKLBOLEKLMHVVDELOLHDQHQDQ
 neo-liberalism.

KDSWHUE5WK:BDNQHUQDUGRQWHLQWLDWHVQHDMQSRDU
 WHOHMRURDPPHEVWEDVDHSLWLKDWKHSV Yes MinisterHQPDUNV
 BorgenDQG WKH The West Wing. Here, information about politics is provided in an
 DHMEOHVHQPSOLHGDKLKDSSHDQVHVVUGLWLMGZWKVWLRQ
 PHGLDUHSRVLQKH DWKRGVGLVWKLGHMORPHV EKVVISLHR

Borgen and The West Wing SRLQWLQJWRGLuHUHQFHVDQGLVPLQDULWLHVEHWZHHQWKHWZ
 KHQDOFKDSWHULQWKLVVHFWLRQEVHPXDLDUH[SORUHVKRZWKHPRGHUQGLVWLQFV
 between religion and the secular has become a contested discursive tool in modern societies.
 7DLUDSUHMVWESSURKHVWKHWRRHOLLRQWKHMNDURKLMHVKH
 two as analytical concepts, the other one being interested in their actual use.

7KHQOMVLRQ Applications and cases II: language, politics and (de)mobilisation
 also deals with challenges. Here, however, we focus on mobilisation and demobilisation
 – even though the boundaries between the contributions in this and the previous section
 UHPDLQOKUHG7KHJWKDSWHULQKLMVLRKDSWHUEDVWKHDLQHUDDQVW
 Wood, is arguably the most general in its concern for discursive depoliticisation and
 SRLWLBOGLMDHPHQV 7KH DWKRSURM DWSRIVKUHHPRRGHQDOV

denial in relation to the past, present and future – and illustrate these logics by drawing on speeches from then leading Conservative politicians in the UK.

7KHQ[WKDSWHUEWUOLQGHDOZWKLGHQVLSRLWLSRRLFDQWKH DU
ULKW7KH DUWLØHRHU DKLWRLØH NULH DUULKW SDUWLH DQ WKHLUGHMORPHQ
since the nineteenth century, followed by a discussion of populism as a concept and its particular understanding of democracy. Pelinka, then, turns to inclusion and exclusion in
DUULKW SRLWLSRRLWLRH UHÀWLVQOO\RUHHQ GHMORPHQVVKH RQ
PRELOLDWLQKUKH[DPRWVKHUSHEHGLRDSWHUHUHIG.DSRDQ
-RGLKDUGQ[DPLQUDHDQ UDEFDQ WKH UHODWLQHWZHQD LGHDV
KDO WUDWLQWLQDMG RVKHMLGHD DQ GLK 7KH KDSWHU DQOMVW D
rather clear-cut case of racism, before moving on to less conspicuous and more ambivalent examples, thereby also illustrating the value of close analysis when examining discourse on this topic.

DYGQRI[DPLQWKH PDWHULDOLW DQemiosis RI LQHTXDOLWFODVV VWUXJJOH DQG
warfare by discussing the case of home evictions in contemporary Spain. Exploring this
DM LQNU GHWDLO QMVKH WUHH EHWZHQV KDO DWRWKH
conservative *Partido Popular* and the *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca* WKHODWWHU
being a grass-roots organisation which works on behalf of individuals and families who are
WКУHDWHQGGZWKHMLR

KDSWHUEQUHDU GLNODHMLQW DOLWDULDQHLPHQDQ
SDUWLQDUWKHH[DPSOHRRLWLBQGLMLQLHUPDNU DUULMDWDHQU DO
characterisation of totalitarian language use as the construction of a strict demarcation
between *us* and *them* LQ WKH FRQWH[W RI ODWHQW VWDWHWHUURULVP ZLWK WKH FRQVHT
stigmatizing, isolating and possibly destroying the latter.

7KHQKDSWHULQKLMVLRQWKHØQENHWKQWKHSUHMV DQNGHUV
RHPSRDUGLMMQHUSLQUDQWHUURLMSDPGHMODERDWHKR
forms of organised group violence are made acceptable or unacceptable, legitimate or
LOOHLWLPDWHHSHEDOOKHDQOMWHUURLMDRPRRLWLBORPQDWLRQ
and focuses the narrative construction of war and the properties of characters which populate
these stories, while drawing, *inter alia* RQ 3UHVLGHQW HRUJH :XVKV ZDU RQ WHUURUQ
narrative.

We hope that the focus of all these contributions on the role of language use – and
PHDQDNRHHHQU DOOYORLWLBODWLKWLHWHUVRWLM SHUSHWLMWR
readers who take the power of actual language use seriously for negotiation of the common
good.

Note

)RU UHODWHG YROKHV VHH IRU HDPSOH 6HPHWNR 6FDPPHOO :RGDN .ROOHU
HOOLQJHU3DØOV FHØQIRUG .DLG 6FKLUULQHWDO 6KDSLUR
2UU2UU

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 DOHUQGRROODFN(HGV Scandalous! *The mediated construction of political scandals in four Nordic countries* IRUGLFRPWHERUJ
 QJHUPXOOHU-ODLQJXHQHDX'RGDNHGV *The discourse studies reader. Main currents in theory and analysis*-RKHQMDPLOQVWVWHUGDP
 \$/HQGW*Crises of the republic* DUFrxuWUDFH-RYDQRYLFKIHZRUN
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 HZ*The public and its problems*DDQZDOORZHQYHU
 XUDQWL\$H VWUXJJOHIRU FRKHUHQFH UKHWRULFDO VWUDWHLJLVHDQGH[LVVHQWLDOLGHOHPPD *FDPSDLJQIRUWKH&RQJUHVV**Language in Society, YROQRSS±*
 (QVLQN 7DXHU & HGV *Framing and perspectivising in discourse*, -RKHQMDPLOQVWVWHUGDP
)DLUFORXJK,)DLUFORXJK1 *Political discourse analysis*RXWOHGJH/ROGRQ
)DLUFORXJK1*New Labour, new language*RXWOHGJH/ROGRQ
)ORZHUGHZ - LFKDUGVRQ - *The Routledge handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*, SWOHGHRQ
 KUPDQ*Die antike Rhetorik* \$WHPLV:LQNOHU0DQKHLPL
 HH-3DQIRUG0*The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis* RXWOHGJH/ROGRQ
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 DQLEMM WUDWHLHVEODPH DREGDE LQUPHQ SUDPHEN *DDQMD**Discourse & Society* ,RS±
 DUWBSHG*Contemporary Critical Discourse Studies* ORRPVEXU/RQGRQ
 D&Political analysis 3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQDVLQJVWRNH
 HHU 0DQRFVKHN : 3ROODN \$:RGDN 5 *The discursive construction of history: Remembering the Wehrmacht's war of annihilation*3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQDVLQJVWRNH

HOG/HIWFZFK\$LVFLSOLQHRISROLWLFVITQ *What is politics? The activity and its study,*
 HGIWZKQDFHOORRGGSS±

HOOLEHUKOSV *Handbook of language and communication: Diversity and change,*
 WQHUVWHUMUOLQ

HQEHUDDPPHOOCDDKHMVLWLBOPDUNWLPDDQHPHQDQ
 WKHRLHMHPRDF *Marketing Theory*YROQRSS±

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 /DVVZHOO +HLWHV1 /DQJXDJH RI SROLWLFV VWXGLHV LQ TXDQWLWDWLYH VHPDQWLFW, C
 WHUWHXN

LSSPDQ *Public opinion*UDQVDFWLRQ3XEOLVKHUVIHZUXQVZLFN

/ZHQWKDO/ XWHUPDQI 3URSKHWVRIGHFWLW\$WXGRIWKHWHFKQLTXHVRIWKHSHULFDQ
 agitatorDUSHUDQGRWKHUVIHZRUN

ODULQ-5GDNIGV *Re/reading the past: Critical and functional perspectives on time
 and value*PVWHUGDP-RKQHQMPLQV

OFIDLUN *An introduction to political communication* RXWOHGJH/RQGRQ

OFIDLUPXVWGLHSLQDQWLVSQDQGSROLWLFDOSXEOLFUHODWLRQVLQWKH\$
 Journalism StudiesYROQRSS±

ORXuH & HOLEHUDWLYHGHPFRUDFRUDJRQLVWLF SOXUDQVWV *Research* YRO QR
 SS±

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Critical Discourse Analysis HGV & DOGDV&RXOWKDUG 0 &RXOWKDUG RXWOHGJH/RQGRQ
 SS±
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 Oxford.
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Part I

Theoretical approaches to
language and politics

Rhetoric as a civic art from antiquity to the beginning of modernity

Sara Rubinelli

Introduction

Language is essential to politics as politics exercises its power of making decisions and

deceive people. Within this connotation, rhetoric is also considered to be the study of how to support both sides of an argument and, thus, how to give credit to whatever is in the best

persuasion, it is not easy to convince an audience of good, constructive, or true ideas.

is a key source of empowerment for those citizens who have vital interests and core values to personal growth and, in politics, it is a laboratory for developing democratic processes

argumentation, there was a tradition beginning in classical Greece concerned with the study use of appropriate reasons to support a point of view while, at the same time, aiming for

UHTXLUHPHQWVDQGFKDUDFWHULVWLVFRISHUVXDVLVYHGLVFRXUVHDQGDVVXFKAXULVKH
GLVFLSOLQHLQWKHHGXFDWLRQVYVWHPOLODQHVH

7KHREMHFWLYHRIWKLVFKDSWHULVWRH[DPLQHWKHGHYHORSHPHQWRIUKHWRULFDVWVW
ODQJXDJHLQWKHFRQWH[WRI SROLWLFV IURP DQWLTXLWWRWKHEJLQQLQJRI PRGHUQLV
VSHFLDQDOOLWH[DPLQHVWKHDLQXLFKWKHSULQFLSDOFODVFLDODXWKRUVGHDOWZWKU
LQOLJKWRILWVSRZUWRFXOWLYDWHFLWL]HOVPHQQ&DUFDVVRQLQERWKWKLONLQJDOG
speaking and, from there, to impact civic life.

Rhetoric in Ancient Greece

The Sophists and Isocrates

7KHULMRIUKHWRULFDGLMSOLOHRIWGLQQLFLQWUHHFHFDQEHMHQDDUHFRIJQLWLRQ
of the importance of language in political society. Historically, the origin of the art of
SHDNQVLGWEHQLQWKHMRBUWUHUWKHJWKHVK{| in the newly
HWDEOLKHG GHPREDM&WLHQLHFLM SDUWLESDWLQSRLLWLDQ GHEDWH
UHKUHG WKDW WKHUHEHDC[KDHRLOWRHQEOH WKHPWRDNRDQZM
GHEMMDOLOVHUHW.HQGRHNOORRDWR\$ODHGQ
LWUHQVDOUBHRSULQVKHQDQHWUHU LWDDSUHQWLW
political success as well as a form of self-defence.

:LWKWKLQQLQWLWMSULMWDKWLQKHMQRKDONKHWKHVK{| , the
teaching of persuasion became a key business, especially for the itinerant professional
WHDKHULWVKHRKLWVKHPWDPWKHMWHDKHUMUHBWDRDY
{RLDYQEBGLWVKHRKLWPDGHUKHWRLWKH
EHWKHLUHGDWLQRDPPHDMQKHLUMHWKHDKWLWRLKHWRLBOMOODQ
RSHWHLQDKHWRLBOGHMHWKHEHWKSPHQVQOOLDQRLWLDQ
DPELWLWVKULH.HUHUG

Protagoras stressed that every argument has two contradictory sides, both of which could
HOO EH DUNG ,KLWHDKLELDWHEPOONG QKVRHDG NV
*psychagogia*EXVLQJXUHVRIVSHHFKDQGGZRNLQJRVWQVLVWLFHOHPHQWVHDOVRIRFXVHG
RQWKHVRFDQOOGDUWRIWKHSURSLWLRXVPRPHQWkairosDVWKHDELQWWRVDWKHULJKW
WKHULJKWWLPH)RUWKLVSXUSRVHVWXGHQVZHUHWDXJKWWRPWRPHRULVHVSHFLVSHH
WKHFRXOGXVHDWDQWLPHVRWKHZHUHDOZDVUHDGZLWKDQDSSURSULDWHUHVSRQVHXEL
SS±

KHRSKLVVW HOHYDWHG UKHWRULF WRDQDXWRQRPRXV GLVFLSOLQH WKH VWXGRI ZK
essential for personal empowerment. However, rhetoric was taught as being detached from
SHUQOBOLWLHMDMLHUHSHWDQKQWQWKLMEGHQOLPLWDWLQLGR
unnoticed from an ethical point of view.

QKHWUHDVLMst the Sophists, VRFUDWHVFRQGHPQHGWKHPDLQSLQQLSOLHV
EHKLQGWKHGXFDWLRQDOSURJUDPPHRWKHRSKLVVWHSRUWUDHGUKHWRULFDVWVKDWH
of our human nature which raises us above mere animality and enables us to live the civilised
OLHQOLQ[7KHUHLQENWHWUWKRLKRDQHLQDMWKHLU
judgement; nevertheless, human beings can be reliable judges and so not entirely susceptible
WRDQSADWLQKUKVSHKDOOD 7KUKSLRHULQGHDKDWZHUHPW
MMLQKH5RDQKHWRLBOWUDGLWLQDWHNLMGWKHLGHDORDWRDMSHUQ
not only skilful in the art of speaking, but also gifted in history, culture, science and,
QWLPDWHOPRDOLWWDWKLQQLQKDWOHGWHDWHHLQBDPWKHDWKHU
BLEHUDOHGQWLREHWWHRW

Plato

,RFUDWHORRNHGDWUKHWRULFDSDUDFWLFDOMLOOWREHFRXOHGZWKHGFDWLRQWLOWKHDPH
 SHULRGD,RFUDWHWKLFRQWUWLYHLGHDRIUKHWRULFDWURQJOUHMHFWHGE3ODWR-
 KR DW DQ HDUOWDJH LQ KLVDUHHU FROGHPQHG UKHWRULF DWPSEHLOJ WKH
 H\$UHMQRIDGHFOLQHRIYDORFLHW:DUGSDOROH)RU3ODWR
 DFRPSHWHQFHLQKHWLFDODODERWDSSHDULOJWRNQRZVKLOJDOGAWWHULOJWKHD&LHQF
 WKURKMLQOJHRIWKHODQJH,Q *Gorgias* EG3ODWRSUHVHQWHGDUHPDUNDEOH
 analogy when comparing rhetoric and justice with cookery and medicine: medicine and
 MVLFDLPWUGWKHBNUDQUKHWRLELDPWUGSOHDMH7KXWKLQKH
 educational model presented in the *Republic* UKHWRULFGRHVQRWKROGDSRVLWLRQ)RU3ODWR
 what is important to those individuals who will guide the city are disciplines including
 PMPQWLDWKHPDWLEQGLDOHWLF *Republic*GE

HW 3ODWR FRXOG QRW DYRLG DGPLWWLQJ WKDW RUDWRU\LV DQ LPSRUWDQW FRP
 KRDPKDWLQKXODWHU LQLVDUHHU KH UHAWHG KHWKHU WKHUH NG
 EHDDWVKLQENUKHWELPRHUVLMOQKHMKDKONKH *Phaedrus*,
 Plato re-evaluated the possibility that rhetoric could be a real art by pointing out that it is
 not speaking or writing that are shameful *per se*, but that what is bad is when people
 HDH LQWKHP KDPH\Phaedrus G SS ±QGHG 3ODWR UHFRJQLVHV WKDW
 UKHWRULFLVWKSULPDUZDRIOHDGLQJWKHVRXOEPHDQVRIVSHHFKPhaedrusD
 VVXFKLWFDQWREHXVHGWRHQKQDFHVRFLHWIRUWKHJRRGSURYLGHGWKDWLWLVDVVL
 ULJRURXV VWXGRI QDWXUH RI SVFKRORJ\QDQ RI DUJXPHQDWLWLRQ WHFKQLTXHV Phaed
 SSHE

Overall, it is clear that for Plato, rhetoric should be subordinated to philosophy, as it is
 SKLORWKDW RHUWKHSHGHQPRDOLUWUHQDUWUUKHWLLEWKH
 EHQW\KHEW\

Aristotle

3ODWRQHYHUZRWHDKDQGERRNRIUKHWRULF,WDROOKLSXLOSLWRWOHFR
 in the *Rhetoric*, pioneered that which Plato had left unexamined.

ELVWVOHUKHWLELWKHNUHSDUWELDOHFLDQEQEOHSHDNUWUHUQKHQ
 WKHLUDELOLWVUNWQDUKHQRhetoric DSSXELQHOO
 SS±
 ,QWKRhetoric\$LVWRWOHJDYHFOHDULQGLFDWLRQVRIZKDWVWXGHQVWVDGWROHDUQ
 WREHWUDLQGLQWKHGLVFRYHURIPDUVLVWLFDUJXPHQDWRhetoric
 UHVXOWIURPDUHNFWRQRQWKHVSHDNHUWKHDXGLHQFHDQGWKHWSL2UDWRUVFDQ
 DUJXPHQWVESODLQJRWKHFKDUDFWHURIWKHVSSEKHSRKEQJWKHOLVWHQHULQ
 VRPHZDZLWKDWWHQWLQWQDQGE\$ODLQJRWKHUDWLRQDODSSHQWVKW
 LQGXFWRQDQGGHGKfMLRQSS±

\$LVWRWOHFRQVLGHUHGWKHUDWLRQDODSSHDOWREHSDUWLFXODUOLPSRUWDQWLQV
 VSHHFKHV R WHDFK VWXGHQV WKLVDVN KH LQWRRGXHGHQWUWKD of
 argumentation presented in his *Topics*, which instructs students how to build arguments by
 UHAWLQKHPDODSHVURKHQDWLEKLEHOOSS±

7RQDMW&HQHGHRIPLQWUWUHWUWKHWLBOHGEWLDQ
 that is why, in the *Rhetoric* \$LVWRWOHSUHVHQWHG WKH\$VWVWVWHPDWLFGLVFXVVLQRRIKX
 SVFKRORJ,QRNRRIWKH *Rhetoric*KHDQDOVHGHPRWLRQVLQFOXGLQJDQJHUPLOGQHVV
 ORYHIULHQGVKLSLWQDQGHQYLVVH\$IRUWKHRWKHUUROHRIWKHVSHDNHU\$LVWRWOH

emphasised the value of ethical appeal. When speakers gain trust and admiration, they

Rhetoric SS±
Rhetoric SS±
recognised the importance of the actual delivery of a speech in terms of its linguistic format.

Rhetoric SS±
2YHUDOO \$LVWRWOHLV UHFRJQLVHG DV KDYLQJ PDGH WKH JUHDWHVW FRQWULEXWLR
WKHRULQWKHVHVHWKDWKHRUHUHGDKHRURISHUVXDVLVHSHHFKFRPPXQLFDWLRQ
WUDLQDQGUHLQIRUFHWKHNLOOVRIVWXGHQVWGHYHORSHGWKLVWKHRUHVHFWLQ
WKDWUKHWRULFZDVLQGHGXVHGWRLOXHQFHVHGHQVWLQWKHFLWQDQGDVRRQWKHH
WKHUHZDVOFNRIRWKHRUHWLFDOLQVLJKWLQWKHFXUHQWVHDFKLOJRIUKHWRUL
ELPDOGLSSMZDZDUHWKDWUKHWRULFLVPRUDOOXUHHQDQGWKDWVFXFLW
FDQEHXVHGRUDEXVHG IYHUWKHOHVVKHZDVRSWLPLVWLFHQRXJKWREHOLHYHWKDW
FLWLJHQVLQWHUPVRIWKHLUSHUVXDVLRQVNOOVZRXOGKDYHRUHUHG DYDOXDEOHWRRO
transmit the best ideas for human progress.

Rhetoric in Ancient Rome

7KHDELQWWRGRGHVJQDQGGHOLYHUSHUVVLYHSHHFKHVDVSHUFHLYHG DVDSUHF
VRFHVVLQWKHSRSDUDVVHPEOLHVDQGWKH5RPDQVHQDWH.HQQHGS- RQQHU
5RPH DV DW WKH WLPH EDVHG RQ D IRUP RI GHPRFUDWLF ROLJDUFKVHUH VHYHUDO
hundred men in the senate would each need the skill to present their points of view to gain
WKHDSSURQWKHDLHQDQDWRQWKHSDMRVWRULQDZ
DQOHLQDWRULQVULRLWLQKHWRLO WUDLQDQWKH5RQVH[W
focused on teaching students how to successfully plead a case.

7KH WRDQKLNKRW LHQG WKH GHMORPHQ RJKHWRLDQ
HGWLRQ GLESOLE QPHO\KHUR\|DQ 4KVLQDQZ} ZUH
themselves highly competent lawyers.

Cicero

7KDQNRWKHWDWRIKLDWKHUDQHTWULDQNLJKWBFHURUHFLYHGWKHEHWHGFDWLRQ
LQSKLORRQSKLWRUDQGUKHWRULFWKURXKFODMZWKIDPRVHHNWHDFKHUWVWKHDJH
RIKHWRWH *De inventione*, which, together with the contemporary anonymous work
known as *Rhetorica ad Herennium* UHSUHVHQWVWKH[VVH[WQWUHDWLVHVRIQKHW
&LFHURVHDUOLQWHUHVWLQKHWWRULFZDVLQXHQFHGEWKHLGHDWKDWHORTXHQFH
PRVWLPSRUWDQWUDLWVIRUPDQZKRFRQVHQGVQVEHKDOIRIKLVFRXQWU}RZHOO3DW
, QGHG DVKH H[SODLQHG DW WKH EHJLQQLQJ *De inventione*, the ability to deliver
persuasive speeches facilitated the use of wisdom in settling many important issues for
EVLHVKHWRLDQWKHWRULHQPHQVRLWLQDQVHQ

Inventio underlines, the rhetorical training to empower citizens focused
on the elaboration of a speech known as *inventio* FRQFHUQHGZLWKWKHGLVFRYHURIYDOLGRU
VHHPLQJOYDOLGDUIXPQVWRUHQGHURQH\FDXVHSODXVLEWHPQWKHtio
context of *inventio*, Cicero, by following ideas already discussed in the Greek tradition,
proposed an extended version of the distinction of the parts of a speech, namely: the
introduction [H[RGLQWKHEHLQVWKHGLNNWKHQUDWLQarratio] WKH
events that occurred, or that might have occurred; the division [*divisio* or *partitio* QERXW
what is agreed upon and what is a matter of controversy; the proof [RPDWLQWKH

presentation of arguments; the refutation [*refutatio*] conclusion [*conclusio*] *De inventione*, he composed a dialogue entitled *De Oratore* where he presented the acumen of dialecticians, the mind of philosophers, an almost poetical expression, the memory of lawyers, the voice of tragic actors and the gestures of the orator: to gain the sympathy of the audience, to demonstrate what is true and to stir transmitted through the ages as the format of an almost ideal one.

Orators must possess the acumen of dialecticians, the mind of philosophers, an almost poetical expression, the memory of lawyers, the voice of tragic actors and the gestures of the orator: to gain the sympathy of the audience, to demonstrate what is true and to stir transmitted through the ages as the format of an almost ideal one.

On a more operational level, in *De Oratore* the orator: to gain the sympathy of the audience, to demonstrate what is true and to stir transmitted through the ages as the format of an almost ideal one.

Overall, Cicero attempted to rebase the discipline of rhetoric in its more fundamental format of an almost ideal one.

Quintilian

the student was given a set of hypothetical circumstances and had to support one of these as a corruption of the Ciceronian standards, provoked the reaction of rhetoricians, among

as a corruption of the Ciceronian standards, provoked the reaction of rhetoricians, among usually translated as *The Education of the Orator*.

should be *vir bonus dicendi peritus*,
 ;”

Institutio oratoria is devoted to those things that take place prior to the work of rhetoricians, namely the earliest training at home and study in a grammar school.

7KHFRUHRIVK^{hstitutio}LVDGLVFXVVLQRRIUKHWRULFXLQWLOLDQH[SODLQHGDOOWKHWU
 phases of elaboration and parts of a speech by adding some elements not found in other
 DWLQ\UHDWLMKH[DPSONKHLQ&HGDESHHWGWRKRRDWRBRQWDLQGHV
 DQH[SUHMUHDGLDQZLWLRWKLKSKKHH[SODLQKGDWDW&HQVKNQ
 UHDGLQHHDNDWLQKQKHUMFLQKHNKHWKHERPLWDWLQimesis
 LQHHLGHGEGEKHKLWRLDQQUKHWRLEDQDOLDUQW
 century z}LPLWDWLQDQFLWLVKHNPHGWBUGDGPLUDWLQDWMHPV
 H\HG\S,QKQLOLDLQVHDNUYDUHLQWHGWRPLWDWHWKH
 WHKQKDDMDLWHLWHLQGHUWRSHUWDQWKHSHEDOLWLHLWLWHUQ
 OHDUQVBRKUHVKHLUMOOV

Within his educational programme, all forms of knowledge were important, although
 SHDNQLWLDQUHDGLQHUHWKHEHVMOOWRWDLQKQLOLDLQSHUHLMGHGFWLRQ
 DWKHWRWEHDWHDQWDQLQWHLQWKLQKHOGRIGFWLRQDWRV
 RGHUHGPDMHWLQWVWVWKEHVLWURWKHWRVQDLWLSUHEMO\
 because of their reasoning and speaking skills that human beings achieve superiority over
 DQPDON

The Roman Empire

7KHLQ\QOFHRI4KQWLOLDQMQWHUSULMDVQLQDQWDWDQHGFDWLRQDOOHYHOMFDMRI
 it, rhetoric became a key component in the general curricula in all public professions. Under
 WKH5RDSLHUKKMUHGSLWH4KQLOLDLQWHUSULMWKHHEUDOQHUWDQLQ
 UKHWRLKDFGMDQVQ7KHPSLUHWDUWHGWRPSNNUIDLQVHHGRR
 WKKW DQ H[SUHMRLGLDQ UKHWRLWDUWHG WROM LWVSKU EHDN WKH
 professionalisation of the procedures in the law courts. Knowledge of the law became more
 LPSRWDQDM&HEHDPHOHWBHUDQVKHWRLDQWQH.HQGSS±

5KHWRLEDMKRBHEHDPHLEQHDMLGHQLHGZWKKDWDQDMBOUKHWRELEDM
 DMLW\OHDQK&HURDGHUHDUGHGDEWVRWSDUWWMQHGGRRWOHMPSRWDQ
 SDUWQPHO\elocutio RUVWQLVWLFH[SUHVVLQ

EVWRULFDQFKDQJHVDOVRduHFHWGWKHVRFLDOFRQVLGHUDWLRQVRIUKHWRULFXLQWLQ
 WKLUGRIWKHVFRQGFHQWXUWKH(DVWDQGHVWRIWKHRPDQ(PSLUHVWUWHGWRKDYH
 JRYHUQPHQWVZLWKHFRQVHTXHQFHWKDWWEWKHIRXUWKFHQWXUWKHUHZHUHWZRHP
 GLuHUHQWODQJXDJHV&HHNDQGDWLQKH(DVWHUQVFRROVRIUKHWRULFZHUVWLOOD
 WKH UHLJQRI -XVWLQLDQ ±) KHEDVLF UKHWRULFDO WH[WERRN ^{Adversus} *loghica*
 corpus, a series of handbooks of exercises under the name of the Greek rhetorician
 HUPRQODWHM&HQV\HDWKVWHDKHUNKHWRLQHUHQV
 paid for public services. Some schools of rhetoric continued to exist, but even they were
 HMQNOOHSODHGEWKHWWRKHWRELQHPQWHULHV\KH:HWKDK
 UKHWRLQLNGWKHLUDFLWLVWVKUKWKH&WKHQV7KHORHDVNGDQ
 GHVWDWHGEWKHMLKMQQWKHHDUPDUNGWKHSRLWLBOHQV\KH:HWHUQ
 Empire.

Rhetoric in the Middle Ages

7KHPHGLHYDOWDNHRQFODVVLFDQKHWRULFEHJDQLQWKHIRQWKFHQWV\KHUHDPLG
 of historical turbulence, there were some remarkable attempts to revive an interest in the art
 R\KHWRLEHWUKHWRELQGLUHFWOOLNGWVKHSRLWLEWLHVWGLQKDM
 EMLQQLQWWDW\KH&HDLHG5KHWRLELQUSODHGDHQUODOURH

known as *ars rhetorica* framed a conceptualisation of rhetoric where he placed it alongside dialectic. Cicero theorised the value of rhetoric in the fact that he conceived it as being parallel to dialectic. Cicero theorised that rhetoric had a philosophical breadth as it deals with the same subjects as dialectic: dialectic has a philosophical breadth as it deals with the same subjects as rhetoric. Cicero theorised that rhetoric had a philosophical breadth as it deals with the same subjects as dialectic.

Thomas Aquinas

Thomas Aquinas, who made a clear statement that rhetoric essentially deals with conjectural probability; it has a value as an instrument for probable argumentation. While the medieval authors attributed key importance to dialectic as the science for the discovery of truth, Aquinas argued that rhetoric was essential for the discovery of truth in the human sciences.

Towards modernity

Sixteenth century

In the sixteenth century, Erasmus of Rotterdam's *De ratione studii* expressed his innovative view on rhetoric. He argued that rhetoric was not just a tool for persuasion but a means of discovery. He emphasized the importance of rhetoric in the education of the young, particularly in the study of the liberal arts.

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Erasmus argued that rhetoric had a value as an instrument for probable argumentation. While the medieval authors attributed key importance to dialectic as the science for the discovery of truth, Erasmus argued that rhetoric was essential for the discovery of truth in the human sciences.

Erasmus argued that rhetoric had a value as an instrument for probable argumentation. While the medieval authors attributed key importance to dialectic as the science for the discovery of truth, Erasmus argued that rhetoric was essential for the discovery of truth in the human sciences.

IURP WKH EUHDGWK RI WKH FODVVLFDQ WUDGLWLRQ -DVLOVNL SS [YLLFYLL DFFXVLOJ
 \$LVWRWOH DQG &LFHUR RI KDYLOJ EURXJKW FRQIXVLRO WR WKH HOGV RI GLDOHFWLF DQG U
 5DPXVXEGLYLGHGWKHWZGRPDLOVHVKLIWHGWRWKHGRPDLORIGLDOHFWLFKDWZHUHQWK
 FODVVLFDQ WUDGLWLRQ WKH SDUWV RI UKHWRULF GHDOLOJ ZWK WKH GLVFRYHU'RI DUJX
inventio DQG DUJXPHQWDWLRQLWFRQWUPLR and *refutatio* & LFHUR *inventio*
 \$D FRQVHTXHQFH KH FRQFHSWXDOLVHG UKHWRULF DV WKH GRPDLORIGLDOHFWLF elocutio
 GHOLYHUHQFOXGLQJWKHHuHFWLYHXVHRIODQJXDJHDQGSURQXQFLDWLRQODFNE:LWKL
 this framework, rhetoric became a discipline to empower students in the art of speaking
 HOORQWHODQRUHQWUJRWKHUHUKHWRULFQHUHGLQWKH HOGDLWHUDWZHDQLWV
 WQLWLSDUDPHWHUWUS

Seventeenth century

5DPDSSURDFK WR UKHWRULF DVMWLRQHG DW DQHDUOWDJHEUDQFLVFRQ -
 KRDOWNKXKHDOORWDUKHWRULFLDQGHYHORSHGDUKHWRULFDOWKHURUDPHDQR
 FRPPDLFDWLOJMLHOWLQORZHGJHDFRQSHUFHLYHG HPSRZUPHQWLQUKHWRULFDVHLOJ
 FHQWUDWRDFWLYHFLYFOLIH)RUKLPWKHFRQWUPLRKHUWRIUKHWRULFZQWEDFNWRWKHGLFRYHU
 DQGRIDUJXHQW DQGHKHSOLFWSUDLMSLVWRWOHIRUSODFLOJUKHWRULFEHWZHUORJLF
 DQGRUDONORZHGJHDFRQDWWULEXWHGFRQGHUDEOHLPSRUWDQFHWRDUJXHQWDLRQEW
 to dialectic *per se* DVWKHSUHIHUHQPHWKRGIRUWKHGLVFRYHU'RIWKLQJV9LFNHUV)RU
 DFRQWKHUHQDGVREHDVWURQJFRQHFWRQEHWZHHQWKHNQRZOHGJHGHULYHGIURP
 LQYHVWLJDWLRQDQGLWV WUDQVIHU WKURXJKZRUGV KLVLVZKXPHUJHG WRJHWKHU
 SUHYLRXVHDVZDGLVWLQJXLVKHGQGHUGLDOHFWLFQGUKHWRULFKHZURWHDERXW
 LQWHOOFWXDOOJHIHUULQJ WR WKH GLVFRYHU'RI DUJXPHQWDUJXPHQWDWLRQ PPHRU
 Style alone is not condemnable *per se* DOWKRXJKDFRQUHFRJQLVHGLWVYDOXHLQGLVHPLQDWL
 NQRZOHGJH FRQYLQFLQJOHW KXPDQ NQRZOHGJH PD\EH KLQGHUHG E\WKH DPHVWKHW
 VDWLVIDFWLRQ\$URGXFHGEVWQHDLVWFDQSUHYHQWSHRSOHIURPGHSHQLQJWKHLUN
 PLWKSS±

RZHYHUDPRUHVHFSWLFDDFFRXQWRIWKHYDOXHRIUKHWRULFZDVJLYHQEKRPDVEEH
 ZKRZDVHGXFDDHGLQWKHKXPDLVWLFWUDGLWLRQNLQHQHUREEHVZURWFA
 EULHHWKHDUWREKHWELNDLQDWDQDOOWKDW\$LVWV OHKDWKZLVWHQQLV
 WKUHH ENWKDW KMHV and he knew the classical tradition remarkably well.
 HMUWKHOHKHDDDWREQLWLVWKDWHOMHQHWURMOOLHE
 Hobbes, while logic is connected to thought and wisdom, rhetoric favours a competition to
 Qe civeSSKHQSRQLWFLDQVDUHHPSRZHUHGZLWKHORTXHQFHWKHVRPHZKD
 prevent the reaching of truth through reason, as personal interests are supported by playing
 DMQHPWLLeviathanS., [YLL

,QVRPHZDVEEHVZDVDFXWHOQRVWLOHWRSHUVXDVLRQEXWLQRWKHUVHVSFLDQOOLQ
 Leviathan KHVKRZHG KLV PDVWHU'RIHORTXHQFH, QGHGHIURP KLV SHUVSHFWLYHLIVFLHQ
 ZHUHWREHSURPRWGHESHRSOHTXLSHGZLWKPRUDOLWDDQZHUHWREHEDVHGRQFHUWL
 QRWSUREDELQVWLFUHDVRLQJHORTXHQFHFRXOGEHDQDLGIRUVFLHQFH, QDQRYHUWG
 ZLWKWK UKHWRULFDQVWQHSDLVHGEWKH HQDLVVDQFH KXPDQLVWVREEHV PDGHXV
 rhetorical precepts to argue with irony against philosophical claims that he did not support.

Eighteenth century

While the seventeenth-century tradition had focused more on the epistemological
 KDUDWHULWLKHWELQKHHLKWHHQKHQWUKHWRULFHFLMGMDDQDWWHQWLQ

in European formal education, from elementary to university levels. Here, the study of UKHWRLEBSKMGZWKWKHDLPHKSSLUYSHQVWKHUKHWRLBODQOMLWHUDU\ texts and in what is nowadays known as public speaking. Students were trained in composition, in writing through the principles of imitation and of the comparison of classical D\KRD\MOODLQHQV\H\W\WKHOHDQ\SUN.HQGSS±

,DDQWKHPDWHUSLHHRDUOH5BOLQ 7UDLWpGHNW&HGCHODPDQqH
 GHLLQHUHWG¶W&LHUOHMOOHMWWUH, proposed an innovative system of education with
 HQ\LUHMFWL¶KHWHDKLRKHWRLBQWKHSUDWLFHOMHRSBOLQGEWLRQ
 was mainly aimed at forming the tastes of students; this aim was achieved by emulating
 WK\NGHUHGWRHPBHOVQKHOGHOMH:DUQNSW&\
 WKHEHWH\DP SOHMONH&EGLQWDOOV&SHQWRHAWVQKHSULESOHV
 of composition behind these examples.

7KH5BOLQEDVDOPVKN&MVKDW HPSKDMG WKHLPSRWDFHIDQ
 DSSURKWRKHWRLQWKHEHOHWULWLERWKHUHQMOOHMWWUHPHPO
 ,QKHLKWHHQKQV&RDM&OWUHQMVKHW&RKHWRLEKDWKMSURWVG
 E\KQDQ-KQUGZUH WLOODQREHG E\WKH
 UHH&RDQSSURKWRKHDUWRHUM&WVKHEHOHWULWLRKBDUSURWVG DQ
 LGHD R\KHWRLMRQG WRHODWHG HOGV&LQDUW SRWUDQ KLWRV\KLWUHQ R
 thought was introduced into the study of rhetoric elements found in a tradition starting with
 \$LWV\OH\peticDQGWRVWUHDWLVHVW KDWFHQWUHGRQWKHTXDOLWRIVWQHLSURVHZ
 DUWLWVLSURGXFWVJHQHUUOO.HQQHGSS±

KH RWKHU PRVW VXFHVVIXO FRQWULEXWLRQV WR WKH FRQWHQW RI UKHWRULF DV DQ
 GLVFLSOLQH LQ WKH HLJKWHHQWK FHQWXUZHUH PDGH EXJK QDLU DQG HRUJH
 &DPSEHOOKHZHHERWK3URWHVVDQWPLQLVWHUVDQGWKHRORJLDQVZKRVDZLQ
 rhetoric an instrument to preach the Christian mission and to help human beings be redeemed
 URGHHUUDWLRWKH Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres QDLUH[SODLQHG KRZ
 knowledge of rhetoric and literature is an asset for social success as it can promote virtue
 and moral ideals.

DPSEHOOVLDQHMORPHQV R\KHWRLGHULMGURMURLQKDWKHMDWKH
 PDLQLPLWDWLRWKH&DM&O WUDGLWLRQVWKH Philosophy of Rhetoric, he
 LQURNGDSK&R&ODQEHKDM&DO&NLQVWKHGRDLQKHWRLTRHMO
 LSHUM&R&DWR&D&D&S&W&KHLUGLMMWVKH&HG&WKHD&LH&7KHMQHG V
 DUH&L&EHU&SHUWDQLPDLQWLS&M&Q&OO7KHRD&W&K&D&WRHOSWKH
 D&LH&W&SHUWDQ DQ WKUK LPDLQWLDQ SDM&V&R& WKHP ,Q
 DPSEHOOVHZKHWRL&V&QUHODWHGWR&M&uDLU&W&K&D&W&EH&L&M&GD
 universal theory of human communication.

7KHEUHDGWK DPSEHOOVH&VWLRQKHWRL&V&H&K&QUU&G&GDQ
 UHKDSHGE5LKDUG:KDWHOV,QKLVWUHDWLVH Elements of Rhetoric, which also
 falls under the genre of ecclesiastical rhetoric, Whately did not intend to make a theoretical
 L&L&QV&K&H&W&K&R&P&D&W&L&R&H&B&O&L&Q&K&H&L&W&H&O&L&D&H&M&R&K&H&W&R&L&B&V
 D&K&W&UR&R&K&H&U&H&Q&G&W&K&H&Q&H&U&W&D&L&Q&K&H&W&R&L&B&W&K&H&D&U&R&H&D&G
 GL&M&D&Q&M&G&R&U&H&V&D&W&L&R&W&K&H&H&M&R&K&H&G&L&E&S&O&L&Q&:KDWHO\

Conclusion

7KLVFKDSWHUIDUIURPEHLQJDQH[KD&WLYHKLWVRURIUKHWRULFKLJKOLJKWVWKHPDLQD
 on the link between rhetoric, as the study and use of language, and its value as an educational
 discipline for political life, from the classical world to the beginning of modernity.

ULPDOGL:O\$Studies in Aristotle's rhetoric HUPHV(LQ)HOVFKULIWHQYROSS±
 XWKULH:.&The Sophists, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 H DWK0 Roman education from Cicero to QuintilianHDFKHUV&ROOHJH3UHVVIHZRUN
 H DWK0 Hermogenes on issues: strategies of argument in later Greek rhetoricKH&ODUHQGRQ
 Press, Oxford.
 REHVDe cive , ed. H Werrender, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
 REHVLeviathanHG10DOFROP2[IRUGQLYHUVLW3UHV2[IRUG
 ,VRFUDWHVAgainst the Sophists WUFRUOLQDUYDUGQLYHUVLW3UHV&DPEULGJH
 -DVLQVNL-Sourcebook on rhetoricDJH3XEOLFDWLRQV&KRXVDQG2DNV&\$
 .HOQHGHThe art of persuasion in Greece3ULQFHWRQQLYHUVLW3UHV3ULQFHWRQ1-
 .HOQHGH\$ The art of rhetoric in the Roman world, Princeton University Press, Princeton,
 1
 .HOQH\$ Aristotle on rhetoric. A theory of civic discourse2[IRUGQLYHUVLW3UHVVIH2
 RUNDQG2[IRUG
 .HOQHGH\$ A new history of classical rhetoric 3ULQFHWRQQLYHUVLW3UHV3ULQFHWRQ1-
 .HOQHGH\$ The Cambridge history of literary criticism, H The eighteenth century,
 Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 .HOQH\$ Classical rhetoric and its Christian and secular tradition from ancient to modern
 timesKHQLYHUVLWRIIRUWK&DUROLQD3UHV&KDSHO&OO1&
 .HUIHUGThe sophistic movement , Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 HGLSLOHEHUO\$ The SAGE handbook of rhetorical studies, part III:
 Rhetoric and pedagogy3XEOLFDWLRQV&KRXVDQG2DNV&\$
 ODFN3DA history of Renaissance rhetoric , Oxford University Press, Oxford.
 DFKHWRLEQGLDOHWLE&SHLGLON Ramus, pedagogy and the liberal
 arts\$KJDWHXUOLQJWRQ97
 Martianus Capella and the seven liberal arts: The marriage of Philosophy and Mercuri
 WU:WDKOR&RELDQ&MUMW&HMMN
 HFKHWRLEQKH&GGOH\$ SpeculumYROSS±
 OLODQHVH* Lucida carmina. Comunicazione e scrittura da Epicuro a Lucrezio9LWDH3HQVLHUR
 OLODQRSS±
 OXUSK- Rhetoric in the Middle Ages. A history of rhetorical theory from St. Augustine to the
 RenaissanceQLYHUVLWRI&DOLIRUQLD3UHVVIHUNHOHDQG/RQGRQ
 IDUGXFFL(Cicerone: dell'oratore&LODQR
 IDXHUW&* Humanism and the culture of Renaissance EuropeQGHG&DPEULGJH&QLYHUVLW
 Press, Cambridge.
 H&OLQocratesDUYDUGQLYHUVLW3UHV&DPEULGJHYROL[LYLLL
 2EHU - ARZHU DQG RUDWRU/LQ GHPRFUDWLF WKHQV HPRVWKHQHV DJDLQVW0HLGLDV&Q
 Greek rhetoric in actionHG,:RUWKLOJWRQ&RXWOHGJH/RQGRQDQGIHZRUNSS±
 3DUNHUSHWRULFHWKLFVDQGPQLSXODWLRQPhilosophy & rhetoricYROQRSS±
 3ODWRGorgiasWU5DWHU&HOG2[IRUGQLYHUVLW3UHV2[IRUG
 3ODWRRepublic HG\$HUUDULWU&LVWK&DPEULGJH&QLYHUVLW3UHV&DPEULGJH
 3ODWRPhaedrusWU5DWHU&HOG2[IRUGQLYHUVLW3UHV2[IRUG
 3RZHOO-3DWHUVRQ-HGV&Cicero the advocate , Oxford University Press, Oxford.
 4KQLOLDQ&M&ELX Institutio oratoriaWU&XWOHU&DPEULGJH&QLYHUVLW3UHV
 Cambridge.
 Rhetorica ad HerenniumWU&DSODQ&DPEULGJH&QLYHUVLW3UHV&DPEULGJH
 ROOLQ& HODPDQL/HG&QVHLJQHUHVG&WXGLHVOHV&H&OYDQV&QVHV
 XELQHOO6 \$VWRSLFDKH&FODVVLFDOWHFKQLTXHVRFQVWUXFWLQJDUJXPHQVWIURP&LVWV
 Cicero5ULQJHUIHZRUN
 DQ((&ODWRV&RUJLDV DQG 3KDGHUXV DQG \$LVWRWOH&WKHRURI UKHWRULFD VSHFXODWLYH
 DFFRXQW&H&enaumYROSS±

6NLOQHU * Reason and rhetoric in the philosophy of Hobbes, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

BLWK&Rhetoric and human consciousness: DYHODQG3UHVVRQJER/YH,/

WDKO :+R D EHWWHU XQGHUVWDQGLQJ RI 0DUWLDQXV &DSHQRDum YRO QR SS±

WFSBoethius's in Ciceronis Topica &RUQHOOQLYHUVLW3UHVVR,WKDFD1HZRUN W/XPS(Dialectic and its place in the development of medieval logic, Cornell University

BHWKDDHFN

MQPHUHQ WUDWHLPDQMULQURHQDWLMLGLMM(WHQLWKHSUDPD dialectical theory of argumentation-RKQHMDPLQVFWHUGDPDQG3KLODGHOSKLD

9LFNHUV% defense of rhetoric , Oxford University Press, Oxford.

LFUWQQUKHWELEQ The Cambridge companion to Bacon, ed. M Peltonen, RPEULGHRMUMW3HPEULGHSS±

:DUG5The birth of rhetoric: Gorgias, Plato and their successors RXWOHGJH/RQGRQ

:DUQLFN % KH VL(WK FDQRQ HOHWLWLVWF UKHWRULFDO WKHRU\DQG LWV)UHQFK DQWH University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

:KDWHO5 Elements of rhetoric-RKQOXUUD/RQGRQ

:LVVH-Ethos and pathos from Aristotle to Cicero GROIOENNHW3VWHUGDP

:RUWKLQJWRQ,HG Greek rhetoric in actionRXWOHGJH/RQGRQDQGIHZRUN

From Karl Marx to Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser

Bob Jessop

Introduction

7KLVFKDSWHUH\$ORUHVWKHUNRQODQJHJLGHRRRJDQGSROLWLFVRI.DUO0DU[-
 \$WRQLRUDPVFLDQG/RKV\$WKXVHU-KLOHRQOWKH
 yVvwwzh\$OLFwofRQVLGHUHGODQJHJHDOOWKUHHdGRSWHGdWRWDOLVLQJDSSU
 FULWLTkGLGHRORJLHVdQGGRPLQDWLRQDQGvWUHVvHGwKHQLWRIVRFLDOWKHRU
 SUDFWLFH, yVv DGGUHVv 0DUy LGHDV RQ ODQJHJH DQG FRQVFLRyQHVV LGHRORJDQ
 FULWLTkDQGSROLWLFDOVWUyHOHDQDGRPLQDWLRQ)ULHGULFK(QJHOV±VLQFO&HG
 ERWKIRUKLVUNZWK0DUyDQGLVRQFRQWULEx/LRQV6HFRQG, UHYLHJDPVFLySUH
 prison writings and prison notes on language, economic base-superstructure relations, the
 WDWHDQLVHOOHFNODQOLyKHPWKLxMULWw&LHM&KLOBRKLUg, H[DPLQ
 \$WKMUYH&GHRWkHWDWHDQSLWLDQOoBMVHODWHWkHMWRLWwKHLU
 broader theoretical and strategic views.

Karl Marx

)LYHUHPDUNVZOOKHOSWRVLWdWH0DUyDQDOVHVRIODQJHJDQGSROLWLFV)LUWw
 xGHUVWDQGLQJRISKLORORJDVfHQWUDWRdLYHUVLWNGfDWLRQLQ0DUyRyKwKDC
 SDUWWRHJHOyHuRUWWRJHWyKLOVRVSKWRVSHDNfHUPDQQRW/DWLQWRKHOSExOGDf
 QDWLRQ VHFROG0DUyDQ(QJHOVDLPHGWRGHPVWLIQRWRQOVHOLJRODVGLGRWkH
 Hegelians, but also, unlike them, the secular language of the ruling class, including bourgeois
 PRDOLW&HRWkHfDQWkHLGHdDHDGLQUPDQyHOOHFN
 :LOOLDPSSwKLUgDU[DQHGwKHOSwKHPDMW&HMORWkHLUQ
 ODQHWkHLUQRWUySBLWLBOLPDLQW&HWWHUH[SUHWkHLUQHGdQ
 GHPDQWkHONWkKHHDHG LQUDQDWLRQ&WWRWkQWLLQ
 SHDWLQyPRH SUNLFOdDkWHGf DUWLNDWLQEHQLfRDOLW
 SURDPPHDQWkDU[KLPMOMGODQHNORSLWLBODfOODfHQLf
 HuHfWDU[SS±
 ,EHLQWkdGLSDUDWHMWRD&LSW&UDWHG&DU[DQHOVQ
 \$WKk&Gw&KHQZQLWLEfRkHPLfDU[ESwKHM

drafts were later compiled into one text, *Die deutsche Ideologie* The German ideology
JVVWSXEOLVKHGLQXVVL DQLQDQG WKHQLOQYDULRXVYHUVLRQVLQRWKHUODQJXDJHVRQ
KLVWRUVHH&DUYHU3DUWRQHLQWURGMFHMaWKHDXWKRUVLHZVRQODQJXDJH
SROLWLFDOHFRQRPDQGLGHRORJWDHUSDUWVLOOXVWUDWHKRZWKHFULWLTXHVSHFLFL

and ideological currents. Marx and Engels argue that a materialist conception of history
must begin with living human individuals, not abstract man, analysing how they organise
PDWHULDOOLHWLWLVWKHLUKDQGHGDQWRURDDWHWKHSHEHVYKHMDFLWLVHLV
EPKEDQDQDWHULDOPGRHURBNLQDQGHUSLQGHQWHPGRHLH7KH

in its plain, ordinary or everyday form, they write, can be understood as practical
of hand, larynx and brain as the biological foundation of language is matched on the social
DU[HOSSHOVKBU[DOHOUHDWODQH

both as an *intellectual* force of production that arises from and enables social co-operation
DU[SSDU[DSSSHS

7KHSIDLUDGGWKDWEDOGHMORPHVLEMDURQLMWHWHQHWODODQ
manual labour. Moreover, the more autonomous mental labour becomes, the more do people
tend to treat ideas as lacking foundations in material life, almost as if ideas descend from
KHDMLKLEUDWHWKHSHHIMQWUHLEDDHRGHRVWLQOGKDV
theology, metaphysics and ethics, which are far removed from material production, and,
they note, it also inclines intellectuals to explain events and practices in terms of free-

SSRVOHOHFVOMHDORSZKLMHDOSSHDDUMPSOLEWO\
LQU[FLWLWVHOVKHWDWHDQRMUEDKQHOLLDQOK
division of manual–mental labour occurs within the ruling class itself – it contains not only
SUDWLBOPHRuDLUFWDOMHEDOLWMOGHDV *ibidem*S

that is the ruling *material* force of society, is at the same time its ruling *intellectual*
*ibidem*SLWDOLFVLQRULJLQDOKLVLVJURXQGHGLQSDUWRQWKHUXOLQJFODVVRQWURORY
WKPHDQVRIPHQWDODVZHODVDPDWHULDOSURGXFWLRQKLVLQYLWHVRQHPLJKWDGGU
on changing modes of mental production, such as writing, print media, radio, television and
DU[ESDQLQHHHODERDWRHPDQHGLMUHGLQKHODWHUEN

both Marx and Engels.
DUW,R The German ideologyWRJHWKHUZLWKWKHSUHIDFHWKWH
FULWLTXHRISROLWLFDOHFRQRPJHRIWHQLOQYRNHGWWRMXVWLIWKHFODLPWKDWODU[
had a reductionist model in which an economic base generates a matching juridico-political
XHUWUWKHRLHDQDQDUOKWKLMDXHUWUWKH
PRHOKDGDGLDELWLBORH, QHJWVWKLWHGDWWHQLRDRQealist ELWLKR

UHOLJLRQDQGWKHRORJWRDPDWHULDOLVWFULWLTXHRIODDQGSROLWLFV and, in others, in language as practical consciousness, LWPDWHULDOLVH[DGHG DODLP WKDW WKH KDO KOG DQ[LW SULR WRVKKW LHZG KWDQ/LMO/KMMU WKLPHWDSKR GRV LQWLHFWWKHULKQDU[PLWLHRLWLBOHRDHOODKLDQHOV historical analyses.

KWKHUHUPDUNU[NDQHDQLGHRUHUHKLQHUHGEWGLSDUDWH KKHG QWKH W LW L SREOH WRUDW KLVS SURK SRWLMQZWK WKH MO OLQWLSSURKWWKHKDKDUDFWHURDHRDHPDQLUQDKDKLO Graham note, the usual approach involves a double movement:

⊗ UW abstracting language from its material interconnectedness with the rest of KDOOLHWUHDWLDQDHDQDGHODQDQDWHULDOHQVLDQ then construing WKHKDOLWRDHDVHODWLDHWHZHQDQHQHQHWDLWKHM ZUH WMSDUDWHOVLWVHG UHDOLWLHKLK KMMQOR HMQEGHQDOO\ come into contact with each other.

DLUQKDKDPSLWDOLBGGHG

QUUDWDLUQDKDQDKDPR/LQDU[HPSKDMG

the dialectical interconnectivity of language and other elements of the social and can WKHUHRHGOMWLHFWWKHKDOSKURDDHLOSLWDOLVZWKW reducing social life to language, removing language from material existence, or reifying language.

DLUQKDKDPS

7NSFWWKLQDLPWKHLMPDQ[DPSOHU[QVLESDWLQDWEGR N/DLWLBOLNMQOMQORDUHQV/DWLRQQOMVDDQRWKHHDUO\ WVKHODWHMHEHOR The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte

⊗ WKRXJKODU[VODWHUZRUNZDVOHVGLUHFWOFQFHUQHGLZWKODQJXDJHKHVWLOOH[S nature as practical consciousness and examined the semantics and pragmatics of political ODQHDU[DQHDODQGHUHGKEGHRHGLuHUURWKHUMWEGHDV

insofar as they serve the interests of power and domination, and, relatedly, how ideological HuHFWMPHUHQRRQERODQHMLQLMUMQH[WVKHLUODWHU

PRHROHWHPDWLHuEWDW Ideologiekritik were directed against SHEF ideologies – technological paradigms, economic doctrines, legal systems, political imaginaries, party programmes, religious-belief systems, philosophies and general systems of ideas – in terms of KVKHRNHGFWLHGDOHLWLPDWHGRDOUHODWIRSORWDWLRQEGRLQWLRQ DUESSQ[DPSOH LWKH GHHQUDWLDQDMBO SRLWLBO

HEWKLWVHDOHQVLPKLMPHQVVRHUHEKHRSDRVLWVKHEND

QDMPHQVUVRUDQKDOOHQWVKHORRSLWDODU[SS± DU[DQHQVORHMGWGDWVKHPVSKUHLGHRROHuHWRDEHMGLPHQHG LQDQHQDQMSUDWLBQKQVQWKHURPMQDWLQKLV

regard, they both noted: the class character of language; its implicit value judgements; its role LQUDOLMFKHRHQV DOLWVKURWKKUDMKHWHKQRPHUEDO

ODQHWKHWDWRLDWHLHDMHVLMPWKKWGedankenformen

DQGWKHPVWLILQJHuHFWVRIFRPPRGLWVHWLVKLVDPDQGWKHMUXLGLFDOZRUGYLHZ[QJHOV

ODU[SSODU[DSQDU[(QJHOVSS±

IRUPDQIXUWKHUH[DPSOHVVHHS\$HSS±

)LQDOODOWKRXJKODU[VWDUWVIURPWKRVFLDOUHODWLRQVRISURGXFWLRQKHDXJHVM
WUDQVIRUPDWRQLVPHGLDWHGWKURXJKWKHSROLWLFDOVSKHUH,QGHHGKHHPSKDLVHVH
RIWKHSROLWLFDO RYHU WKH HFRQRPLF]RU H[*Das Kapital* *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis
Bonaparte*ZULWWHQLOQODU[QRWHGWKDWZKLOHHPHQDNHWKHLURZQKLVWRUWKHGR
QRWPDNHLWXQGHUFLUFXPVVDQFHVFKRVHQEWWKHPVHOYHV\$HWKHQUHPDUNHG
that it was hard for revolutionaries to develop new political practices because the available
political lexicon limits their ability to represent their own class interests and voice new
GHPDQVKKHUHHUWOLPLWVWHGLQWKHWUDGLWLDLDOOWKHGHGHHUDWLDL
KHUWLWLRQWVKHSDWDDQQLUHSXUWUWKHBLuHUHQDQGLWLDLORPHG
MQLPHQLQOORRHHWKKWDQKHZLHSS7KLV
MWVDPHQDUWLQHG WKDW DU[UHBMGWKHSHURPDWLMKDUDFWHUR
SRLWLWQDWLWKHPDQULQLKWKHVERLEWMPSONHMQDUOHMO
perched upon the hard rock of property relations but is itself integral to the materialisation
RDSYUQDUWLSS±

7KUKK *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, Marx explores the *language and other symbols* in
and through which the class content of politics gets represented or, more commonly,
misrepresented. He dissects the semiotic forms, genres, and tropes through which political
forces articulate their identities, interests and beliefs. He reveals the articulation between:
WKHSKUDMDQWURHNDQDQWRERUHGURWKHSDWRUHQH[WBOLMG
WKUKLQHUWH[WBONIDMQWKHSUHMQDQNUHQ SRLWLBDQKDOUHDOLWLHV
such that old phrases sometimes lead to spirited revolutionary action but, more often, prove
WEHPSWMDHUHQWRDQSDWLQ SRLWLBDQRHRLDGDQDHDU[
SSQ *passim*HUHQGHQGHVZKHUH

ODU[DOVRUHAHFVWRQWKHW\$HRISROLWLFDOODQJXDJHLQZKLFKWKHSUROHWDULDWPLJK
its demands, arguing that it must develop its own novel, political language rather than draw,
DGLGHUOLHUHQHVLQWKHSXUWUWKHSDWDU[S,QRWWKLDQ
WKHUWH[WBQHUHDGDQWULEWLVWVKHELWLMKMiomic economy, that is, to an
DNRDQHQERLDUHLQMGLOKHLPLDQULVHRWLRQ
PLVHSUHMQDWLQRDMVHUHWV

Antonio Gramsci

,QWHUPVRIWKHDOOWRRIDPLOLDUEDVHV\$XUWUWUWVHPHWDSKRURDUPVFLVRIWHQUHJ
*theorist of the superstructures*HVSHFLDOOSROLWLFVFLYLOVFLHWQDQGFQXOWXUHWDWKHUWKDQ
PDWHULDQEDVHWKHIRUFHVDQGVRFLOUHODWLRQVRISURGXFWLRQIRUDQLPURWDQWPR
GLVSXWHDORQJWKHVHOLQHVEHWZHHQIRUEHUWRREELRDQG-DFTXHVH[LHUHVSHFWLYH
WH[VWUHSULQWHGLQORXuHSSQWKHUPLVOHDGLQJLQWHUSUHWDWLRQVHHVQDPVFLDV
pioneering a Marxist approach to cultural criticism, or cultural studies, as if he saw culture as
MSDUDWHURWKHHSRLWLQDQWKHUHQWDPHQ[SOLEWOUHMHVHWGWKH
validity of an *ontological*GLVWLQFWLRQEHWZHHQEDVHDQGVXSHUVWUXFWXUHZKLOHFRQFH
*analytical*RUPHWKRGRORJLFDQYDOXDQGVXJKWWRWUDQVHFQGLWEH[SORULQJWKHLQWHUS
DQGFHYROXWLRQRIWKHVHDOOHJHGOVHSDUDWHVRFLOVSKHUHVKLVLVHVSHFLDOOF
GLVFXVLRQIRPHULFDQVLPDQGRUGLVPVHHEHORZBRQJRWKHUHDVQRVIRUKLVUHMHFWR
WKHPHWDSKRURQHPLJKWEHWKHLvFXOWLHVRIORFDWLQJODQJXDJHJLWKLQWKLVVFKHP
FLWH3HWHU,YHVQDPVFLUHJDUGHGODQJXDJHVDWDWHULDODOEHLWKLVRULFDQOQPD
/DQJXDJHLVURRWHGLQWKHPDWHULDOLWRIWKHSURGXFWLRQIRZROVWKXMAS

this recalls arguments in *The German ideology*, Gramsci was unaware of this text, given its
SKOLDWLRLWRMHDEMLDURHQWUHLQWKLVDUGKLE

§,WDOLDQFRPPHQWDWRUVKDYHQRWHGIRUPDQG HFDGHWHHHVSHFLDOOXR3LS DURDQG
 &DUOXFFLDQ GIRULO OXVWUDWLYH,WDOLDQ RNFQWULEXWLRQVWR, YHV/DFRUWHDQ
 DOJORSKROHVFKRODUVKDYHEHJXQWRDUJXHPRUHUHFHQWOMJ,YHVÜDPVFLV KROH
 approach was inspired by his university studies in philology under the direction of Matteo
 DUWBL KRQWLDWHG DQSSURK DOOHG HRLQWLE QSKWLVRWKH HUPDQ
 HRDPPDULDQRK LK KDG DvQWLHZWK DMHPLRQDQDWHU
 more substantively, as *linguistica spaziale* VSDWLD OOLQJXLVWLVFKLVDS SURDFKZDVURRWHLQ
 WKHLGH DOLVPRWKH,WDOLDQSKLORVRSKHU DQGRUJDQLFLQWHOOFWWDOMHQGHWW
 EEURDGOFRQWHP SRUDQHRXVZRUNLQOLQJXLVWLVJHRJUDSKDQGLVWRULFD OOLQJXLV
 linguistics emphasised that language is an evolving human creation and that linguistic
 innovation is normal.

LDPQVUWBLDUGWGDWODHGLuMRRDSKLBODQDQDOOLQHNDU
 DPHGLDWHG WKUK UHODWL UHWLH DQ SKU DUWBL DOME
 SS HH[SORHGKGRLOQSSHKRPEWH[HUWHGCSUHWLHNUWIK
 KGLQWHRPQWLHWKHEWNUWKHMUNLUFUMGHWKHW DQDUGODQH
 MUWKHGLDOHW WKHGRLOQ RFWKDOJXNUWKH KGLQWHRPQD
 BLWKSHDOR DUWHGKRWLIGURWKHSUHWLLK *langue to*
 WKHUHHLKWKDWHDUOLHUOLWLPWGEHLDSHULSKHUDODWKHUWKDQ
 HQUDODUHDDQDWHGUDWKHUWKDQOHMEOHDUHDDODUHUUDWKHUWKDQD ODOHU
 WDQLWSSZKLVMHAVHGLQDPHPHQWKHWUDWLPLR
 ODQH M H K URKEDQDUKADOWHUQXVPLWDWH
 WKHSSHUODMKHDDQVHDKHQKHPWVKHEWLHWEDPE
 SS LQDPV WKH ,WDOLDQ LWLBO HGLWLVRWKH SULQHENKLV
 corresponds to *Quaderno* RUQRWHERRN XLVFRPSDUDWLYHKLVRULFD
 DQGVSDWLD OOLQJXLVWLVVWURQJOLQXHQFHGÜDPVFLV LGHDVROKJHPRQEHIRUH KHP
 WHUPLQ/HQLQVDQDOVLRISDUWDQGFODVVD OOLDQFHV,QFRQWUDVWRLWVFRQYHQWLR
 LQLQWHUQDWRQDOUHODWLRQVDQGDU[LVW/HQLQLVWDOOLDQFHWKHRUÜDPVFLUHG
 WRGHQRWHWKHIRUPDWRQDQGRUJDQLVDWLRQRIFRQVHQVWHHEHORZ

Gramsci applied historical and spatial linguistics in much of his work, even describing his
 overall method as *philological* H DUJXHG WKDW WKH ZKROHRI ODQJXDJH LVD FRQWLQXRXV
 process of metaphor, and the history of semantics is an aspect of the history of culture;
 ODRLNWWKHDPHWPDLQKLDQDPHROBLHDQEMOLDWLQ
 S4LNDU[DQH QVDPHPSKDMMGWGDWODQH
 permeates all social relations and secretes a particular view of the world into everyday life
 DQSHEDORDOHOGMDONUMGWKDW

SOPHQUSKLOK KHUWKHLUSKLOKLV DLGLQ *language itself*, which is
 a totality of determined notions and concepts and not just words grammatically devoid
 HQRPPQDQEMSRD UUHOLLRQWKHUHRHDOR
 in the entire system of belief, superstitions, opinions, ways of seeing things and of
 DWLQKDUHRBOHFLMOEQOHGWKWKHUQHUWKHQPHORH
 ÜDPES4\$

7KNDUOHODWLDQEHNONHUWBDQH[SODLQGWKUKWKHGHWHUPLQ
 RLDQHSWUIWHUPR WKHM DPHWLHVLQ Q WKUK KLK
 determinate social practices develop and get institutionalised.

BWHU,MMQHLEHVDPEDSSURKDMUQDUPDWHULDOLMVKLDSSOLHV
 WKHWHQWKLWRLDOPDWHULDOLW DSSURKWRDQH DQGHMOROLWLBOD

FRQFHUQHGWKHRURISROLWLFVDQGVRFHLWVHVDSHOLEHUDWHSODRQZUGVWKLV
WHUPVHUYHVWRSSRVHYHUQDFXODUWRXYOJDU PDWHULDOLVP HVWDEOLVKWKHGLDC
QDWXUHRIUDPVFLVUNZWKLWVIRFXVROWKHRUJDQLFUHODWLRQVKLSEHWZHQODQJXDJH
VRFDOVWUXFWXUHV LGHQWLIUDPVFLVFRQFHUQWRGHYHORS D SROLWLFDO SURJUDPPH
XOGSRSXODULVHXOWXUHWDWKHUWKDQLPSRVHWKHFOWXUHRIWKHGRPLQDQWFODV

or force the development of a national – or international – culture through the imposition of
DREDORPDWLMUDPPDURUHHWWBRQUWLEDOODQHKDMHUDQBRQ
SURVHWKHKLWRLBOPDWHULDOLWDQOMHW,MS,WLFWKWLYKH
LWLEWLHEHWZHQROWRDQDU[KLWRLBOPDWHULDOLWDQOMDQHDV
SUDWLBOQVQRESRQWKUHHWKHMPLQDULWLHWRLHOFuRWWWRDN
SKLORKVHDNUPDQDQDU[PLWPHQWGHMORLO SODLQDQHZWK
KLKRNUGGHMORWKSHWUWKHWH, QHHGDVDPFZWH,WDOLDQ
QDWLQHUHGZWKWDSBDUHUHWLQUDGLBORDOWUDQPDWLNDV
WKDWLQDQ7KLQVHAWHGLQKHZOOSKRLMURWKHV

Italia fatta,

*bisogna fare gli Italiani ORRVHOUWUDQVODWHGQRZZHYPDGH, WDOZH PXVW PDNH WKH
,WDOLDQVIRUUDPVFLWKLWUHTXLUHGWKHGHYHORS PHQWRIDQDWRQDOSRSXODUFROO*
grounded in a shared language, shared world-view, and shared hegemonic project that
would encompass a new economic and political order.

7KHMDDLPEQHLOOXWUDWHGURUDPEQOMWKHDUWLQDWLQDMDQ
XHUWUWKHWKHUHODWLQHWZHSBLWLBODQEQYORHWQDQLOHOOHWNOQDMRDQ
vital role in creating and reproducing these mediations in capitalist societies.

LJWWRHSODHWKHEDMZXHUWUWKHGLWLQDQDPEUHGHG WKH PHDQR
base via the concept of *mercato determinato* GHWHUPLQDWHPDUNHWZKFKKPLVDWWULEXWH
WRDYLGEFDUGR3RWLHUS)RUUDPVFLWKLVLVHTXLYDOHQWWRD@GHWHUPLQHG
relation of social forces in a determined structure of the productive apparatus, this relationship
EHLQDQVHHGWKDWLWQHUHGHSHUPDQVEDGHWHUPLQGSBLWLBOPRDODQMKLGLBO
XHUWUWKHWUDPES4\$7KLKOLKWHGWKHHHGRDQ
LQHUDOWWLDOLMDQOMLWRLBOONHEHRLLEHLPHWKHLUPGHNDQ
UHDWLQDQWKHLUQLEQWHQHWLDQOODQWLQ[DPSOHLQLDQVHV
RULBODQDQGLMUDPEKKGWKLPSRWDHRLLEPDLQULHV
DQRDQVHOOHFWOQURWLQSHULBQMDPEHRLKQHSRWR
WKHELMOLEHUDOBSLWDOLFQDORGHQVHGKQKQDQDQWQDO SUDWLHV
KHOSHGWRLGDWHRGLMDQPEHHEHDWLQDQHWQDORDDQWLQ
SS4\$S4DQVHGLOHPDUMHPLQMV R

The

Eighteenth Brumaire WKDWLWZRQOGEHKDUGWRLPSODQW)RUGLVLQ(XURSHKLVLVEHFDXV
of the dead-weight of tradition, the incrustations of the past that must be swept away, and
WKHSUHMQRDUDLWLBODMDQWUDWDSS4\$S±

7KHM DURHQVSW WKH WUHH R SBLWLBOLQHOOHWNO DQ PRDO
OHDGHUKLSDWWKHKHDUWRuRWWREKOGDQHPEHGZHLLEHLPVQSLWDOLW
societies.

HRDQKHUEURGHURSWLWKDWKLWRLBOEORFDWKHUWKDQHGHWK
EDMWKLMUEDMZXHUWUWKHUHODWLQDPEMDGKQKWKHRSOH[
QUDGLWEDQGLEGDQVHPEOHWKHXHUWUWKHMWKHUHAWLQKHHQPEOH
WKHNDUOHODWLQURWLDQVHUHGWKDWLWUHAWWKHGHUUESURW\
EHWZHQVWKHDQXHUWUWKH\$4\$S7KLVV
UHDOLMGWKUKSHEEQHOOHWNO PRDODQSRBLWLBOSUDWLHVWKHMWUDQDWHQUUZ
MWRDQSURMQROOROLOLWHUPHRLSRDWHQVHUHWVQVGHU
HWKLRBLWLBODVHHPHQVWKHODWWHUQVQKHOSWRLWVHHRF

VWUXFWXUHV E'SURYLGLOJ D VKDUHG RULHQWDWLRQ EXW DOVR JLYHV WKHP WKHLU UDM
OHJLWLPDF\$DOVLOJWVKHKLVRULFDQDOEORF DOVRVKRZKR PDWHULDOIRUFHV DUHWKHFRO
and ideologies are the form, though this distinction between form and content has purely
GLGDWLBOM\$4\$

7KLUGLQLEHW\$SWUDPEUHODWHGKHPHegemoniaWRWKHFDSDFLW\
of dominant groups to establish and maintain political, intellectual and moral leadership and
MKHWKHEURGEDMGRVORPOOLHGDQKGLQWHU\$W\$WKHSUHLLOLQHODWLRQ
HRLDQSRLWLBDOGRLQWLB\$DKHW\$ELHGWKHHRQDQWQHUDOMQDV
DGHWHUPLQGPDUNWUDPEW\$ELHGWKHWDWHLQWQHUDOMQGHGHGLWDSRLWLBDO
KHWEYOR\$HW\$QH[DPLHGWDWHSKULQLEHUDOGHPRDEHE\$DMGRDV
SRLWLB\$KHPH\$UWHWHGEWKHDUPH\$RUES 4\$\$
LDQOMKHPH\$UWHWHGEWKHDUPH\$RUES 4\$\$

but extends into what are conventionally regarded as economic and political spheres.
BUDSKUDM\$H\$HWL\$MKHPH\$HSHQW\$KHDSDEWR\$RLOQ\$U\$W\$KHWK
identities, interests, emotions and values of key sectors of subordinate classes and other
subaltern groups into a hegemonic vision and embed this in institutions and policies –
OHDGLQW\$W\$WKHLUWUDQD\$WLRQ\$PR\$W\$WKHDPHWLPHUH\$WLRQ
WKHPDWHULDO\$D\$OODW\$KHGL\$M\$PRH\$D\$OSUD\$W\$K\$H\$P\$H\$SHQW
PDWHULDO\$M\$W\$DOWHU\$Q\$DQ\$W\$K\$V\$H\$D\$W\$K\$D\$W\$P\$W\$U\$H\$W\$D\$G\$HEM
WLRQ[HUEMG E\WKH OHDGLQW\$K\$W\$KH\$GHEM\$H\$R\$R\$D\$W\$L\$W\$W\$
UDPE\$4\$

FUDPEM\$D\$W\$KH\$PRH\$R\$H\$L\$V\$W\$W\$R\$OLM\$G\$Q\$W\$H\$P\$RUEM
DSSDUDW\$M\$W\$K\$D\$W\$P\$D\$Q\$D\$O\$D\$R\$G\$H\$Z\$W\$K\$W\$K\$H\$W\$D\$W\$H\$P\$D\$O\$M\$L\$G\$R\$R\$W\$LBDO
E\$D\$UL\$H\$K\$H\$P\$R\$W\$D\$O\$O\$M\$G\$D\$Q\$P\$H\$G\$D\$W\$H\$G\$W\$K\$U\$K\$D\$R\$S\$O\$H\$[W\$H\$R\$G\$H\$R\$D\$O
R\$K\$H\$P\$R\$D\$S\$S\$D\$U\$D\$W\$M\$O\$B\$W\$H\$G\$W\$K\$U\$K\$W\$K\$H\$D\$O\$R\$P\$D\$W\$R\$K\$LO\$H\$S\$U\$H\$M\$Q\$W\$K\$H
juridico-political apparatuses, hegemonic practices are largely concentrated in normal
E\$U\$R\$W\$D\$H\$M\$Y\$O\$R\$H\$W\$L\$H\$W\$K\$H\$H\$Q\$P\$E\$O\$H\$D\$Q\$P\$R\$D\$O\$O\$H\$G\$S\$U\$L\$D\$W\$H\$W\$
UDPE\$4\$5\$H\$O\$H\$D\$Q\$K\$H\$P\$R\$D\$S\$S\$D\$U\$D\$W\$M\$Q\$G\$H\$W\$K\$H
K\$K\$W\$U\$D\$G\$H\$M\$R\$W\$K\$H\$P\$D\$V\$H\$G\$L\$D\$R\$S\$D\$W\$L\$B\$O\$S\$D\$U\$W\$L\$H\$V\$D\$P\$E\$S\$±
4\$\$4\$\$4\$†
SS4\$\$4\$\$S±

F\$W\$K\$U\$D\$P\$M\$Q\$H\$U\$H\$W\$L\$Q\$K\$H\$G\$H\$W\$H\$U\$P\$L\$Q\$P\$D\$U\$N\$W\$K\$W\$R\$L\$B\$O\$E\$O\$M\$Q\$W\$D\$W\$H\$S\$K\$U\$D\$V\$
D\$M\$O\$U\$H\$O\$D\$W\$H\$G\$W\$K\$L\$W\$E\$L\$H\$Q\$W\$H\$O\$O\$H\$W\$B\$O\$D\$O\$R\$U\$B\$G\$O\$G\$H\$G\$H\$R\$M\$U\$M\$G\$W\$K\$D\$W\$K\$LO\$H
H\$M\$U\$R\$L\$Q\$W\$H\$O\$O\$H\$W\$B\$O\$R\$H\$M\$U\$R\$L\$H\$W\$K\$D\$W\$K\$H\$W\$L\$Q\$W\$H\$O\$O\$H\$W\$B\$O\$D\$P\$E
S 4\$ 7KL\$D\$D\$LP\$K\$D\$D\$G\$E\$O\$M\$D\$D\$Q\$W\$U\$H\$M\$H\$W\$D\$Q\$O\$L\$W\$L\$W\$E
vanguard role for intellectuals, stressing the need for hegemony to be rooted in everyday
SUD\$W\$L\$H\$D\$Q\$W\$H\$U\$H\$W\$W\$K\$H\$D\$P\$H\$W\$L\$P\$H\$W\$K\$M\$W\$K\$W\$K\$H\$W\$L\$Q\$W\$H\$O\$O\$H\$W\$B\$O\$M\$U\$H\$U\$D\$U\$G\$H\$G\$
as the creators and mediators of hegemony, as crucial bridges between economic, political
D\$Q\$L\$G\$H\$R\$D\$O\$G\$R\$L\$Q\$W\$L\$D\$Q\$D\$D\$W\$L\$M\$D\$H\$Q\$V\$Q\$L\$N\$Q\$W\$K\$H\$H\$S\$H\$E\$D\$O\$R\$P\$R\$
M\$Q\$E\$H\$M\$U\$G\$D\$R\$H\$G\$S\$D\$M\$H\$O\$L\$D\$Q\$W\$R\$D\$Q\$K\$M\$H\$W\$L\$W\$L\$Q\$K\$H
S\$U\$R\$W\$L\$Q\$H\$P\$R\$H\$E\$P\$O\$O\$D\$P\$E\$M\$K\$H\$P\$R\$E\$H\$L\$Q\$R\$R\$H\$G\$L\$Q\$K\$H
D\$W\$L\$W\$L\$H\$W\$U\$D\$G\$L\$W\$R\$O\$D\$Q\$R\$E\$D\$Q\$W\$H\$O\$O\$H\$W\$B\$O\$K\$S\$H\$E\$D\$O\$L\$M\$G\$W\$L\$Q\$K\$H\$G\$L\$M\$R\$
of labour is to elaborate ideologies, educate the people, organise and unify social forces, and
M\$H\$W\$K\$H\$K\$H\$P\$R\$K\$H\$G\$R\$L\$Q\$U\$R\$D\$P\$E\$S\$4\$S±
E\$D\$Q\$[H\$O\$O\$H\$Q\$U\$H\$H\$R\$Q\$H\$O\$O\$H\$W\$B\$O\$V\$H\$L\$Q\$K\$L\$V\$H\$D\$U\$G\$H\$S\$H\$E\$D\$O\$L\$Q\$P\$L\$Q\$
KL\$W\$R\$L\$B\$O\$E\$O\$M\$H\$R\$W\$H\$O\$O\$L\$7\$K\$W\$K\$H\$W\$D\$E\$D\$Q\$W\$H\$O\$O\$H\$W\$B\$O\$L\$W\$R\$U\$R\$W\$H\$D\$Q\$
consolidate a conception of the world that gives homogeneity and awareness to a fundamental
D\$M\$Q\$K\$H\$R\$R\$S\$R\$L\$W\$L\$B\$O\$D\$Q\$R\$D\$O\$H\$O\$G\$W\$K\$L\$M\$Q\$K\$H\$R\$H\$W\$K\$H\$E\$D\$M\$H\$U\$R\$W\$W\$R

FUHDWHKHJHPRQWKLQWKHZGHUVRFLLHWNDPVFLS S FQWGXVVHU
S:KHUHDVURJQDLFLQWHOOHFWXDOVLGHQWLKWKWKHGRPLQDQWFOVHVVRUDWOHDVW
KDYH UROHV FRHYDO ZWK WKH VSHFLR IRUPV RI WKHLU HFRQRPLF SROLWLFDO DQG LGHROR
domination, traditional intellectuals have roles dating from earlier modes of production, or
DNLHHSULHWNQKDMZDNUWLHWWKHNHUHQOGRLQWQDMV

Louis Althusser

/RKVQWGXVVHU DVD ODU[VW SKLORVRSKHU DQGPHEHURIWKH)UHQFK&RPPQLVW3DU
who criticised Stalinist doctrines and party practices. He researched political theory, wrote
RH PDMR HDU[SKLOR KLDO DQ WKH RHWLDO GHMORPHQ DQZWK
WGHQSUHMVHG DQWLDOWUNXDOLWUHDGLDU[Capital QWGXVVHUHWDO
FIQWGXVVHU DOLEDUHUH,IRFXVRQKLVYLHZVRQODQJXDJHLGHRORJDQG
SROLWLFV,QFRQWUDVWWRQDU[DQGPDPVFLQWGXVVHUGLQRRVWXGQDQJXDJHDVXFK,Q
KH IRFXVHG RQ LGHRORJZKLFK KH UHJDUGHG DV D UHSUHVHQWDLRQ'RI WKH LPDJLQ
UHODWLRQV KLS RI LQGLYLGXDOV PHEHUV RI VRFLDO FODVVHV LQ FODVV VRFHWHLVQ
FRQGLWLRQVRIH[LVWHQFH]SFIDSKLVGHQLWLRQGDZV
RQ&ODXGH/pYLVUDXVVQRWLRQRL, that is, the languages, the unconscious categories,
WKUWKLSHROHLMPHDQV[SHULHQSWKMUQSKHUGLUHW
LH DVDNDQK KH BG ODWHU UHMHW KRQLUHG E)
de Saussure, wanted to reorientate psychoanalysis on the assumption that the unconscious is
structured likeDODQJXDJHHJ/DFDQRRQHWKHQHVZKLOHWKHUHDUHFQWUD
DQGOLQJXLVWLFQXHQFHVLOQWGXVVHUZRUNODQJXDJHLVQRWIRUKLPDFUXFLDOWRSL
/HW PH H[SORUH /DFDQ LQXHQFH H GLVWLQJLVKHG WKUHH UHJLVWHUV RI DQDOV
imaginary LV WKH UHVWULFWHG VXSHUFLDO QRQSVFKRDQDOWLF OHYHO RI HYHUGD\Q
H[SHULHQFH,WGHQRWHVKHZURWHPLPDJLQGHUQODWLRQWRPVHOIWRP[HOLQJVRWRW
WRRWKHUV,SHUFHSWLRQVRIPHQDQGRWVKHUHQDOZRQOG)RUQWGXVVHULGHRORJLVVRSHU
LQGLYLGXDOVWKRJKWVDQGGHHGVWGDWLWLVWVWVGHUHQDLYHGH[SHULHQFH]
S LWDOLFLVLRULJLQDO KHVH LPDJLQDUUHODWLRQV ZKLFK KDYH UHQD HHHFW DUH
structured and overdetermined by the symbolicRUGHUKLVUHHJLVWHUFRPSULVHVVRFLROLQJXLVWL
VWUXFWXUHVUXOHVDQGGQDPLFVDQGWKHZLGHU PRUDODQGLQVWLWXWLRQDORUGH
SKHWKLUHJLVWHULVWKHHDQZKLFKLVOHVVUHQHYDQWKHUHQHFDXVHQWGXVVHU
GRHVQRWGLVFXVVDOLWLO/DFDQDQWHUPVHH-RKQVRQ)UHXGDQ/DFDQWGXVVH
DIRUWKHZLGHUQWGXVVHU/DFDQFRQHFWRQHFVFKSS±
QWGXVVHUDUJXHGWDWEHFDXVHLQGLYLGXDOVLYHGH[SHULHQFHRIHQDOFRQGLW
PHGLDWHG WKURXJKODQJXDJHDQGRUSUDFWLFLWLVRWRSRVLEOHWRHTXDWHLGHRQ
consciousness of the real world, for our reliance on language to construe the world traps us
permanently inside ideology in general. However, we can compare particular ideologies,
WKDWLGLUHUVLPDLQUHSHUHQDWLQHUHQDWLRLSWKDWLQOG,QHHGRWDM
KHQLWVHWKHSUDWLQDODGHRLUHUVLGHRRHWMSDUDWHHQDQEDG
ideological thinking – Gramsci writes here of organic versus arbitrary, rationalistic and
ZOOHGLGHRRHSASQKHUWDNHQLWRGHVLI
KDWLSTEOHLSHEHQHVDOWKRRQWKMUMHQVLF
practices are also shaped by ideological concepts, metaphors, and so on, as regards their
SUHMQDWLRQHHSWLRQHUV
NWKHUPRHDDLVDSKHOLGHDWLRQDNRGHRPESULMLGHDM
UHSUHMQDWLQWKMUDLPWKDWLGHRKDDPDWHULDOH[LWHQESS
AVPDM[LWLQQSSDUDWMLWVUDWLHRSUDWLHQS

7KXV LGHRORJKDV UHDO HuHFVW 2QH RI WKH *Materialist* SHFLFDOO SWKXVVHU
VXJJHVWVWKDW DOOLGHRORJKDLOVRULQWHUSHOODWHVFRQFUHWHLQGLYLGXDODVDV
ES/DQJXDJKHDVDNHUROHKHUHLQGHGGSWKXVVHUWH[DPSOHLVWKKHDLQLOLQJRI
DSHGHWULDQEDSROLFRV FHVU ZLWK WKH SKUDVH KHRX KLVDQVR LOOXVWUDWHV KRZ

acting towards others as subjects, we also reproduce institutions, here the police apparatus
SWKMU E SS ±KWKHUPRH LQLLGGBOYUH DOZY

DOUHDGEMHWFSS EHDWKH DUHLQWHUSHOODWHGHHMQWKHE
WKDQVQPLDQ WKHU SUDWLHWKDW K LQWKH SHEPOLDOLD LGHRRDO
RDWLS 7KLV DMHWLMPHQ R SURMMHFWLQWLDWKH

crucial ideological mechanism because it forms our reality and makes it appear natural, true,
EMOHLGHV, QHHGDLGHRROH HuHFWLWKHSUDWLBOGHEDWLRKHLGHRRO
KDUDFWHURGHRRLGHRSS

, QUDWWRLGLUHFUHUHUHQWRLWUDMQDDQWKMUGRPHQLR

Marx or Gramsci in his remarks on ideology DOLMGH[SHULHQ for how it is structured like
DODQH:KLOHHQUDOONSEWLM DU[QDWHUEHQVLENGUDWWKLV

WKKKKDDQSWKMUZKMLOHWRDPVPOOHGONHQLSKLQK\
RUD[L E UHDDVHGLOPKV KHGLGUHMM WKH ODWWHU TDMR
RULEWLRRLWLBODDQMDQUDDNGKLPQ[WWBU[DQHQQV KLVHDUG, Q
SDUWLQDU KH SUDLMG UDPELQWLM Q LQKHHPPEURG RSW R
LQHOOHFWODQUHRWLRLQKHWHKOSHGWREHSURMMDDGRLQWLQH
SSQHSWFLMOVKDWDLGQWKMUGLGRHQHMULMZWK

these insights because he read them through the Marxism-Leninist optic that Gramsci aimed
WUWUKTKRDSRURGLuHUHFVHPDLQGLQKHLUHUHSHWLM
studies of ideology and politics.

SWKMU HPSKDDMG WKH LPSEWDE DMHWLMPHQ to economic reproduction,
KLKGSHQWVKH KHUWUWKDQHQPEOHVWKH WULHG WELHQWKH SXHO\
descriptive YDOXH RI WKH EDVHVXSHUVWUXFWXUH PHWDSKRU E S WR JURXQG LW
VFLHQWLFDO the causal power of the superstructure, especially its juridico-political
LQWLWLRQWKHLGHRROHOGQWKMUSSSS±
7KLRHNDHRDKDOKHDUWHGUHKDELQDWLQDPEKLSQWKMUDDWWHPSWHGLQ
his famous note on ideology and ideological state apparatuses:

UDPELWKHQRRKQV DQLWDHLQWKHURG, DPWDNQKDGWKH
JHPDUNEOH, GHDKDWWKHWDWHGRQEHUHGHGWRWKH5HSUHMMDWDWHSSDUDWX
EWLQSHGQVWLWLRU *civil society* WKH & KXUFKWKH KRROVWKH WUDGH
unions, etc. Unfortunately, Gramsci did not systematise his institutions.
SWKMU E SS ±

, QGGUHMV KLGHHVQSWKMUHMQDLPHGWRDMRSOHWHGWKHDU[LWWDWHWKHE\
that Marx, Lenin and Gramsci had only sketched in a series of pre-theoretical intuitions. He
EPQDWHG WKLV LQ WKHMWKH H RVKH WDWHLVWHSUHMMDWDWH
DSSDUDWN5WKHWWDHDOQDGHMULNGHRRBOWDWHSSDUDWMM, S
HDK, KDLWEDUWLNDULGHRQDSSDUDWRRWKHWWDHWSODVWDO
role in reproducing the relations of production and intervenes in all areas that bear on their
UHSUHLQKLOHRLH[SORWDWLQNDWLQOKDQVWKHWDRP
PWSUHHGHUHQDQV KHRLEDM7KHMWKHM MUHUWSEKOLKHGLQ[WUDW
SWKMU E UR D QU EW LRSOHWH EN *On reproduction*, published
SWKMMHOSWKMU

)RU 6WGXVVHU ZHUHDV WKH 56\$XQFWLRQV PDLQOVL D UHSUHVVLRO LQFOXGLQJ SKVLFD
YLROHQFH WKH, 6\$ IXQFWLRQ SULPDULO WKURXJK LGHRORJESS-7KH

latter are so diverse, relatively autonomous, and wide-ranging that the entire society becomes
DWDWDWHG EDDVHODWLQOQPLWWHGWBODSVUWKDWDKUHKHUHQWKUK
DHUWDIpoliticalFRQJXUDWLRQSPSRVHG DQG PDLQDLQHGEPHDQVRIPDWHULDOIRUFH
WKDWRIWKHWDWH DQGRI PRUDOSRZHU WKDWRIWKHLGHRORJLHV 6WKXVVHU :KDW
XQLHVWKH, 6LV WKHLUFRPPROVXERUGLQDWLRQ WRWKHLGHRORJRIWKHUXOLOJFODV
ESSDQGWKHUUROHLQVHFXULQJWKHSROLWLFDOFRQGLWLRQV
IRUWKHIXQFWLRQLQJRIWKH, 6ZKLFKODUJHOVHFXUHWKHUHSURGXFWRQVSHFLDOOR
UHODWLRQVRI SURGXFWLRQ EHKLQGD VKLHOG SURYLGHG EWKH UHSUHVVLVH WDWHD
ES KLVODVWSKUDVHZKLFKUHFDQVDPVFLRQKHJHPROVSURWHFWHG EWKH
DUPRXURIFRHUFLRQVH[SODLQHGLQWHUPVRIDORJLFRWKHVXSSOHPHQWVKHUHEVRPHW
apparently secondary is actually crucial to the existence of what appears original or primary
HUULGDS DSSOLHGKHUHWKHUHODWLRQVWLRQ[SORWDWLQHWHUPLQ
in the last instanceWKHFKDUDFWHURIWKHVWDWHWKDWXQGHUZULWHVWKHSROLWLFDO
ideological relations of domination that, in their turn, ensure the reproduction of the social
UHODWLRQVWLRQ[SORWDWLQKDWEGWKHUZMDLORRQDSM

HQWKDWUDPELQGHKLDSSDUDWMLQVHUPWKHLUHWHUHW hegemony,
SUVHWHG WKDW UDPELQW WRWKH HWLWKH material infrastructure of the
LGHORHVDWKHUPHKDQWLQHLWLDWKDWKHUWUWDONGDEN, 6W
QKHHPQDSSDUDWMLQWKDWKHDLOHGWR[SODLQKHKHHPQHW

UDPELQGHKLDSSDUDWMLQVHUPWKHLUHWHUHW hegemony,
KLKLDORRQRLMG, E P\$DUW DDDWHPSWLQVGHQWKH, 6Q
WHUPWKHLUWRDMLGHORWKHUPRHUPELVUPWKDWWKHKHHPQF
DSSDUDWMLQDUHSDUWRLOKHVWKHSUHWH[WKDWWKHDUHSULDWH
6WKMUSSEWDOLERLLQO

6WKMUDDLPXULRLWVWHUQLUOEHDNKHQ[SODLQKHKHHPQHW
through the ideological mechanism of interpellation and does not erroneously take the
SEOLFULDWHGLWLDLQVHDOXHQWLMWRUHWWRKHHRMNLGLRLWLDO
LGHORH HQUDOOLODDVHWLGHORKHOSVQLGNOVEHDUWKHLU
QLWLQHWKHUWKLHQR[SORWDWLQH[RELWQV SULKOHHSWKMU S
EHNK DOWHUQQLGNOKRHMHWWKHLUQLWLQUGLESOLQGEWKH56
DQDGMHVKRHMHWWKHGRLQV LGHORS, 6
KLOHKHHPQSHHQWKH56DORHGHGEDPEDENLQOO\
KLOHLGHORRQVHGLQKHUWUWKHDQKDLWRDQHWKHWKHW
MDDQWKHWDLWDORHQWUDWHWKHQVLUHDOHGLQWKHQV LGMWK
EDMHWUWKHHPWDSKE DQSURGHWKHment [sic 6KDWVUXUHVWKHFRKHVLRQRI
VXEMHFVWLQWKHLUUROHVIXQFWLRQVDQGVRFLOUHODWLRQVS

6WKXVVHU GHYHORSV KLVWKHVHV LQYDULRXV SVHXGRGLDOHFWLFDQDQGRUPDOLV
H[DPSOH KH PHQWLRQV WKH VFRQGDULGHRORJLFDQ IXQFWLRQV RI WKH 6WKH VFRQ
UHSUHVVLVH IXQFWLRQVRI, 6DQGWKH SRVLELOLWLHV WKDW VSHFLQVWLWXWLRQV
EHWZHHQ SULPDULO LGHRORJLFDQDQGSULPDULO UHSUHVVLVH IXQFWLRQV XW KH SUR
VXEVDQWLDO KLVWRULFDQDQDQVHVDQGIHZF FOXHVD ERXWKZGLUHUHQWSROLWLFDO
HOGVDUHDUWLFXODWHGOWDORQHXLHGPHQVHGSDUWIURPWKHHTXDOOIRUPDO
WKLVRFVFXUVZKHQRQH, 6VGRPLQDQW)RU 6WKXVVHUWKLVZDVFXUHQWOWKHVFRROV
E SS DOWKRXJK IROORZHUV VXFK DV 6JLV HEUD\ DQGLFRV

3RXODQW]DVODWHUFODLPHGWKDWKHPDVVPHGLDKHOGWKLVSODFH2YHUDOOWKLVVD
VHHPVTXLWHIXQFVLRQDOLVW7KHUHLVQRVHQVHWKDWKWH,6SPDEHULYHQEFROWUDGLFV
FODVVVWUXJJOHWKDWKWHUHLVDVSHFLJUROHIRULQWHOHFVXDOVSRQLWLFDOIRUFHVD
VWUXJJOHRULQGHGHWKDWLGHRRJRDDOVREHVHFUHWHGLOWKHRUJDQLVDWLRQRISURGX
WKHFULWLTXHVE\FLOXFNVDPQQSS3RXODQW]DVSSADWHU
LQDSRVVWFULSWWRKLVDPXV,6SHVVDQWKXVVHUVULHGWRFRUHFVWLVVIXQFVLRQDOLV
LQVLVWLQJRQWKHSULPDFRIFODVVVWUXJJOHRVYHUHQVWLWXWLROV S ,QFRQWUDVWWR
UDPVLKRZYHUKHPDGHQRHuRUWWSURGXFDSSURSULDWHFRQFHSWVWRH[SORUHWKHIR
PRGDOLWLHVDQGSRWHQWLDQGLVMXQFVLRQVRIFODVVVWUXJJOHLQDQGDQDFURVGLuHUF
6XFKUHAFVLRQVSURPSWHGDUHWXUQWRDQRWKHUFODVVVLFDOGRQVLFEDOWKHRULVM

nous. The schema is deterministic and economically reductionist base-superstructure schema. His proposed replacement is an *aleatory materialism* that focuses on historical becoming based on the
SULPDFRQVLRQLQVHUVUDWKHUWKDWKHRHUDWLRQDQD
DQQLWDEOHEDOSURHVDWKMU DDLPWKDWDKLDMOOLUDLWVWKHEKDO
HVLQKDEOHSRLWLBOWDWHHPHUHVH[QKLDKLDMOOLVUKHDUNV
was that, while the prince founds the modern state, it can only be stabilised through a shift
from a despotic principality to a modern republic based on the rule of law. Moreover, while
QWKMUHUHDUGHGSHROHSDVMHMHVWRHLQVHUSHOODWHGDQPRLOLMGEWKH
,DQGLSOLQGEWKH5LWKHUHLVWHGKLVHVDGLQKLDMOOLOHDGKLPWR
MHVWKHSHROHVDWKHSULPHHSHHODQWUHQHDDLVSRLWLBOWHUSUHMRO
LGHORRDOEMHVLWDLRQVWKHM UHSHVQWKMUHQVHUSUHWDLRQDUNUDGLBO
HSLWHPRRDOEUHDFWKWKHVLRLQRLVH[WVWUHQDORGHULQKH
DLRQDOHDWREKLWELBOGHMORPHVDQMMVDWHRPPDWWHU
,WDONUNRKHUKLWVBUGVDPVHVDUDWKHODWWHUKDGDQDUHDGQXGDWHG
DKLDMOOLVPOORPELQVLDQVZDOLDQULESDOLWESVWLQKHQHG
DREHUSULEVWEHDWHDEHG,WDOLDQHSKOLFKLQVGEVHEHDLGLVDWRELDQ
vanguard party, but a communist party operating as a hegemonic social force, one that is in
continuing dialogue with the popular masses and, on this basis, can develop a political,
intellectual and moral hegemony that advances the national-popular will.

Conclusions

ODUQLQWHUSUHWHGODQJHJDVDOHQSHUVVLRQRI SUDFWLFDQFRQVFLRXQHVVDQGFU
HuHFWVRIWKHPDQDOPHQWDOGLYLVLRLQRIODERXZLFLKLQFOLQGLQWHOOHFVWDOV
LGHDVZIUHWKHPRWRUIRUFHRIKLVRUMHQJDJHGLQVWHPDWLFHYHQVRSWRPDWLFUL
of the basic categories that organised capitalist relations of production and corresponding
juridico-political, intellectual and philosophical social forms and consciousness. Given that
politics, not the development of the productive forces, was the key moment of social
development, Marx also paid much attention to the role of language in politics and to the
SHEFWLHRLWLBOWUHQHSHEDOOVGHMORDQMMHSEVREDOOQV
account of the general interest.

UDPEHODERDWHGPDQKMLGHDQKHEDMLPLWHGDHMLQVNL
DU[LDQVH[VLRQDQREH DQ MUDPLOLDULVZWKWKHUWDEO\WKH
PrefaceEDVHGRQKLVSULRUWUDLQQLQKLVVWRULFDQDQGVSDWLDOOLQJXLVWLVFVHDOVRI
WKHQHGWRRGHYHORSKHJHPRQSRQLWLFDO LQWHOHFVXDO DQGRUDO OHDGHUVK
articulate a national-popular will as the basis for a revolutionary transformation of society.
He was also interested in how intellectuals secured the unity of the power bloc and the

hegemony of the power bloc over the popular classes. Developing a common language grounded in common sense and orientated to good sense was a crucial dimension of the

WUWHRKHHPRUOK
 OWKNUBQEHUHDGDWKHQWEDONRDU[DQUDPEWKHQUDU\
 KHFLWLEMGDU[VYHAGHRDQWKHWDWHDDVW EHWGHVLSWLM DQSUH
 WKHRHWLBODQKHDOMODMGUDPEYKLOKKBUD[LWVULWRI[SODLQ
 KLWRLBOGHMORPHQWKUKWKHHBWLNNWUDPEWUHMGWKDW
 BSWLVWLWXLQDQ SUDWLHV\DLQPHDQDQ MDPH LQSDUWLQDU
 circumstances and that one task of the philosophy of praxis is to explain this historical
 B/LHQLOHGWKMUWHQHGWDWHODQHZWKLGHBRHQUUDODQKLV
 approach also inclined to functionalism, he also noted the role of language in DMHWLMPHQ
 MDLQWUHOODWLDQ HPSKDMG WKH PDWHULDOLWRLGHBRV[SUHMGLQHEF
 DSSDUDWVWKHUKDMGRWKLHWWHU7KWKHWKUHHKHGHUHGDEWKN
 interested in Marxist approaches to language and politics would be well advised to start with
 Marx and Gramsci.

References

OWKXVHU/)RUODU@OHQ/DQH/RQGRQ
 OWKXVHU/DUHE@DQG/DFDQIQLenin and philosophy and other essays1HZ
 /HIWRRNV/RQGRQ±
 OWKXVVHU / E @GHRORJDQ LGHRORJLFDO VWDWH DSSDUDWXVHV QRWHV WRZDUGV DQ
 LQYHVWLJDWLRQand philosophy and other essays1HZ/HIWRRNV/RQGRQSS±
 OWKXVVHU/ Philosophy and the spontaneous philosophy of the scientists, and other essays,
 HAWRR
 OWKMU@Machiavelli and us 9HUVR/RQGRQ
 OWKXVVHU/ @DU[LQKLVOLPLWVQLQGHV The philosophy of the encounter9HUVR
 /RQGRQSS±
 OWKXVVHU/ @ On the reproduction of capital: Ideology and ideological apparatuses,
 HURR
 OWKMU@OLEDU@ Reading capital1HZ/HIWRRNV/RQGRQ
 OWKXVVHU/DOLEDU((VWDEOHW@DFKHUH3DQFLW/H- Lire le capital, 4 volumes,
 Maspero, Paris.
 DUWBL0 Introduzione alla neolinguistica: principi, scopi, metodi2OVFKNL)ORUHGFH
 UDQGLVW&@DPVFLDNKWLQDQGWKHVHPLRWLWLVRIKHJHPRQVw Left ReviewQRSS
 ±
 XFLQXFNVPDQQ& Gramsci and the state/DZUHGFH:LVKDUW/RQGRQ
 &DUOXFFL\$ Gramsci and languages: @DWLQLMULWVKHHP@ WLOOHLGHQ
 DUMU7@KHHUPD@GHR QHYHUWRRNSO@HSHY of Political ThoughtYROQR
 SS±
 &RRN' @DU[VFULWLTXRISKLORVRSKLFDO ODQJXDJH@philosophy and Phenomenological
 Research, vol. QRSS±
 HEUD@ Teachers, writers, celebrities: The intellectuals of modern France1HZ/HIW
 RRV/RQGRQ
 HUULGD-Of grammatology-RKQVRSNLQV@LYHUVLW3UHVVDOWLPRUHO'
 (QJHOV)@HFRQLWLRQRIWKHZRUNLQJFODVVLQ(QJODQG@Q MECW, vol. 4, Lawrence
 :LKDUWQRSS±
 H@KHSDUWSODHGEODEKQKHWUDQWLQRDShWRDQ MECW, vol.
 DZHE:LKDUWQRSS±

(QJHOV)XGZJ)HXHUEDFKDQGWKHHQGRIFODVVLFDOMHUPDQSKLORVRSKQ MECW,
NDZHQ:LKDUWQSS±

DLUOK EUDKDP DU [DDELWLBOGLNMDDQW7KHHEMDELWLBO

PHWKGDLWVHOHDFWVKHELWLNRDOBSLWDOFstudios de sociolingüísticaEROOR
SS±

JRUJDFV'BLWK ¶ QWURGXFWRLO¶Q\$DPVFL Selections from cultural writings,
DZHQ:LKDUWQSS±

UDPESelections from the prison notebooks /DZUHQFH:LVKDUW/RQGRQ

UDPVFL \$ Quaderni del carcere, edizione critica del'Istituto Antonio Gramsci HG 9

HUUDWDQR(LQDXGLRPH

UDPVFLSelections from cultural writings /DZUHQFH:LVKDUW/RQGRQ

SSH: .DUO0DU[¶LHGULFK(QJHOV)SUDFKHXQGGJHVHOOVFKDIWOLFKHU¶WDPWNRPSOH[

9HUKIOWQLVYRQSDUDFKH)X¶VLVXQGHUHUEDXQDFKGHQSDUDFKWKHRUHPHQLOQGHQ:HUNHOYRQOD
und Engels¶XYLHU9HUODJROQ

,YHV3D Gramsci's politics of language. Engaging the Bakhtin Circle and the Frankfurt School,
QMUWWRQ¶EHVQR

,MEHegemony and language in Gramsci, Pluto Press, London.

,MREWH5HGV Gramsci, language, and translation/H[LQJWRQ¶RNV2[IRUG

-RKQVRO \$DFTXHV/DFDQ¶ Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy \$ULO 2QOLQH

\$DLODEOHIUURPKWSSODWRVWDQIRUGHGXHQWULHVODFDQDFHVHVG0DUFK@

/DFDQ- KH VHPLODU RI -DFTXHV/DFDQ ERRN ,, KH SVFKRVHV ¶XWOHGJH
London.

RSDURingua, intellettuali, egemonia in Gramsci, /DWHUJDRPHDQGDUL

ODUWLQ-¶HUIRUPLOJSROLWLVFODVVLGHRORJDQGLVFRXUVHLOQD¶¶h Brumaire',
DU[¶KWHHQV¶RDLUH¶RHUDQ¶HUSUHWDL¶ HG¶LQDUWLQWR

QSS±

DU[.Capital, volume 1 UGHGQ/DZUHQFH:LVKDUW/RQGRQ

ODU[. ¶FRORPLFDQSKLORVRSKLFDOPDQXVFULSWV¶Q MECWYRO /DZUHQFH
:LVKDUW/RQGRQSS±

ODU[. ¶HHLJKWHHQWK ¶XPDLUH RI/RXLV¶QDSDUWH¶Q MECWYRO
/DZUHQFH:LVKDUW/RQGRQSS±

ODU[.D¶DUJLQDQORWHVROGROSK:DJOHU¶HKUEXFKGHUSROLWLWFKHQNRORPL¶
in MECW, YRO/DZUHQFH:LVKDUW/RQGRQSS±

ODU[.E¶UHIDFH¶R &RQWULEXWLRQWRWKHFULWLTXHRISROLWLM¶DQ¶FRORPLO
NDZHQ:LKDUWQSS±

DU[. HOV¶KH HUPDQGH¶RQ MECWYRO /DZUHQFH
:LVKDUW/RQGRQSS±

OF&DUQH¶The real world of ideology DUYHVWHU¶LJKWRO

ORXuH&HG¶DPVFLDQGDODU[LVWVKHRUR¶XWOHGJH/RQGRQ

3RUWHOOL+ UDPVFLHWOHEORTXHKLVW¶M¶EXH¶Paris.

WLHU-3 EHURD¶QK¶R¶LWEL¶DSKLBODH¶S¶WOHG
London.

NDQD¶ Political power and social classesKHHG:DUGDQGIHZ/HIWR¶RV
London.

NDQD¶State, power, socialism 1HZ/HIWR¶RV/RQGRQ

¶VFKS ¶WKXVVHUDQGWKHUHQHZDORIODU[LVWVFLDOWKHRU\ University of California Press,
¶UNOH¶

¶WWHU ¶KLDMOOL DWHU DU[WKH ¶MUR¶LQDU[LVW¶KH ODWH ¶WKMU¶
Theory and event.\$DLODEOHIUURPKWSSVPXVHMKXHGXM RXUQDOVWKHRU¶BDQGBHYHQWYYDWWHU
KWPO¶FHVHVG0DUFK@

:LOOLDPV5 ODU[LVPDQGLWHDWXUH, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Jürgen Habermas

Between democratic deliberation and deliberative democracy

Simon Susen

Introduction

,WLVZGHODFNQRZDHGJHGWKDW-UJHQDEHUPDVLVDQDGYRFDWHRIDGHOLEHUDWLYH
 democracy. ,QMHDEHUPDVLMMHWKLNWLWVHVDWHPDWLDDWVHPSWWR
 locate the normative grounds of deliberative democracy in the rational foundations of
 ODDHURDDEHUPDMDQRVHZHMUWLPHZZHQHLQKHH[LWHQLDO
 H[HUEMMHNPVNOQHUWDQLD*Erständigkeit*ZHDQWFLSDWHWKDWZHDUHFDSDEOH
 RIUHDFKLQJDJUHHPHQWVEinverständigkeitsuHUHQWORXUFRPPXQLFDWLYHDELOLWWR
 XQGHUVVDQGRQHDQRWKHUHTXLSVXVZLWKWKHGHOLEHUDWLYHFDSDFLWWRUHDFKD
 RQHDQRWKHUKXVWKHHPDQFLSDWRUSRWHQWLDORIFRPPXQLFDWLYHDFWLRQPDQLHVW
 RQOQLQRXUZHDNZULHQWDWLRQWRZDUGVLQWHOOLJLELOIHXWEDQVRILOQRXU
 MWURQJZULHQWDWLRQWRZDUGVFRQVHQVXVIRUPDWLRQ*Konsensbildung*/DQJXDJHXY
 LUUHVSHFWLYHRILVWTXDVLUWUDQVFHQGHQWDOIHDWXUHVLVHPEHGGHGLQWKHSUDJPDW
 Symbolic forms emerge in relation to spatio-temporally contingent modes of existence,
 KNSRLWLDDQWLWVLRQVHAWHGLOKHHVRRBOMDQFRLEMMO\
 PVLDDWHGSUDWLHLKLDUHEWDOWNKHHUWVLRQHPEDFKLKDSWHUDLPWR
 GHPEUDWHWKDWDEHUPDQWQWKGHPREDELVSDUDEOOLQGWKLVWUHUHW
 LODQHRHSHEPOOLWMMWR.OOWUDWHWKDWWKHROZVHQOHPHYDUH
 HQUDOWDEHUPDQWLDHWHGDNVGHPEDEGHOLEHUDWLRQHESURW\
 MOGHWHUPLQWLQWVLRQSLWKHWDWHMUHLQRPDVLW
 UDWLQOLWUHDWLRQZORPDWLDDQWLWVLRQODZKHKDSWHU
 concludes by addressing a number of issues that arise when confronted with the task of
 DMMQWKWKHDDOLGLWDDQWKHMMQVDEHUPDQPDWLQKHHHWLW
 account of democracy.

1. Democracy and deliberation

One of the most fundamental features of democracy is that it allows human beings to engage
 in processes of *deliberation*FWVRIFROOHFWLYHGHOLEHUDWLRQDUHSURFHVVHVRILOQWHUVX
 contemplation aimed at the construction of symbolically mediated and materially relevant

deliberate with others obliges us to navigate our way through situations of purposeful
 mentality of citizens to the *deliberative forms of politics*
 communicative reason from the cognitive capacity of the subject to the cognitive potential
 built into experiences of intersubjectivity. Democratic decision-making processes can never
 be based solely on the self-referential motivations of isolated individuals; rather, they are
 founded on the mutually dependent wills of interconnected actors. One of the main objectives
 of deliberative forms of democracy is to give a rationally grounded voice to members of a
 particular community, whose capacity to develop a sense of solidarity constitutes a
 precondition for guaranteeing the relative stability of symbolically mediated and relationally
 constructed realities.

Democratic modes of social organisation cannot dispense with rationally determined
 processes of collective deliberation. Only insofar as we deliberate collectively over the
 purposive organisation and normative habitualisation of society can we ensure that the
 sense, the 'linguistic turn' in the social sciences, which is motivated by the rejection of the
 atomistic presuppositions underlying traditional philosophies of consciousness and the
 defence of the intersubjectivist assumptions underpinning post-metaphysical sociologies of
 language, is homological to the 'deliberative turn' in social reality, which is characterised
 by a shift from an arbitrarily ruled collective entity to a discursively constituted order, whose
 key institutions enjoy a considerable degree of legitimacy in terms of their capacity to
 regulate behavioural and ideological reference points shared by members of a given
 society is not simply its formal commitment to producing and protecting
discursive or deliberative model
 way of a social contract but on the basis of a *discursively achieved agreement*
 society is not simply its formal commitment to producing and protecting
institutive capacity to enhance its
 4

2. Democracy and reciprocity

relations based on *reciprocity*;
 reciprocity; that is, we can shape the development of society democratically only insofar as
 fact that human existence is a condition of *discursive reciprocity*: not only do we need to
discursive reciprocity: not only do we need to

2XU TXRWLGLDQ TXHVW IRU VREROLFDOO'PHGLDWHG PRGHV RI YDOLGLWLVLQ LQGLFDWLYH meaning-laden nature of society. Our constant exchange of linguistically uttered claims to validity illustrates that even large-scale systems of political representation hinge upon ~~PDODFOH SKHUH RPDLW LMGHOLEHUDWLQKWKH~~ reciprocity of raising and ~~UHSRLQV BOLGLWFDLPPHUPDSLWDOLDGGHGLFDLQDLQEDQ~~ intersubjectively constituted process derived from the co-existential necessity of articulating and exchanging legitimacy claims: the validity of collectively co-ordinated actions depends on the normative power they obtain through *mutually* established codes of legitimacy.⁵ Democracy, then, is inconceivable without reciprocity because of the interdependence of ~~LQLYGDODQBOHFLMUHHGRWKHLQLYGBOOLEHUWHLHWKHMHWBULDWHODDQ~~ the public autonomy of enfranchised citizens *reciprocally* ~~PDNH HDFK RWKHU SRVVLEOH/ DEHUPDV S LWDOLFV DGGHG FI VHQ E SS ±XVW DV WKH~~ discursively motivated reciprocity between subjects is crucial to the functioning of ~~GHPRDWLSURMBOHFLMGHOLEHUDWLQKHMHWBULDWHODDQ~~ is central to successful bonding processes generating empowering dynamics of social integration.

3. Democracy and self-determination

~~QRWKHUVLQJLFDQWIHDWVHRIGHPRFUDFLVWKDWGKWRLLWVFDSDFLWWRIRVWHUVRF~~ based on mutual understanding and agreement, it allows for the emergence of both individual and collective forms of *self-determination*, ~~QGLYLGXDO VHOIGHWHUPLQDWRQDQG FROOHFW~~ self-determination are two complementary moments in the human striving for autonomy: the self-determination of individuals is pointless if not granted by collectives, just as the self-determination of collectives is worthless if not supported by individuals.⁷

~~RODDEHUPDWKHUH DUHNRLLWLMHMHWVHH DEDWLQWKLO~~ democratic framework:

- a. ~~WKHQLGDWLQHUHWLMSRLWLBO~~ apparatus,
- b. ~~WKHRPDWLQPRHROHHDUOGHG~~ 'self',
- c. the construction of a *citizenry*, and
- d. the creation of an economic and social *milieu*.

~~MHDEHUPDSS±~~

~~QKHUFGHNRPEHPEDFHGWBUDDULN~~ *political, cultural, institutional and economic* resources of a given society to claim that they have the legitimate ~~SHUWRVUPWKHLUERQLQWKLQKHGRDLQWHUULWELDOOEUNLEHG~~ reality.

~~7WKHH[WHQWKDWVQHLGHQVLUHKUHPHQVWKHGHWHUPLQDWRQBOHFLMHW~~ capable of *self-determination* and *self-direction* ~~LVIXOQOHGEWKH~~ *hereign territorial state* ~~DDMBOLVHUQWLRDODV~~ *idem* the right to both individual and collective ~~DWRLVLEHGLQKHDHQDEHPEDWLBOORDDQMGKHWLHWKMWK~~ ~~ULKWVMOGHWHUPLQDWRQMOGLUHWLQHMQVHWKOHLPDPDWHBSDEWVGHQ~~ ~~KDWVGRDQKHUHQQLYGBOOBOHFLMOHMHWVUHJUDQHGWKH~~ ~~ULKWVMOGHWHUPLQWKHLUDWLQVKH[DUHQVWQHGWRQWKHSDHKLWELBO~~ indeterminacy with the self-empowering force of autonomy.

~~EGLVREHUPDQVWVWKHMUWKHULKWVWKLQLYGBODQ~~ collective self-determination obtains not only *force* but also *legitimacy* insofar as its carriers

are *actively and directly* involved in discursive processes of opinion- and will-formation. *Communicative power* is the power that emerges from the exercise of political autonomy, and hence cannot be separated from the discursive processes of will-formation, i.e., from democracy. *Political power* is the power that emerges from the exercise of communicative freedom, and thus cannot be divorced from the linguistic processes of social integration, that is, from democracy and self-determination, then, are intimately intertwined because our ability to shape the course of history through communicative processes of critical intersubjectivity is indivisible from our capacity to develop a sense of individual and social responsibility by mobilising our species-constitutive resources both personal and collective sovereignty.

4. Democracy and citizenship

forms of *citizenship* constitute integral elements of modern democracies. *Universalist* conceptions of citizenship, *civil, political and social rights* constitute integral elements of modern democracies. *Universalist* conceptions of citizenship, *numerous rights* – that is, not only *civil, political and social rights*, but also several other rights, such as *freedom* – represent vital ingredients of late modern democracies.

existence of three institutions that are central to the functioning of modern society: the law, cultural, sexual and human – rights is illustrated in the commitment of an increasing number of modern democracies to protecting their citizens from both hidden and overt mechanisms of control. *Democratic freedom* cannot be realised without a commitment to the construction of democratic citizenry.

high levels of societal complexity, it is hard to deny that the genealogy of large-scale democratic citizenry.

contemporary context, we need to face up to three historical processes, which – from a *neoliberal* perspective – *neoliberal* *multicultural*

- a. *neoliberal* increasingly

- b. In a post-communist context, citizenship has been transformed into a universalised globalised system. These systems have the capacity to translate the presence of advanced levels of cultural complexity into an empowering resource, rather than a disempowering obstacle, in the pursuit of social stability, economic prosperity and developmental elasticity.
- c. In a culturally fragmented multicultural system, these systems have the capacity to translate the presence of advanced levels of cultural complexity into an empowering resource, rather than a disempowering obstacle, in the pursuit of social stability, economic prosperity and developmental elasticity.

The dynamic relationship between democracy and citizenship.

5. Democracy and the state

One of the most controversial issues in contemporary social and political theory is the relationship between the state and democracy. The state and democracy can be considered two interdependent foundations of highly developed modern societies. A predominant – and, indeed, appropriate – consensus according to which, the ideal of democracy in the modern world can be realised only through the construction of a legitimate state.

The sovereign territorial state is the primary condition for the possibility of collective deliberation and the necessity of political possession of the monopoly of the means of violence. Modern democracy is the possession of the monopoly of the means of political discourse.

6. Democracy and sovereignty

The idea of both individual and collective sovereignty.

D 7KH OHJLWLPDFRI GHPRFUDFGHSHQGV RO LWV FDSDFLWWR SURWHFW DQG WR SURPRWH *individual sovereignty* RI WKH PHPEHUV RID JLYHQ VRFHLWV WKLVOHYHOGHPRFUDFLV aimed at converting the philosophical ideal of personal autonomy into a social reality EDMGRQLGBOUHSMELOLWDDQDELOLWMündigkeitVHHDEHUPDV

§FRUGLQJWRWKHHDUODEHUPDVZHDVDVSHFLHVFDSDEOHRIFRJQLWLRQDQGDFWLV – possess *knowledge-constitutive interests*, which manifest themselves in our ability to RWRWSUHKHQDQWELWLSDUWLEDDUDSHWVHDOLWEHQUDWLQQ PDNRWHRQDOKHUPHQWLDQELWLDORPWRHGHMMHSV DEHUPDVEGLQVWKHODWHDEHUPDVYDDVSHHEV capable of speech and action – possess *language-constitutive interests*, which permeate our ability to represent, to regulate and to relate to particular aspects of reality by raising assertive, normative and expressive validity claims. Owing to the socio-ontological MDPH species-constitutive interests, we are obliged to recognise that the SKWVRQLGBOHQHFLMRPNUHLQEigenständigkeit LVEXLOWLQWR WKHQDWUHRIKXPDQOLQJXLYWLDHDKW

2XUemancipatoryFRJQLWLYHLLQWHUHVWDEHUPDV§ LWDOLFV DGGHG LQ SHUVRQDO DQG VRFLD OLEHUDWLRQ IURP GHSHQGHQFH RQ K SRZHUVbidemSS HQDEOHVXVWRSXUVXHRXUKXPDQOLQWHUHVWLQDXWRQRV\ DQGUHVSRQVLELOLWMünfteigleis2XUOLQJXLVWLFDSDFLWWRXHVWLRQWKH XQTXHVWLRQHGDDQWRGLVFXVWVKHXQGLVFXVVGSHUPLWVXVWRRIROORZRZXUKXPDQ DFTXLULQJDQHPRSZHULQJGHJUHRILQGLYLGXDOVRYHUHLJQWELPPHUVLQJRXUVHGLVFXUVLYHOPHGLDWHGIRUPRIFULWLFDOQWHUUVXEMHFWWLVWLRQWKHUZRUGVWKH value of democracy – in the Habermasian sense – depends on its capacity to defend both the right and the will to individual sovereignty, which is indispensable to both the WUHLRQODWRQWKHGHMORPHQVWRHSHMELOLWF MQEWGLuHUHQVOGHPRDESHUWLEDEHUPDDQVHUPV – is inconceivable without the emergence of linguistically anchored and discursively cultivated modes of sovereignty.

E 7KH OHLWLPDFRHPEDFGHSHQVWDSDEW\WBSUWHW DQ WBSURWH WKH *collective sovereignty* HQMRHGEWKHPHPEHUVRIDJLYHQVRFHLWVWKHPRGHUQZRUOG *collective* sovereignty is typically associated with *national* sovereignty, that is, the NUHLQVWLQDWHVMEWNOHMOQHUOLROHFLMNUHLQ\ can be distinguished: LQHUQONUHLQDQH[WHUQONUHLQ\

Whereas *internal* VRYHUHLJQV\VWHPV IURP D SROLWLFDO ERGV FDSDFLW\WR FODLW legitimacy in relation to a particular society, H[WHUQONUHLQ\LVHÀWHGLQ SRLWLDOERPSDEWWRDLPOHLWLPDEQHODWLVWVKHUSRLWLDOERGLHVKH former enables a given government to assume the supreme command over civil society by virtue of both GHMKHthat is, legal – and *de facto* – that is, coercive – institutionalised PHDQKHODWWHUENUDWLGHULMGURQWLQDWHVmutual recognition of their UHSHWLV WHUULWRLDO LQHULW\DQ SRLWLDO OHLWLPDFW GLuHUHQVO\ROHWL sovereignty is consolidated and sustained on the basis of both internal and external sovereignty. Hence, rather than presuming that the capacity for sovereignty simply HPDQWHPRZWKLVQHGWRHGHGWKHDFWWDWVMDQGHUHH the capacity for sovereignty came from *without* LUVW KRPSVRQ S LWDOLFVLQRULJLQDORQWKLVSRLQVHHDQVRVHQDSS

,I WKHUHIRUH ZI DFFHSW WKDW WKH VHHPLQJO\HOGRJHQRXV SRZIU RI VRYHUHLJQWLWV
inextricably linked to its exogenous conditioning, we are compelled to concede that
democracy is never simply a *local* or *national* DuDLU EXWDOZDV\DWOHDVWLQSULQFLSOH
also a *global* and *transnational* PDWWHU, QWHUQDOOGHPRFUDFFDQZRUNRQOLQVRIDUDV
the members of a given society are willing to engage in discursive forms of communicative
intersubjectivity oriented towards collective deliberation. Externally, democracy can
KRLU DVGLUHUHQ SRLWLHV\DUH SUHSDUHGWIRPLW WRWUDQWLRO R
operation and transcultural dialogue, both of which are central to generating fruitful
RQDWLRURMEHWZHQLUHUHQVHWLHV

,QULHGHPREDQMUHLV\DUHWKHOHPHQVHMURWKH\UWLQ
society that is shaped by discursively constituted and morally valuable modes of agency.

7. Democracy and communicative rationality

Democracy, in the Habermasian sense, has another crucial ingredient: *communicative rationality*, QGHGDEHUPDV\SOHDIRUDQ: s founded on *communicative rationality* can be conceived of as a proposition for a set of principles oriented towards deliberative GHPRDFKH SDUDGLPDWLSULPDF\LEHG WRWKH WUWLQ GLMMO\ QHG UHDOLWL\ VWL\DWHG E\WKH WUWLQ\KDW D\OLQWLEHL\DEOH WRDLM UDWLROO\ MWL\DEOH BOLGLW\EDLPV\BQRLOLM WKH HPSULQHHH R communicative rationality to determine both the constitution and the evolution of society.

,RGHUWRDNMQWKHGLMMQWKHGHPREDQHGWRHAWSD
– interrelated – dimensions of *communicative rationality*.

- a. Communicative rationality is based on *Verstand* UHDVVRQDVVXFKLWL\VGHULYHGIURPRXU rational capacity to attribute meaning to the world by virtue of linguistically articulated claims to validity.
- b. Communicative rationality enables us to engage in processes of *Verständigung* FRPPXQLFDWLRODVVXFKLW\SHUPLWVXVQRWRQO\WRFRUGLQDWHRXUDFWRQVEXWD attribute meaning to them by virtue of intersubjective practices oriented towards mutual understanding.
- c. Communicative rationality is the main driving force guiding our species-constitutive search for *Verstehen* XQGHUVWDQGLQJ DVVXFKLW\DOORZVXVWRLPExH WKH JLYHQQHVVV reality with the meaning-ladenness of language and thereby to permeate the facticity of worldly objectivity with the normativity of lifeworldly intersubjectivity.
- d. Communicative rationality is both a means and an end of our orientation towards *Verständlichkeit* LQWHOOLJLELOLW\DVVXFKLWVH\LVWHQFHLVVP\SWRPDWFRIWKHIDFWWW subjects capable of speech and action, we make sense of the world by making sense of each other.
- e. Communicative rationality is the principal socio-ontological force behind our ability to reach an *Einverständnis* DJUHHPHQW DVVXFKLWV\SUHVHQFHGHPRQVWUDWHVW\KDWZH\DV communicative species – are capable of mutual understanding and that we – as a discursive species – are capable of reaching agreements.

7KLMWKHSRQDWKLF democracy comes into play. Democracy rests upon the empowering potential of communicative rationality, because the symbolically mediated and intelligibly structured co-ordination of our actions within the sphere of reality lies at the heart of every discursively organised society.

- a. Democracy is inconceivable without *Verstand*: in democratic societies, the ultimate resource of argumentation is not monologue but *dialogue*.
- b. Democracy is unthinkable without *Verständigung*: in democratic societies, the ultimate resource of argumentation is not monologue but *dialogue*.
- c. Democracy is impossible without *Verstehen*: in democratic societies, the ultimate resource of action co-ordination is not egotistic self-referentiality but mutual *intelligibility*.
- d. Democracy is unimaginable without *Verständlichkeit*: in democratic societies, the ultimate resource of action co-ordination is not egotistic self-referentiality but mutual *intelligibility*.
- e. Democracy is unimaginable without *Einverständnis*: in democratic societies, the ultimate resource of both small-scale and large-scale organisation is not violence but the search for *agreements*, including – if necessary – the agreement to disagree.

conditions for the understanding-oriented co-existence of interdependent subjects.

8. Democracy and regulation

fact, one of the less obvious dimensions of democracy is its *regulative* positive and negative aspects:

- B On the *positive* side, the regulative function of democracy is illustrated in the fact that its existence allows for the establishment of relatively *predictable* – and, thus, fairly stable – forms of both small-scale and large-scale social interaction.
- B On the *negative* side, the regulative function of democracy is illustrated in the fact that its existence can trigger inconveniently *rigid* – and, hence, excessively synchronised – forms of both small-scale and large-scale social interaction.

of every modern democracy.

collective entity with a framework of legislative regularity express a demand for normativity, without which there would be no meaningful organisation of society.

,Q WKL VHQVH PDZDV D PRUH FRPSOH[VWUXFWXUH WKDQ PRUDOLWY *ibidem* S ZKHUHDV WKH ODWWHU VHUYHV WR UHJXODWH SHRSOH[LQWUHFWRUQV LQ WKH F *Gemeinschaft* WKH IRUPHU RSHUDWHV DV D OHJLVODWLYH XPEUHOOD WKDW VWLSXOD interactions in the abstract realm of *Gesellschaft* KHGLVWLQFWLYHSRZHURIGHPRFUDFLO this context, is its capacity to make both ordinary claims to moral validity and institutional claims to judicial legitimacy subject to critical scrutiny by virtue of communicative UDWLROLW\, QGHPEDWLPHWPHUWBLQWKHDEHUPDMDQGLWLW WKH forceful force of symbolic or physical violence but, on the contrary, the forceless force of the better argument which gives validity WR PRUDO SDWWHUQV RI MXVWLFDWLRQ DV ZHOOD legitimacy to legislative patterns of normalisation. ,QKW DQPSRWDQ WLR democracy is to guarantee the regulation of society – not by relying upon arbitrary forms DWKRLWEXWEGUDZRRPDWLMUDWLROLWPHUPHQWLDQOHHKSSHG entities capable of speech and action can determine the course of history by mobilising the discursive resources inherent in linguistically mediated practices of intersubjectivity.

9. Democracy and will-formation

7KHFRQVWUWKWLRQRIGHPRFUDFVLQHQ[WULFDEODLQNHGWRWKHIRUPDWLRORIERWKLOO collective wills³ XWGLuHUHQWOGHPRFUDWLF SRZHUH[SUHPWPHMGGHPRFUDWLF DQGQRQGHPRFUDWLF PRGHVRIZLOOIRUPDWLRQDUHIXQGDPHQWDOOGLuHUHQWLQWKI sense:

- B ,QKH RPHU HMUPHPEHU PHWKD WKH ULKW WR[SUHWKHLU RLODQ QHQOWRDUWLES DWHLQWKSULPDWHDQSKOLGHEDWHV
- B ,QKH ODWWHU RH PHPEHU UUKWHPDPEH H[DGHG URROH WLM decision-making processes on relatively arbitrary – for example, economic, ideological, UHOLLWWDQHWKQEDDORPHQHUSHEHQV

7KHMMUDO ULKW WEH GLUHWODQDWLMOVLQMGLOOHWLM SURMVOO formation, then, is a MPR of genuine articulations of democracy – notwithstanding WKH HWLQKH WKHU WKH\DUH XMG WRHUDWH DPHOVGHOLEHUDWLM R representative participation. Collective processes of democratic will-formation, however, are far from straightforward and can be successful only to the extent that people are able to HWLQKDWLEW KWEHRMDQWRHODWLMWVKHSHUSHWLDQGHWHUPLQWKHLU claims to discursive validity.

7KWKH RLODQ ZOODWLRQWKHGHPEDWLPHLODWKHGHSHQX a complicated network of discourses and bargaining – and not simply on moral discourses. QLN WKH DHDUOMG QPDWLM DOLGLWDDLP REDO RPDQWKH OHLWLPDPLRHDORPDLNWKHOHLODWLMSUDWLHRWLPDWLRWMOEV supported by GLHUHQW\$HHDQ.

DEHUPDSLWDOLGGHG

,QKHU EGKDW H DVLWLDO WKHRLWGHPEDEHG WR[DPLQ DUH WKH sociological implications of the fact that collective will-formation – as a process based on discursive negotiation and consensus-oriented communication – constitutes a normative KDOOHQWKDWUHKUHDWRRDUWLES DWHLQUDWLHRUHQWDLWV tend the perspectival determinacy of their claims to validity by engaging in the dialogical exercise of

communicative intersubjectivity. *Li*UH~~Q~~SHROH with GL~~U~~HU~~Q~~W~~ED~~N~~Q~~W~~D~~Q~~D~~UGV principles and convictions will mobilise GL~~U~~HU~~Q~~W~~S~~H~~R~~H~~D~~ to describe, to analyse, to interpret, to explain and to assess GL~~U~~HU~~Q~~W~~N~~Q~~R~~W~~B~~W~~L~~R 7KH~~E~~OGRH~~D~~Q~~E~~H GL~~K~~D~~W~~HG URWKH UHDOP R[SHULH~~H~~ 7KH PDQ~~B~~G D~~V~~Q~~L~~K RP~~D~~W~~L~~M actors make rational judgements are inevitably shaped by the normative standards to which WKHDUH[SN~~G~~D~~Q~~E~~W~~KH~~R~~W~~N~~K~~D~~O~~O~~S~~H~~E~~K~~E~~L~~K~~L~~K~~W~~KH~~D~~U~~H~~H~~P~~E~~H~~G~~G~~HG when experiencing both the material and the symbolic dimensions of their lifeworlds. Collective will-formation is always a matter of social life-formation: what we want and how we decide is contingent upon what we have learned to want and how we have learned to decide. Our discursive problematisation of the world cannot be separated from our assimilative, adaptive and purposive immersion in the lifeworld.

7B~~H~~S~~W~~W~~K~~D~~W~~L~~Q~~H~~P~~E~~D~~W~~L~~W~~H~~P~~P~~O~~O~~M~~U~~P~~H~~Q~~L~~E~~W~~K~~H~~S~~H~~R~~O~~H~~H~~E~~H~~U~~P~~D~~V~~ S~~F~~I~~U~~D~~U~~D~~P~~H~~D~~Q~~V~~E~~R~~W~~L~~H~~W~~W~~K~~H~~D~~W~~K~~D~~W~~D~~O~~O~~K~~H~~W~~L~~E~~W~~K~~H~~S~~H~~R~~O~~H~~ J~~R~~D~~G~~H~~P~~E~~D~~W~~L~~S~~R~~O~~R~~H~~Z~~W~~K~~K~~R~~D~~N~~S~~R~~H~~W~~K~~G~~D~~O~~E~~H~~W~~K~~K~~R~~ decide over the context-laden roles of both the individual and the collective aspects of their everyday reality. Will-formation, in the democratic sense, is not a privilege of those who H~~U~~Q~~H~~W~~J~~U~~R~~D~~E~~N~~W~~K~~U~~K~~W~~K~~H~~W~~H~~P~~L~~E~~H~~W~~K~~H~~D~~W~~H~~E~~X~~U~~D~~W~~K~~H~~U~~D~~L~~K~~W~~R W~~K~~K~~R~~K~~O~~G~~E~~H~~W~~J~~R~~E~~H~~O~~W~~K~~U~~K~~W~~K~~H~~R~~P~~E~~D~~W~~L~~M~~R~~H~~W~~K~~H~~O~~L~~H~~E~~O~~G~~ H~~E~~W~~K~~H~~G~~L~~M~~W~~K~~H~~R~~H~~W~~L~~E~~Q~~H~~U~~S~~U~~H~~W~~D~~W~~L~~Q~~V~~K~~H~~G~~H~~P~~E~~D~~W~~L~~M~~O~~V~~L~~W~~W~~L~~Q~~V~~K~~H~~ constitutional state [*Verfassungsstaat*] P~~E~~H~~U~~P~~D~~V~~E~~S~~F~~R~~Q~~F~~H~~U~~Q~~V~~Q~~R~~R~~Q~~O~~W~~K~~H systemic sphere of administrative structures put in place to determine the development of H~~U~~Q~~H~~W~~J~~U~~R~~D~~E~~N~~W~~K~~U~~K~~S~~U~~R~~M~~L~~R~~O~~L~~Q~~H~~U~~D~~W~~L~~R~~H~~M~~Q~~S~~ E~~X~~W~~D~~O~~N~~K~~H~~E~~G~~L~~Q~~U~~S~~K~~H~~U~~H~~R~~P~~E~~D~~W~~L~~M~~L~~Q~~H~~U~~D~~W~~L~~E~~N~~O~~L~~E~~W~~L~~F~~ U~~H~~H~~U~~H~~P~~R~~L~~O~~L~~M~~G~~W~~K~~D~~S~~H~~W~~K~~H~~G~~H~~M~~O~~R~~P~~H~~O~~R~~H~~W~~J~~U~~R~~E~~H~~O~~W~~K~~U~~K~~S~~U~~R~~M~~V~~ K~~D~~O~~L~~Q~~H~~U~~D~~W~~L~~R~~H~~ *ibidem*SS~~Q~~E~~U~~L~~H~~I~~F~~R~~O~~O~~H~~F~~W~~L~~Y~~H~~Z~~L~~O~~O formation cannot dispense with the communicative practices accomplished by human D~~W~~R~~K~~N~~W~~L~~G~~L~~D~~S~~H~~U~~R~~P~~D~~H~~U~~H~~P~~H~~G~~L~~D~~W~~H~~G~~E~~Q~~L~~E~~W~~L~~D~~O~~O~~R~~D~~Q~~M~~G~~S~~U~~R~~M~~V~~

10. Democracy and constitutional law

W~~H~~O~~K~~L~~G~~D~~W~~H~~G~~ DERYH GHPRFUDFKDV D UH~~J~~O~~D~~W~~L~~Y~~H~~ I~~D~~F~~W~~L~~R~~Q GHPRFUDWLF LOVWLW~~M~~ democratic practices allow for the regulation – and, thus, for the normalisation – of the L~~Q~~V~~H~~U~~D~~W~~L~~Q~~D~~N~~S~~O~~D~~H~~E~~H~~W~~Z~~H~~Q~~H~~P~~E~~H~~U~~D~~L~~M~~Q~~H~~W~~Q~~V~~K~~H~~Q~~H~~[W~~R~~E~~H~~U~~Q~~ society, the institutional inscription of practical prescriptions into consolidated democracies U~~H~~A~~W~~W~~K~~H~~W~~H~~P~~L~~E~~H~~W~~W~~E~~L~~G~~L~~Q~~H~~U~~D~~W~~L~~R~~O~~U~~H~~D~~U~~L~~W~~W~~K~~U~~K~~W~~K~~H~~Q~~L~~G~~D~~W~~L~~R of normative frameworks founded on constitutional legality)U~~R~~P~~D~~E~~H~~U~~P~~D~~V~~L~~D~~Q~~S~~R~~L~~Q~~W~~R~~I~~ Y~~L~~H~~Z~~W~~K~~H~~F~~R~~P~~S~~O~~H~~P~~H~~Q~~W~~D~~U~~F~~R~~Q~~Q~~H~~F~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~E~~H~~W~~Z~~H~~H~~Q~~P~~R~~U~~D~~O~~L~~W~~D~~Q~~G~~O~~D~~Z~~V~~H~~H~~I~~R~~U~~H~~[D~~P~~S~~O~~H~~E~~H~~U~~ SS~~E~~V~~H~~Q~~W~~U~~H~~Q~~F~~K~~H~~G~~L~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~W~~H~~Q~~V~~L~~R~~Q~~O~~D~~G~~H~~Q~~U~~H~~O~~D~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~V~~K~~L~~S~~E~~H~~W~~Z~~H~~H~~Q~~O~~L~~I~~H~~Z~~R~~U~~O~~G~~D~~Q~~G system, for the institutionalisation of legislative arrangements cannot be divorced from the K~~D~~O~~L~~D~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~S~~U~~R~~M~~R~~P~~E~~D~~W~~L~~M~~O~~W~~D~~L~~Q~~H~~G~~H~~Q~~H~~P~~H~~O~~V~~U~~H~~D~~U~~G~~S~~E~~R~~W~~L~~M O~~D~~D~~W~~L~~R~~O~~R~~S~~O~~H~~P~~H~~O~~W~~R~~E~~D~~O~~L~~W~~P~~E~~H~~U~~P~~D~~S~~W~~K~~H~~Q~~O~~R~~W~~H~~W~~K~~H abstract superstructure of legislative imperatives in the concrete infrastructure of communicative practices.

H~~W~~R~~Q~~L~~W~~K~~H~~U~~H~~D~~Q~~W~~L~~P~~D~~W~~H~~O~~L~~S~~H~~W~~Z~~H~~Q~~K~~H~~U~~H~~R~~D~~D~~Q~~H~~M~~U~~G~~D~~L~~Q~~H~~O~~O~~L~~L~~E~~L~~O~~L~~W~~U~~ E~~X~~W~~L~~O~~G~~G~~L~~W~~L~~Q~~V~~K~~H~~U~~H~~L~~D~~Q~~Q~~H~~U~~Q~~O~~U~~H~~O~~D~~W~~L~~Q~~H~~W~~Z~~H~~Q~~V~~K~~H~~U~~H~~R~~O~~D~~D~~Q~~G~~H~~P~~E~~D~~F~~ *ibidem* S -X~~V~~W~~D~~V~~U~~H~~J~~X~~O~~D~~W~~L~~Y~~H~~S~~U~~R~~F~~H~~V~~V~~H~~V~~~~R~~I~~I~~R~~U~~P~~D~~O~~O~~H~~J~~L~~V~~O~~D~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~D~~U~~H~~D~~Q~~F~~K~~R~~U~~H~~G~~I~~ communicative processes of informal co-operation, the long-term acceptability of the rule of law depends on its capacity to gain legitimacy through democratic procedures based on

WUDQVSDUHQFDFFRXQWDELOLWDOGUHDVRODELOLWVDEHUPDVUHPLOGVXVQENHPRUD
 VRDOVROHJLWLPDWHODSURWHFWVWVKHHTXDODXWRORPRIHDFKSHUVROQRLOGLYLXDO
 ORQJDVDOOSHUVROVGRQRWHQMRDQHTXDOIUHHGRPEHUPDVES3XWGLuHUHQWO\

private and civic autonomy are complementary and mutually dependent elements of
 constitutionally legitimated democracies and democratically legitimated constitutions:
 WITH LQHUGHSHQH RWLWLRQL DQ GHPRDFRHWROLKW LQWKLV
 complementary relationship between private and civic autonomy: each side is fed by
 UHNNHWKDMRWKHWKHU^{ibidem}S

,IWKHdaseinEHLQJWKHUHRIHYHUPHPEHURIKXPDQLWFDQQRWEHGHWFCKHGIURPWKH
 MiteinanderseinEHLQJZLWKRQHDQRWKHUHISHULHQFHGEDOOPHPEHUVRIVRFLHWVKHQW
 DvUPDWLRQRISHUVRODODXWRORPLVFRQWLQJHQWXSROWKHADVHUWLRQRIFLYLFDXWR
 the function of constitutional law to ensure that individual self-government and collective
 self-government co-exist as two complementary preconditions for the attainment of political
 legitimacy within democratically organised societies.

Conclusion

WLOOXWUDWHGLQWKHSUHYLRXDQDOVLVDEHUPDVVFRQFHUQZWKGHPRFUDFLVQVH
 OLQNHGWRKLVLQWHUHVWLOODQJH7KLVFKDSWHUKDVDLPHGWRGRHPRQVWUDWH
 DUHSDUWLFDDUOLPSRUWDQWVDEHUPDVVWDLDFHWHGDFFRWRIGHPRFUDFHOLE
 UHFLSURFLWVHOIGHWHUPLQDWLRO FLWLHQVKS WKH VWDWH VRYHUHLQW\

RPDWMUDWLQOLWUHDWLROORPDWLROVWLWLRQDZ
 URD DEHUPDMDSRW RHZVKH WUWLRQHPDQSDWEKHWLV

inconceivable without the sustained attempt to bring about a solid form of democracy based
 WKHGHOLEHUDWLSKUKDWLWPEHGGHGLQHROHPPDWMDSDEWKMHVV
 DSDEOHKHKDQDWLQUHHSKSHGZWKWKHRSHWHFWW/DNEWKLQLGQODQ
 BOHWLWLGHEWVKDWDUHGHLGURLOHUKMHVWLSUMHAWLWLVWLRQ
 DQGHOLEHUDWLQKHSUHHGLQKDKWWRGHVWVKHSULESDORSQV
 QSHUOLDEHUPDQSWLGHPRDFKLDQLWLRQHDKWR

address a number of issues that arise when confronted with the task of assessing both the
 BOLGLWDQWKHMHQDEHUPDPPDWLQKRRHWLDRGHPRDF
 BOKWKHWUWKHVKRRHUVWKHMLMQRPDULMGDOK

7KHUHLGHPRDFWKN/SUMR *deliberation, WLVIDUIURPFOHDUKRZHYHUWR*
 what extent *direct and deliberative* models of democracy are viable in large-scale societies,
 which – owing to their demographic and systemic complexity – tend to rely on *indirect*
and representative forms of political participation.

7KHUHLGHPRDFWKN EWK GQPLEQ WUWKHR *reciprocity, WLVQRW*
 obvious, however, to what extent asymmetrical and power-laden modes of reciprocity can
 be challenged in order to build a society in which fundamental sociological variables –
 such as class, ethnicity, gender, age and ability – cease to have both a determining and a
 detrimental impact upon the political agendas set under the banner of democracy.

7KHUHLGHPRDFWKN WKHSELOLWR *self-determination, WUHPDLQVRSHQWR*
 scrutiny, however, to what extent it is achievable to grant every individual or collective
 actor not only the *formal right* to, but also the *substantive resources* for, autonomy, self-
 government and self-realisation – especially in light of the fact that behavioural, ideological
 and institutional patterns are shot through with power relations.

4. 7KHUHLQHPRDEWKW *citizenship*, WLVPDPWWHURIGHEDWHKRZHYHUWRZKDWH[WHQW
it is feasible to strike a healthy balance between, on the one hand, *rights and entitlements*
and, on the other hand, *duties and obligations* – notably in societies that are characterised
by high levels of internal cultural diversity and, hence, by advanced degrees of behavioural,
ideological and institutional heterogeneity.
5. 7KHUHLQHPRDEWKW *state* – at least not in large-scale societies. One of the key
LWVKDWUHPDLQKDOLOQKLVHSHWKKMULWKKHFWLQKHH[WHQWKLKLW
may be both viable and desirable to create a society whose members are capable of co-
RGLQWLQKHLUDWLBQPDQLQKHLUDuDLWout relying on an institutional entity
HKBDOHQWBDWHRDSDLWVKHFWLQKHQWMPQWQDWGHIUHQDQLQ
KLKSHFPUHDMDOOLHWKHWDWHKKBGKKBGKDMWKHULKWWRQWUMQ
PRHQDPHQDOOWKHFWLQKHWHKHURQWQKHMMKQDLWFWKH
QLGDWLQKLKQGLuHUHQLDWHGKHWwithout a polity can be considered a realistic
possibility.
7KHUHLQHPRDEWKW *sovereignty*, UUVSHFWLYHRZKHWHUZHUNFWRQLQGLYLGXDO
or collective, internal or external, real or imagined forms of sovereignty, it is far from
evident, however, to what extent, in a global network society, actors have the potential, let
DOFWKHDFWQOSUWRDNGHEMMQHQODWQWQWLVH,QQHR
increasing interconnectedness, the pivotal sources of agency appear to have shifted from a
hitherto self-empowered humanity to an assemblage of constantly changing parameters of
performativity, with no sense of direction, let alone an underlying teleology.
7. 7KHUH LVGHPREDEWKW *communicative rationality* R EH H[DFW WKH VRFLR
ontological forces of *Verstand* UHVDRQ *Verständigung* FRPPXQLFDWLQVerstehen
QHUWDQLQ *Verständlichkeit* LQWHOOLJLELOLEWQGGändnis DJUHHPHQWSODD
IRXQGDWLQQDO UROH LQ WKH FRQVWUXFWLQRI GHPRFUDFIR OHVV FHQWUDO KRZHY
IXQFWLQRI VHHPLQJOXQFRPIRUWDEOH HWYDVWOLQXHQWLDO HOHPHQWVRIGHPRFU
VXFQDVWKHIROORZLQJDQRWRQOEHLHIDQGDIDWKEXWDOVRPDGQHVVQDQIDQDWLFL
QRW RQ\ PLVFRPPXQLFDWLQ EXW DOVR VLOHQFH DQG GLVHQJDJHPHQW F QRW F
misunderstanding, misinterpretation and misconception, but also confusion, perplexity
DQEHZOGHUPHQGQWQHOOLELOLWLRUSUHKHQLELOLWQRMLEW
DONLVHSUHMQDWLQWFWLQPDQSDWLRQGLMUHHPHQGLMHSQ
and controversy, but also rupture, friction and hostility.
7KHUHLQHPRDEWKW *regulation* KHTXHVWLRQWKDWSRVHVLVWVHOILQWKLVFRQWH[W
however, is to what extent democratically controlled processes of regulation can be
converted into oppressive mechanisms of normalisation, habitualisation and disciplinatio
capable of undermining human empowerment, autonomy and self-realisation.
7KHUHLQHPRDEWKW *will-formation* KHPHUHIDFWWKDWLQGHPRFUDWLFVRFLHWHLV
subjects capable of speech and action are engaged in processes of opinion- and will-
formation, however, does not reveal anything about the extent to which their views, beliefs,
judgements and decisions are universally defensible, rather than applicable only to the
OLPLWHG KRLQW[WSHEPHVQLQYGO R BOHWLM DHPKH
construction of *value-laden*, *meaning-laden*, *perspective-laden*, *interest-laden*, *power-*
laden and *tension-laden* realities manifests itself in the emergence of normativities,
UHWLQKHWHWDELOLWVKDWLQDELWVERLBOOPHGLDWHGOLHRPDKHMM
throughout history.
7KHUHLQHPRDEWKW *constitutional law* – DWOHDVWQRWLQKLJKOGLuHUHQWLDWHG
societies. KH IDFW WKDW VRPHWKLQJ LV OHJDO KRZHYHU GRHV QRW PDNH LW OHJLWLF
Constitutional legality is by no means a guarantee of social, political or moral legitimacy.

What is more, grass-roots democracy can dispense with the formalised rules, criteria and
WDQDUGWKDWDUHLPSNGJRDENEFLWXLROORHGWHPDHDOLW\
Genuine democracy is not simply a matter of imposing the lawfulness of procedural
politics upon the relative arbitrariness of everyday occurrences; rather, it involves the
challenge of ensuring that those whose lives are shaped – if not governed – by customs,
conventions and principles are not only *entitled* but also *empowered* to negotiate – and, if
EHUWVGHQWKHQPDLMSDUDPHWHUQHUOLU\KHLUH[LWHQ themselves.

Notes

6HH IRU LQVWDQFH VRRNHOG &RQRYHU 6HDULOJ &RRNH (ULNVHQ
:HLnUG)HVWHQVWHLQ QWKHU DEHUPDV DEHUPDV
E DEHUPDV -DQVVHQ.LHV -RKQVRQ 3HOOLRQL 3REIU

6LQWRPHU 6XHQD 6XHQF-RQJE
2Q the 'linguistic turn' VHIRUH[DPSOHSHORRKPQ RXUGLHXRXUGLHX
RXUGLHXDLUFORXJKLOOPRUHFHEDXHUOGKDPHU
DEHUPDVDEHUPDV DFNLQJ DFNLQJ-IJU
.LUN @IIPHU .UIPHU .QLJ /DIRQW /DIRQW
/DIRQW @HH OD\EJRWWL RUWD RUW\
ERVVL/DQGL@KWWOHUKVHOFKDSWHUVKVHQD
KVHQFKVHQD@KVHQFKVHQGKVHQH KVHQD
QDORU@IOPHU@

2Q Habermas's conception of 'postmetaphysical thinking' VHHIRU LQVWDQFH DEHUPDV
DEHUPDVDEHUPDV&IRUWE

4 On the relationship between democracy and deliberation VHIRUH[DPSOHVRRNHOG
&RQRYHULDULOJ&RRNH(ULNVHQ:HLnUG)HVWHQVWHLQ@WKHU
DEHUPDVDEHUPDVDEHUPDVEDEHUPDV
-DQVVHQ.LHV-RKQVRQ3HOOLJ]RQL3RZHU@QWRPHUKVHQ
DKVHQF@XQJE

5 On the link between 'validity claims' and 'legitimacy claims' VHIRULQVWDQFHKVHQ
KVHQKVHQF

KVHQE KVHQF
KVHQG@KVHQ
HKVHQE

2Q the relationship between democracy and reciprocity VHIRUH[DPSOHDEHUPDV
DEHUPDVKVHQ

QRXQJ

2QWKLVSRLQVWHIRULQVWDQFHKVHQD@HDOVRIRULQVWDQFH@RZQH

KVHQ@OORZDKVHQKVHQD@KVHQE@KVHQD@KVHQ

GKVHQE@KVHQD@KVHQG@KVHQH@KVHQD

,WDOLFVDGGHGWRself-determination@self-direction @sovereign territorial state@VLWDOLFVHG
in the original version.

Q the concepts of 'indeterminacy' and 'autonomy' VHHKVHQDHVS&KDSWHUDQG&KDSWHU
UHVSHFWLYHO\
@HKVHQHVS&KDSWHU@HDOVRIRUH[DPSOH@ROWDQVNL@QQHWK&HOLNDWHV

@ROWDQVNL@QHV@KVHQ@ROWDQVNL@QQHV@KVHQ@OORZD\
KVHQ@KVHQD@KVHQF@KVHQD@KVHQE@KVHQG

KVHQH@KVHQ@KVHQE@KVHQ

2Q the relationship between democracy and self-determination VHHIRUH[DPSOH@RZQH
KVHQ DEHUPDV @OORZDKVHQ 3UHXXV KVHQ

DKVHQE@KVHQD@KVHQD@KVHQG@KVHQ

E@KVHQD@KVHQG@KVHQH@KVHQD@RXQJE

2QWKLVSRLQVWHH@KVHQE@Q@KVHQD&KDSWHU@HDOVR@DUVKDOO

@DUVKDOODQGXU@HU

2QWKLVSRLQWVHH6XVHQEÐQG6XVHQD&KDSWHU6HHDOVRIRU
LQVWDQFHXRQJXQJDDQGRXQJE
0DQQ @Q WKLVSRLQW VHH DOVR IRU H[DPSOH @VFRQ]XHOR0RUHO 6XVHQ
D@VFRQ]XHOR0RUHO6XVHQE6XVHQD6XVHQD

2Q the concept of neoliberalismVHHIRUH[DPSOH@UEHURJOX@RZQH@VHQ
DYLHV@UYH@DUFRV2XWKZDLWHHVS3DUW,@HGHEHUJ@HQ]
&HUQ@VHQE @VHQD@VHQD HVS &KDSWHU DQG
&KDSWHU

2Q the concept of globalisationVHHIRUH[DPSOH@LQ.KDQ@IRUG@XPDQ
@DPEUD&HQWHQR&RKHQ&KLULFRLFNHQ@DNH
)HDWKHUVWRQH/DVKREHUVWRQ)UDQNOLO/XU@DFH)UDVHUE
@UVW @RPSVRQ @UVW @RPSVRQ @RZYHOW /DVK /XU\
0DUWHOO0DR0LWWHOPDQ0RX]HOLV@HGHEHUJ@HQ3LHWHUVH
2XWKZDLWH D\3DXOXV 3HWUHOOD 3LNHWW@HGQHU
@W]HU @EHUVWRQ@VHQ@ODLU @RWHUGLMN
@VHQD@VHQE@VHQDHVS&KDSWHU
RPOLOVRQ:LOOLDPV@DGOHHYDGVVRQ(ULFNVRQ

2Q the concept of multiculturalismVHHIRUH[DPSOH@UU\&KHYDOOLHU @
&URZGHU-XOOLHQ@OO\KRU\POLFND.POLFND
.POLFND @ /XW]@UUHUD9LYDU @SLN ORGRRG @
1HPRLDQX3DUHNS3KLOOLSV@KZSSHQKIXVHU@VHQD±
@VHQE@VHQE@VHQD&KDSWHU
DORU@WPDQ@DU

2Q the relationship between democracy and citizenshipVHHIRUH[DPSOH@FKLEXJL
@LGJHV &URXFK (GHU @PELQL HODQW\))UDVHU D @EHUPDV
@WFKLQJV DQQUHXWKHU @LQ -DQRVNL 0DQQ
@DUVKDOO @DUVKDOO 0DR0LOOHU0RXuH
@LWK @VHQE @DORU XUQHU
@UQHU9DQGHQEHUJRXQJ@

2Q the relationship between democracy and the stateVHHIRUH[DPSOH@GHUVRQ
@PDOLQH @DVEHUJ 3XUND@VWKD @UDLWK @SWD @HU UDFKH
&KHUQLOR&KHUQLOR&URXFK(GHU@PELQL&XGZRUK@OO0FRYHUQ
XQQ (YDQV @HVFKHPH@ @RFSRO @OO @EHUPDV
@EHUPDV @EHUPDV @EHUPDV @OO @OO
@OO ,NHQEHUU@)LVWHU 0DUVK HOG HOG HOG
@UVW @RPSVRQ -HVVS .HDQH .LQJ .HQGDOO
/DFKPDQQ3LHUVVRQ@RJJL3RJJL@LGE@OO@DUV
@LQQUH@LQQUHUWU nWK@HQVHQ@KRUQKLOOYDQ&UHYHOG
:HUWKHLP

2QWKLVSRLQWVHHIRULQVWDQFH@EHUPDV@EHUPDV@EHUPDV
@EHUPDV @HDOVRIRULQVWDQFH@DWK ,.OWLQJ
@HLPL@VHQ@RPSVRQ:KLWVRQ

2Q the relationship between democracy and sovereigntyVHHIRUH[DPSOH@LWWDQ
@EHUPDV @QVOH\ @UVW @UVW @RPSVRQ
.KRU@LQJ.HQGDOO.UDVQH@VHQ@SUXW
@VHQ
&@VHQGDQG@VHQH&IDOVRIRULQVWDQFH@VHQ
@

2Q the relationship between democracy and communicative rationalityVHHIRUH[DPSOH@EDV
0F/HDQ@SHM@KDELEDOOPDUM@RODU@HHQ
&DOOLQLFRV(ULNVHQ :HLnUG @PZHOO @DQW @WKHU
@EHUPDV@EHUPDV@EHUPDV@EHUPDV@
D@EHUPDV@EHUPDV@EHUPDV@HDWK-DPHV
-RQVRQ 0F&DUWK\2XWKZDLWH @UHXXV @HLQKRu

6WUJHU 6XVHQ Q 6XVHQD 6XVHQF 6XVHQG
 6XVHQH7KRPSVRQ7KRPSVRQ:DUQNH
 2QWKLVSRLQWVHHIRUH[DPSOHDEHUPDV 6HHDOVRIRUH[DPSOH\$HO
 6XVHQ:KLWWRQ
 2Q the relationship between democracy and regulation VHHIRUH[DPSOHDFNDFN
 HNP D HNP E DEHUPDV 3DODVW 2SSHQKHL
 0DFHJRUWDUNH;LOOLDPV0DWKHQ\
 2Q the relationship between democracy and will-formation VHHIRUH[DPSOH&URXFK(GHU
 DPELQL)HUUDUD DEHUPDV DEHUPDV DEHUPDV
 EODR0RXuH6VHQ:LOOLDPV0DWKHQ\
 9DQGHQEHUJRXQJ@
 2Q Habermas's account of the relationship between 'lifeworld' and 'system', see, for example,
 NQ
 Q the relationship between democracy and constitutional law VHHIRUH[DPSOH\$H\
 DFNDFNHNPDHNP)HUUDUDXLEHQWLI
 QWKHU DEHUPDV DEHUPDVE DEHUPDVE DEHUPDV
 ED003RJL3RZHU3UHVVVDPVXVHQRVHQIHO
 \$DWRKRUKLOO

References

6EDV \$F/HDQ0 & RPPQ LFDWLYH FRPSHWHQFH DOG WKH LPSURYHHPHQW RI QLYHUVLW
 WHDFKLQJ,QVLJKWVIURPWVHJHQ Journal of Sociology of Education SS±
 DHJUHJHDEHUPDVVWKRURIOHJDOGLVFRXUVHLO Habermas on law and democracy:
 &ULWLFDOH[FKDQJHVHGVRVHQIHO \$DWRQLYHUVLWRI&DOLIRUQLD3UHVVHUNHOH&\$
 SS±
 BLQDQ The post-colonial state in the era of capitalist globalization: Historical, political
 and theoretical approaches to state formation RXWOHGJHIZRUN
 QGHUVRO-HG The rise of the modern state: KHDWVKHDIULJKWRQ
 SHO.2HG Sprachpragmatik und Philosophie KUNDPS)UDQIXUWDP0DLQ
 SHO.2 QWKH HWKLFV RI WKH LGHDO FRPPXQLFDWLRQ FRPPXQLWV XWRSLD 2Q WKH
 UHODWLRQV KLS EHWZHHQ HWKLFV XWRSLD DOG WKH FULWELTXHRIKWRSLD Qics
 Controversy HGVHOKDELE)DOOPDU0,3UHVV&DPEULGJH0SS±
 \$FKLEXJL ' The global commonwealth of citizens: Toward cosmopolitan democracy,
 BLQWQMUUWVHVLQWR
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- DEHUPDV-~~Q~~ *The theory of communicative action. Volume 2: Lifeworld and system:* ~~FULWLTXHRIIXQFWLRQDOLWUWHODRWK3ROLW&DPEULGJH~~
- DEHUPDV - ~~Q~~ *The theory of communicative action. Volume 1: Reason and the rationalization of society*~~WUUF&DUWK3ROLW&DPEULGJH~~
- DEHUPDV - ~~QH XQHUPLOLQJ RI :HVWUQ UDWLRQDOLVP WKURXJK WKH FULWLTXH RI PHWDSKVLVFODUWLQHLGHJJHU~~ *Philosophical discourse of modernity*-~~DEHUPDVWU DZHQBWLW&DPEULGHSS±~~
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- DEHUPDV-~~QHVFLRORJLFDOWUDQVODWLRQRIRWKHFRQFHSWRIGHOLEHUDWLYHSROLWLFV~~ *Between facts and norms: Contributions to a discourse theory of law and democracy*-~~DEHUPDV WU:HKJ3ROLW&DPEULGJHSS±~~
- DEHUPDV-~~D&DUDGLJVRIODZ~~ ~~DEHUPDVRQODZDQGGHPRFUDF&ULWLFDOH~~[~~FKDQJHV~~, eds. ~~SMHOGSDWR&M&W&R&L&Q&E&H&M&UNOHSS±~~
- DEHUPDV~~E&HSO&W&K&H&S&K&SDUWLES&Q~~ *Habermas on law and democracy:* ~~&ULWLFDOH~~[~~FKDQJHV~~~~HGV&RVHQIHOQ~~ ~~S&DWR&LYHUUVLWRI&DOLIRUQLD3UHVV&HUNHOH&S~~ ~~SS±~~
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- DEHUPDV~~Q~~ *On the pragmatics of social interaction: Preliminary studies in the theory of communicative action*~~WU%&OW&QHU3ROLW&DPEULGJH~~
- DEHUPDV-~~Q&H&SK&H&Q&R&P&H&Q&R&OR&J&L&F&D&O&F&R&Q&V&L&W&X&W&L&Y&H&W&K&H&R&U&R&I&V&R&F&L&H&W&K&H&I&X&Q&G&D&P&H&Q&W&D&O~~ *pragmatics of social interaction: Preliminary studies in the theory of communicative action,* ~~-DEHUPDVWU&W&H&U&R&L&W&D&PEULGHSS±~~
- DEHUPDV ~~Q&M&U&D&O~~ ~~SUDPDWL&H&A&W&L&Q~~ ~~WKH&R&P&E&D&W&L&M~~ ~~R&S&H&W&H&Q~~ *On the pragmatics of social interaction: Preliminary studies in the theory of communicative action*-~~DEHUPDVWU%&OW&QHU3ROLW&DPEULGJHSS±~~
- DEHUPDV - ~~Q&X&W&D&O&G~~ ~~VRFL&W&K&H~~ ~~GLVFXUVLYH~~ ~~UHG&H&P&S&W&L&R&Q~~ ~~RI~~ ~~ID&F&W&X&D&O~~ ~~F&O&D&L&P&V~~ ~~WR~~ ~~Y&D&O&L&G&L&W~~ *the pragmatics of social interaction: Preliminary studies in the theory of communicative action*-~~DEHUPDVWU%&OW&QHU3ROLW&DPEULGJHSS±~~
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DEHUPDV-IRDUGDFRVPRSROLWDQ(XURSH¶ Journal of DemocracySS±

DEHUPDV - LH UHQJH JZLVFKHQ ODXEHQ XQG :LVVHQ =XU :LUNXQJVJHVFKLFWKH DQG
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LQH¶sovereignty QGHG&DPEULGJHQLYHUVLW3UHVV&DPEULGJH

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HG.DWKUHQDQGHUKKWDWHSS±

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-JHU/ ρHGLDOLWIWXQG OHQWDOLWIWLH SUDFKH DOV OHGLXP GHV HLVWVWLQs eine
Sprache hinter dem Sprechen? HGV6UIPHU (.QLJ&KUNDPS)UDQXIXUWDPDLOQSS
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-XOOLHQ)@ On the universal: The uniform, the common and dialogue between cultures,
WUOLKDUUGLMDONBLWPEULGH
.HDQ-HG Civil society and the state: New European perspectives 9HUVR/RQGRQ
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ÆVHQ 6 9Kritische Gesellschaftstheorie or NLWLKH HMOOKDWSUD[LVRLOLNSWHV .ULWLNQYDOHBD[LHMOOKDWOLKH HOEWMUWIQLENLWLKH 7KHELHUDQW DPDLQPSWUODJ SIKLWWRpHQVGH RRRHRRHDQQR SociologySS±

ÆVHQ 6 10ULWLFDOQRWHVRQ ÆEHUPDVV WKHRURIWKHSXEOLFVSKHILogical Analysis SS±

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ÆVHQ 6 13HVRFLRORJLHSDJPDWLTXHGHODFULWLTXHHVWHOOSRVVLEOHXHOTXHVUÞ[LRQVXU HODFULWLTGHXFRQWDQVNEVYX3KLOVRVSKLTXGHG/RXSSDQ

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ÆVHQ 6 18HJHSWRP\FULWLFV KH FULWLFDO VSLULW RI XUGLHXVLDQ ODQJXDJH EpistemologySS±

ÆVHQ 6 19WKHUHVXFKDWKLOJJDVDSUDJPDWLFVRFRLRJRIFULWLTXHÑFWLROVRQ /XFRQWDQVNDQ&ULWLTXH spirit of Luc Boltanski: Essays on the 'pragmatic sociology of FULWLTGHXVHQXUQUHUWÆVHQ 6 WKHP3UHVV/RQGRQSS±

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ÆVHQ 6 22The 'postmodern turn' in the social sciences 3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQDVLOJVVWRNH

ÆVHQ 6 23PDQFLSDWLRQ The encyclopedia of political thoughtYROHGV0EERQV &RROH((OOLV.)HUXVVRQ:LOHDFNZHOO2[IRUGSS±

ÆVHQ 6 24PDUNVRQWKHQDWXUHRIMXVWLFDWLROVRFRLRSUDJPDWLFSHUVSHFVWVHEDWLRQ HYDOXDWLRQ DQG FULWLTXH LQ WKH VWXGRI RUJDQLJDWLRQV &RQWULEXWLRQVIURP)UHQF sociologyHGV&ORXWLHU-3RQG/HFD Research in the sociology of organizations (PHUDGLOJOHSS±

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KRPSVRQ-6HIHQFHRIFRPPXQLFDWLYHHWKLFV The Journal of Political Philosophy SS±

KRPSVRQ-ÞLYHUVDOSUDJPDWLFV Habermas: critical debatesHGV-KRPSVRQ HOGDFLOODQSS±

7KRSHDWLQOLWDQDODUDWLRQOLDWLRQMHQVÆEHUPDVWKHER RPDWLMDWLRQ SociologySS±

7KRUQKLOO & JWDXUDOODZWDWHIRUPDWLRQDQG WKHIRXQGDWLRQVRIWVFDLQWKHRUJ
Classical Sociology SS±

RPOLOVRQ-Globalization and culture , Polity, Cambridge.

7KHUWVOLFHDWKHREWLHQLSLQ
 HGKXUDPLOWRQ/OHGHQSS±
 Citizenship: Critical Concepts, vol.

7KHUWVDFDUKDOORXDOULKWVQQLKQWLRQOLGHQVW
 SS±
 Citizenship Studies

DQHMOGQThe rise and decline of the state , Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

DQHMHUHG Citizenship and democracy in a global eraDFPLOODQ3UHVVDVLQJVWRNH

:DUQNH&RPPXQLFDWLYHUDWLRQDOLWDOGFQXOWXUDOYTO&HVMQbridge companion to
 HabermasHG6KLWH&DPEULGJHQLYHUVLW3UHVV&DPEULGJHSS±

:HOOPHURPPXQLFDWLRQVDQGHDPDQFLSDWLRQENFWLRQVRQWKHOLQJXLVWLFWXUQLQ
 FULWLFDOWKHRUJQOn Critical TheoryHG-2JHLOOMLQHPDQQ(GXFDWLRQDO/RQGRQSS±

:HUWKHLP:)KHVWDWHDQGWKHGLDOHFVWLVRIHPDQFLSDWLRQLOpations, modern and
 postmodernHG-DQIHGHUYHHQ3LHWHUVHDIH/RQGRQSS±

:KLWWRQ%QLYHUVDO SUDJPDWLFVDQGWKHIRUPDWLRQRI:HVWHUQFLYLOLJDWLRQFULWLTXHRI
 DEHUPDVVWKHRURIKXPDQPRUDOHYRONWLRQ TheorySS±

:LOOLDPV%QDWKHQ\$ Democracy, dialogue, and environmental disputes: The
 contested languages of social regulationDOHQLYHUVLW3UHVVIHZDYHQ&7

:LOOLDPV%ADGOH\HYDGVVRQ 5(ULFNVRQ 0 Globalization and work, Polity,
 Cambridge.

DUPHWRQQWKHSRLWLKRDHGHMUHJ
 SS±
 Theory, Culture & Society±

RXQJ,ORLWDQGGJURXSGLuHUHQFHFULWLTXHRIWKHLGHDRIXQLYHUVDOFLWLJHQVKSJ
 in Citizenship: Critical concepts YRO HGV%UQUHU 3DPLOWRQRXWOHGHJ/RQGRQ
 SS±

DUPHWRQWULDOUHESURWRQDQDUHSHVWQHUDQHQUHGWKRWJQ
 Intersecting voices: Dilemmas of gender, political philosophy, and policy, ORXQJ3ULQFHWRO
 QLYHUVLW3UHVV3ULQFHWRO1-SS±

RXQJ,OE&RPPXQLFDWLRQDQGWKHWRWKHURQGGHOLEHUDWLYHGHPRFUDHMQecting
 voices: Dilemmas of gender, political philosophy, and policy,ORXQJ3ULQFHWROQLYHUVLW
 3UHVV3ULQFHWRO1-SS±

Michel Foucault

Discourse, power/knowledge and the modern subject

Reiner Keller

Introduction

)UHQFKSKLORVRSKHU0LFKHO)RDXDWEVDPROJWKHPRVWLOWKQWLDOWKLNHUVRI the twentieth century. His ideas exhibit an extraordinary reach across the social sciences and the humanities, even gaining considerable popularity outside academia. ~~FOU~~WKEHHQ considered a structuralist, a historian, a philosopher, a sociologist, a left radical, an anarchist, DWKUHDWWKDEHNDWLMDQKLOLWDQDSFWLWDPDQKHUODEHOQ DUHMDOLQQHUMHKKRLMGKLPMODDQ[SHULPHVHUQDDWKHRHWLBO WKLNU~~FOU~~WE[SHULPHVLPQPSOLHGDEGLW~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~MHNVR ~~FOU~~PDLSULHLHWDEOLKHGWKHRFDHPSLULBOSURWWRQHUHOGK~~FOU~~YWK ~~FOU~~LRWDQWRPHUHURWKHPDGLUHUHQSHURWKEZGHDDQ~~FOU~~SWYKH focus of his work was on the historical and empirical genealogy of the modern subject ~~FOU~~WF

URWKHODWH~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~LHGSKLORKDQSK~~FOU~~LDULDWWKH prestigious e~~FOU~~R~~FOU~~PDOH~~FOU~~ULH~~FOU~~ and at the Sorbonne University. His habilitation WKHMLLWVHQQKHODWHEHDPHKL~~FOU~~WZGHON~~FOU~~ *History of madness* ~~FOU~~D~~FOU~~VEN~~FOU~~ *The order of things*)RXFDXOWDZVD YHULWDEOHSXEOLFHYHQWWKURXJKRXW)UDQFHDQGVROGVHYHUDOKXQGUHGVRWKRXY ~~FOU~~WHUSURIHVVUVKLSVLQ&OHUPRQW)HUUDQG)UDQFHXLVXLVLDDQG3DULV9LQFHQ)UDQFH)RXFDXOWLQZDZDUGHGDSURIHVVUVKLS~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~HF *Systems of Thought* DWWKHPWSUHWLL~~FOU~~EGHPLEQLW~~FOU~~LRQ~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~ROHGHUDE in Paris. His ~~FOU~~QOMULH~~FOU~~KEOLEH~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~KH~~FOU~~YUHP~~FOU~~WRIMQ~~FOU~~VKUK~~FOU~~KLDBGHPL~~FOU~~EQ SRLWLBOHQ~~FOU~~PH~~FOU~~Q~~FOU~~WEHDPHDQ~~FOU~~R~~FOU~~H~~FOU~~HKDQHPDESDWRWKL~~FOU~~Q all over the world.

7KHUHSWL~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~LWL~~FOU~~DD~~FOU~~MULHGZGHO~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~DQLDQL~~FOU~~WLM originality results from his turning philosophy from theoretical and speculative thinking into ~~FOU~~PSLULBODQKLW~~FOU~~LEOGLESOL~~FOU~~7KLMWRHQHUW~~FOU~~DDL~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~KHED~~FOU~~NR~~FOU~~WKH ~~FOU~~PL~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~LDODQKHHP~~FOU~~Q~~FOU~~HL~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~HOOH~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~N~~FOU~~PH~~FOU~~Q~~FOU~~KLWLPHLUW~~FOU~~WKHUH~~FOU~~V the SKLOR~~FOU~~K~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~KHE~~FOU~~M~~FOU~~H~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~VSUHM~~FOU~~Q~~FOU~~HGDP~~FOU~~Q~~FOU~~KHUE~~FOU~~Q~~FOU~~H~~FOU~~DGL~~FOU~~Q~~FOU~~H~~FOU~~SKLOR~~FOU~~KHU ZLWHUDQSKOLE~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~HOOH~~FOU~~W~~FOU~~NO-HD~~FOU~~Q~~FOU~~DUWUHE~~FOU~~D~~FOU~~KL~~FOU~~EN H[LW~~FOU~~H~~FOU~~LDOL~~FOU~~F

up apparently coherent unities, looking for complex constellations and empirical relations between heterogeneous elements.

:KDWLKLRHWHZDRRQHMUKSKLORKKHUHQKLVWELDQWWDNGKLP
for being too close to empirical reality for solid analytical distance, yet not close enough for sound research, he tried to explain why he argued a problem-driven approach on a middle-
UNOHMOMNWEENWHQUDOODKHWKHUHOHHDQSHURPDE
of institutions, discourses and practices. He then starts with a particular research interest
LALUHG EWHPSRDUVDO SKRHRQ K DSKLDWULFWUHDWPHV RQQ
SHROHWKHSULRUPHPHVRESUNWLRROHDOKRM[BOLWYKHQ[WWHSLV
collecting all kinds of available and relevant data from the historical period considered most important for the present condition – such as documents, reports, paintings, novels, laws, institutional orders, academic writing, proceedings of juristic disputes – which purport to
GHDOZWK WKHMHWLWQOLMQHULGWLPH, QGHUWBNFWKHSRQR
LQVHUWWKDWBGOHDGLVRRUFWWSURMGWKHLGHDproblematisation and the related term *eventualisation*
VHH)RXFDXOWS:KDQGKRZGLGLQVDQLWEHFRPH
DWDVSHFLPRPHQWLQUHFHQWKLVRULFDOWPLHDSUREOHPLOQHHGRILQVWLWXWLRQ
VROXWLRQVWKDWWKHQOHGWRXUPRGHUQGLVSRVLWLYHVIRUGHDOLQJZLWKWKHLQ
which particular social or institutional practices and epistemic procedures did it appear on
KHVPHQDDMHWWRWSDQKELGWKHUHODWLRHWHHEPLQO
DWDQSDUWLRHMKPHVEHRHDSUROHPDWKHHQWKHHLKWHHWKHQ
How do transformations in historical periods occur, if we do not assume a natural mode of
SURHMDRSDUHWKHPKBNUHMDUKWULEWHWRDN
RHWKLDQHWVGDVPHQD7KHH[SHULPHVDOSDUWBNWVKLNG
be resumed as follows:

- B Consider your case in a pragmatic way as an opportunity for new experience.
- B 5HWKQRNDQOMZWKGLDRLSWKLPDNDQWKHUV
MHWKHSKRRHQWVKHKHDUWRLQULQGLuHUHQV\
- B Do not dip into *hermeneutics of suspicion* EFXU DVLQODU(LVW)UHXGLDQ
Heideggerian, or structuralist thinking, in which a piece of given data is accounted for in terms of a pre-established theoretical model, for example, the relationships of production, or the ego, id and super-ego structure.
- B KGPRLWREDMHuHWKLNQDE[SODQWLRCQNKLVWELDO
ruptures or *discontinuities*UDWKHUWKDQFRQWLQXLWLHVDXZSDQDMIRLation,
KLLPSOLHMDLWVKHPWLSOHKHWHUHQHQSHUKDSQWLDW
always singular – elements that constitute a given historical constellation.

7KHUHDUHWRDLQSWBOWRBNWMLVQLMPSLULBOEN discourse and
dispositive RWKDUHKHXULVWLF GHYLFHVLQWHQGHGWRVRPHKRZQDPHQGfWKHHOHPHQ
KLVLQTXLUDHcourse refers to institutional and language-based modes of meaning-
PDNDQREGHULQHROHRMHVWQSDUWLRHWWOEHH[SODLQGLQHWDLQWKH
next section. *Dispositive* VLQFHWKHVKDVUHIHUUHGWDRDQHWZRUNRIKHWHUJHQHRXVEXW
related, elements such as texts, laws, buildings, practices, legal and procedural measures, organised processes, objects – in short: sayings, doings and materialities – assembled to
MNRWUHDWDQHPHSUROHPLGHVLRHGMNULCUMRUROHPDWLWLR
7KHWHUPGLSRWLIIPROHRLWUHHUWRHQPEOHRHDMHWKDWLMDGH
DLODEOHRDSHEFJKMKNDSRLWLBORLRWVKQBOQHSHUWDNQ
RH[DPSOHLQ *The will to knowledge*)RXFDXOWS WDONVDERXWVKH dispositif

d'alliance DVDS DUWLF XODULQVWLWXWLRQWRRUJDQLVH[HODWLRQVRIVH[7KLFKLOFOXG
 PDUULDJHLQ RUGHU WR PDLQWDLQ SURSHUWNLQJGRPVLQGXVWULHV IDUPV GLVSRVLWL
 FRPSOHJ RI KHWHURJHQHRXV EXW UHODWHG HOHPHQWVDFWRUV GLVFRXUVHV SUDFWLF
 GUDZQWRJHWKHU DVVWUDWHJLHVZLWKRXVWVWUDWHJLFPDVWHUSODQWRLQWHUYHQH
 WREHVROYHG KLVIUHJ DPSOHPLJKWLQFOXGHODZVDFKLWHFWXUDOPDQLIHVVDWLRQ
 WKHSULVRQ GHVLJQ FRQFHSWLQ -HUHPH - practices of surveillance,
 GLESOLE DQ SOKPHV DEDPHV DO RMDW D D VIO D WKHU
 practices VDPHWKRGRORJLFD OGHYL - *episteme* allows for an analytical perspective on
 WKH GLUHUV HOHPHQV DSSHDULQ GHVLSWLKWLWELDO HMQV ELWVWLQ
 contemporary interventions into society and nature.

WKH DOWNDW KH E R G K L O K K L W R D Q K L W R L D O
 R R H G H D O O H G K L S H U S H W L M archaeology in order to distinguish it
 URWKHHWDEOLKHGKLRGRHDSHROHLWLWVWLQOELHMVVRWKHV
 he preferred the notion of *genealogy* ZLWKRXWFRPSOHWHODEDQGRQLQJWKHIRUPHU)RXFDXOW
 F Archaeology referred to the usages of this term in the works of
 ,PPDNO .DQ HRHV DOKHP DQ HRHV PLO ,W LV R L M G D V D
 PHWKRRDO GHM R UHMDUK SHUSHWLM WKDW LPSOLHV LULQV D SDUWLDDU
 KLWELDO WHOODWLDQ LW VIOHPHQV GHUHG D VPHQV WHUP M G E \
 HRHV DOKHP 7KLEPSOLHV K D V Q K H D B G H P L E G L E S O L E R B U K D H O R
 accounting for the socio-cultural patterns of a given historical moment through an analysis
 R W L P P D H Q K L W R L D O M W B W H G V D M L O R O L K L E N The order of things,
 KLKDDQMSDWWHUHQV L B H G H P D N O V K U H H G L W L Q K L W R L D O S H U L E V
 H M U L A H G E W K H R D O S U W H W P N P H Q V W K H O D W H D Q H D U O V
 D O W K L M H G K L D W W H O V L R W K H D Q O W L W U D W H P K L V S H U V S H F W L Y H W D N H Q
 IURP)ULHGULFK ILHW]VFKH WUDFHV WKH GLVFRQWLQXLWLHV DQG WUDQVIRUPDWLR
 FRQVWHOODWLRQV ZKLFK FDQ EH LGHQWLHG D V P H R Z ±
 WKURXJKWLPHVZLWKILHW]VFKHLWDYRLGVERWKWKHLGHDRIDVLQJOHSRLQWRIRULJLQ
 LQKLVWRUDQGWKHUHODWHGHJHOLDQRU0DU]LVWLGHGDVRIQJRLQJGHYHORSPHQWDQC
 starting from that original point. *Genealogy* instead is about *games of power* and *games of*
truth, DERXWFRQAFVWVUXJJOHGRPLQDWLRQDQGKLVWRULFDOWUDQVIRUPDWLRQZLWK
 a trajectory towards brighter futures.

DOSRO WELKHUHLWKHNLWLDWD 5HHUHWGDWD LPSEWDLQ
 DOW DQ KLPH URWKHRHWLDO SKLORKWRPSLULDO UHMDUK ,D DPK
 WDWHPHQKHGHUHGKLPOMWEHDKDSSSEWLVWV DOWDS 7KLV
 LURRMPSOLEWODGGUHMGDKDUKELWLKLSUHMDNDKMDQ
 SEWLVWVWOHGHGEDO DQLDWHOOHFWHOHPVHQHPHQPLQWSKLORKHU
 DQZLWHU L P H G H D K U ± G R O W S R O H G W K L W U R
 commitment to concrete work on empirical data. Such data were available basically as texts
 ERHV O H D A W S U R H G L W B O R H W L P H S D L O L S K W E D S K V
 He worked through textual data much like historians do, via close reading, guided by
 DQOWLDOHWLQ'LGHWDOHGSUHLRDSKLEWVWKHNDOHOPHQVWKH
 painting *Las Meninas* by DODM D R L O O W U D W L R D W D H
 WKHQHMORHGRSWMRGHUWRPHKDW D Q R D Q D W H G E L Q K H P W O \
 ZLWWHQH V D W W H U Q U D W L F M O H P H Q V K U R M E G H U L Q H U S H W L M V
 ,D W W K H K D S W H U K W L W O H R K L E N Q L D W H K D M P W L E U R G H M Q
 BWHREKOGLE R D W D K L M H P D N W R H M U M E D V H G W K H R \
 PHWKRRQWKHND E H V E [DPSOHVZOOLOOWUDWHWKLQ Discipline and
 punish,)RXFDXOWSSGLVFXVVHVWKH DUWRIGLVWULEXWLRQV KLVVXEWLWOHFDQ

EHFRQVLGHUHG D V D F D W H J R U W K D W H P H U J H G R X W R I H P S L U L F D O D Q D O V L V F O R V H U H D G L O Q
D O G F D W H J R U X L O G L O J H H [S O D L Q V K D W K H P H D Q V E V X F K P U W V R I G L V W U L E X W L R O Q L O
D F F R X Q W L Q J I R U D O G T X R W L Q J G L u H U H Q W H [F H U S W V I U R P K L V W R U L F D O W H [W V H U H L V R O H
S U H V H Q W H G X Q G H U W K H T X R W H G K H D G L O J

-H D Q S W L V W H G H / D 6 D O O H G U H D P W R I D F O D V V U R R P L O K L F K W K H V S D W L D O G L V W U L E X W
S U R Y L G H D K R O H V H U L H V R I G L V W L O F W L R O V D W R O F H D F F R U G L O J W R W K H S X S L O V S U R J U H V
F K D U D F W H U D S S O L F D W L R Q F O H D Q O L Q H V V D O G S D U H Q W V T R U W X O H F D F R I W K H S X S L
have his place assigned to him and none of them will leave it or change it except on the
order or with the consent of the school inspector.

ROWS

MRH [D P S O H R H M R *The order of things*, which deals exclusively with academic
WH [W K H U H L Q W H [S O D L Q H [D P S O H W K H R H E D O M S D W W H U C H O L F
knowledge-making, the *episteme* established by the end of the sixteenth century, as
U H M P E O D H K U H M P E O D H D S S H D U M O H [W D G L M P L O L W G H U H L W K H
K H

R O L M K H W D U D U H W K H P D W U L P O O W K H S O D Q D Q H M U W D U L O K H M V
Q W K H S L U L W B O S U H K D W L S O D Q K W K D W L W U H S U H M O W K H S O D Q D Q M W D V
each herb or plant is a terrestrial star looking up at the sky, so also each star is a celestial
S O D Q L L U L W B O R P E

RWD S

R W D H O O D D U H W K D W R D O O W H [W D U H H B O K H G R H O K H M G K D G D G L u H U H V
W D W D Q V E R L S H U R P D W L M S H U D E G L O W K H L U N L R O R H [W M H B L E
H R E L I G K W H [W B O D D O M V W K G D W D R U L W W L O D Z U H G X H V
H [S H U L P H O V S K O L F H M V P D W H U L D O G H M H W H W H [W B O G D W D D U H R R L P S E W D Q
H O H P H O L Q U H O D W L R O W H O O D W L R H W H U H Q N D U W W D K H E N G R L W R L B O
S K H R H Q R H K D O O K L V G D W D H U H W H [W B O E W R O H M U G H U H H S D L O H G
S K W E D S K H G W K H U H D R K H U D W R W D H V

Analytics of discourse(s)

) R K D W L V S U R E D E O W K H P R V W L O N Q W L D O W K L Q N H U H Y H U L Q G L V F R V H U H V H D U F K D O
D O D O V L V L Q O L Q J V W L F V W K H K R D Q L W L H V F O W D O V W S L H V D Q G W K H V R F L D O V F L H Q F H V
to note that he did not establish a *theory* of discourse, but a heuristic toolbox, an analytics of
G L M K L K O D U L H W K H R M H W R R U G L M D Q R H W U D W H L H W B S S U R K
L W O W K K L N S W L Q L M K L W M H K D W L Q L W L W K H P D L Q H H U H F
is *The archaeology of knowledge*) R X F D X O W D , Q I D F W K H F R Q V L G H U H G W K L V E R R N D I D L O X U H
and never returned to it – he never realised an empirical analysis according to the conceptual
U D P H E N H S U R M G H S L W H W K L W K H E N Q H R G H U H G D P L O H W R L O K H L U
L V D D H R H G H D Q P H D Q P D N K L M G N W R W O H D W W K U H H E H H O H P H O V
L U W K H M H G V L Q W D E O L K L Q U D W L R O H E W K H H P S L U L B O D Q O M K L W R L B O D Q
current knowledge-making by introducing given textual and institutional data as solid
grounds for analysis. Second, while being informed by contemporary philosophy of
language, he argued that analysis has to move beyond linguistic interests in languages and
W K H L U W L R *idem* S S £ Q R U G H U W R D G G U H V V V H U L R X V V S H H F K D F W V D V Z D V R I

FRQVWLWXWLOJ UHDOLWLQ LQVWLWXWLRQDO VHWWLOJV 7K LUG KH DFRUGLQJOLQW
representationalism, the term *discourse* for the ordered practices of knowledge-making,
KLKWKHPMOMDUHWKHERMHFKLQV7KHDQOWLWDFWVQR
ORUWUHDWLQLEMDUVRQQLHOHPHQVHHUULQVHOV
UHSUHMQDWLQVDSUDWLHWKDWVHPDWLBOORPWKHERMHFKLKWKHSYHDN
RQWDS

,DHRQWKHRPQVHUPdiscoursHIIHUVVRDOONLQGRILPSRUWDQWVSHHFKHVRUORQJHU
VWDWHPHQWVHJGXULQJZHGGLQJFHUHPRQDfWLHWKELUWKGDDOHFWXUHDWDQDFI
FRQIHUHQFHDQGGZULWWHQDFDGHPLFWUHDWLWHVVFKDVfQpVfDfWdVf

Such speech events have in common the fact that language use here is embedded in a
SDUWLBDU LQVLWVLRQ RHW KLK KDSHWLWVWKURRQW\$HUSHWLM
discourse as a conceptual framework refers to a series of discursive events and practices that
DUH RGHUHG ERH UHBDULWRE UHSHRPDWLQOH GLMM HMVQDQ
statements obtain their meaning from the network of statements and formation patterns to
KLKWKHEHODWHPHQVDPKMDGLuHUHQVLRQLuHUHQVWEMQ
WKKH DGLuHUHQVWDWHPHQV7KHUHQBDULWLQDKDKKDSHKDWBQHM LGEKR
DQWKDWHuHFWKDWWRHUHQVUMHGEWKHDQOWURHPSLULBOGDWDWRRW
LGHQV LHGKGLPHQVRRHPDWLQ

7KHPDWLRMHVW of concern to a discourse can be understood by reconstructing the
rules according to which the objects – of which discourses speak – are created: Which
EHQVLESOLEVSODDUBHDQLKQ?KLKSDWWHUQDMPWLQHU
MG"

7KHformation of enunciative modalitiesUHHUVVRTXHVWLRQVXFKDV:KRLVDOHJLWLPDWH
speaker, or what are the institutional locations and subject positions from which objects of
GLMMDUHSNOEMERLuHUHQVRPQDWLQDWLWLVUUDWLHV
H[SHULPHQVQVHODWHWRDKWKHU"

7KHformation of concepts refers to rules that form the basis of the respective statement:
DUHWH[WBOHOHPHQVQVHWGWRDKWKHU"KLKUKHWRLBOKHPDDUHMG"
How is the statement positioned regarding other texts, for example, through the respective
PGRWDWLQHUHQVLDWDLWWDWHPHQVWUDQDWHGLQVHOLWDWLMWDWHPHQV

4. 7KHformation of strategies refers to the external relationships of a discourse: What are the
WRLBQWKHRLHQGLMMERWKHLQHUDWZWKWKHUGLMMVKDW
H[WHQVWKHSRWRRHEHWWHUQVWLQRUROHPWKDQKMMKHUV

RQWLQWHGLRSEWLQVUMKNDOLFVKDWKHLQVHUHWHGQLWRLBOOVWVHWG
SUDWLHQVQ WKHLU UHBDULWLHVHOLLGLMMVQEH GLWLQKHG UR OHDO
HRLSRDLWLDQ E EHQVLEGLMMVWKHLU GLuHUHQV RPDWLM SULSOPV
WDWHPHQVSUBWLQKHLQHUHWBQOMVHLVQ[DPLQVKHUHQHWKDWBRWLWLG
KDWVDPQVGEHPVBOOPGLQULKHKKDWVHDELR
SDWDLMLQLWRLBODQLQVLWVLRQPRHQV7KHLQHVQLWRHQVUMWKH
institutionalised regulations of discursive practices in observable games of truth, their
HOHPHQVWLQDQ HuHVVMM WKHUHQH LKLVQVSSUHKHQLOVKH
institutional patterns that make seemingly disparate empirical occurrences, as products of
enunciations, belong to a common frame of reference or institutional structuring. Such
HUHQVUMHULDODQVHNDWHGMMQRWLWRLBOOVWVHWGSUDWLHRURKQ
WDWHPHQVVRQW WKHMRDQHLQVLWVLRQGLMMVQDQDQDQV
V/LWVLRQHDOLWVKDWBQEHHEVHWGZWKWKHLQHVQLRODWLQVHSHDNV

nor to the syntactical rules of language use, but instead is shaped by the institutionally
WDELOLMGUSHDQREGHU~~ELMMVKLDOOK~~ WKHDQOM~~EH~~DUUSDWWHUQ
WKHLU KLWRLBO DQ LQ~~LW~~W~~LBO~~ HPHUHQ WDELOLDW~~LQ~~Q WUD~~Q~~PDW~~LQ~~ WKL
furthermore is the solid basis for discursive meaning-making and construction of
~~EHGHDEOH~~EMH~~W~~YD~~M~~Q~~W~~KH SHU~~EPDWLM~~ UHHU~~H~~W~~W~~MD~~H~~G~~Q~~
*interpretans*L~~V~~F~~R~~X~~U~~V~~H~~L~~V~~Q~~R~~W~~D~~E~~R~~X~~W~~V~~L~~J~~Q~~L~~I~~L~~Q~~J~~J~~L~~Y~~H~~Q~~W~~K~~L~~Q~~J~~V~~R~~X~~W~~W~~K~~H~~U~~H~~E~~X~~W~~D~~E~~R~~X~~W~~W~~K~~H~~Y~~
SURGXFWLRQRIVXF~~K~~W~~K~~L~~Q~~J~~V~~¶

Soon after *The archaeology of knowledge*)R~~X~~F~~D~~X~~O~~W~~¶~~SHUVSHFWLYHRQGLVFRXUVHV~~K~~L~~I~~W~~H~~G
XULQJWKHZDYHRIVWXGHQWUHYROWVLQWKHODWHVKHEHFDPHPRUHH[SOLFLWOLQWHU
SRZHU VHH \$SDLQ KH IROORZHG KLV RZQ RULJLQDO DSSURDFK, QFRQWUDVW WR VRLDO
PRYHPHQWV DQG IRU H[DPSOH ODU[L~~V~~W~~D~~F~~D~~G~~H~~PL~~F~~V ZKR RSSRVHG WUXWK RU NORZOHGJH
SRZHU WDNHIRULQVWDQFHWKHFDVHRI~~X~~Q~~P~~D~~V~~N~~L~~Q~~J~~W~~K~~H~~K~~L~~G~~G~~H~~Q~~U~~H~~D~~OL~~W~~R~~I~~S~~R~~Z~~H~~U~~U~~H~~O~~D
VRLFW~~W~~R~~X~~F~~D~~X~~O~~W~~L~~Q~~V~~L~~V~~W~~H~~G~~W~~K~~D~~W~~S~~R~~Z~~H~~U~~D~~Q~~G~~N~~Q~~R~~Z~~O~~H~~G~~J~~H~~D~~U~~H~~F~~O~~R~~V~~H~~O~~L~~Q~~W~~H~~U~~W~~Z~~L~~Q~~H~~G~~
was important to do away with a tradition of thinking which claimed that knowledge can be
established only when there is no more power, or that knowledge is somewhere outside of
SHU, WHDG DUK~~Q~~ DD~~L~~Q~~Q~~OL~~Q~~ZWK LH~~W~~K~~H~~ KH WDWHG WKDW SHU DQ
~~EHGH~~ LPSO~~H~~DK~~W~~KHU WKHUH L~~V~~SHU UHODW~~L~~W~~K~~N D SDUW~~L~~DU~~H~~OG R
~~EHGH~~D~~Q~~~~EHGH~~W~~K~~D~~W~~G~~R~~W~~S~~U~~H~~X~~S~~M~~D~~Q~~L~~W~~W~~H~~S~~U~~U~~H~~O~~D~~W~~L~~K~~L~~V~~
EDLPKD~~V~~PS~~R~~W~~D~~Q~~L~~PSOL~~D~~W~~L~~W~~K~~H~~S~~R~~W~~L~~W~~K~~H~~U~~H~~M~~D~~U~~K~~H~~U~~R~~E~~M~~H~~W~~¶~~
KLK~~D~~Q~~D~~M~~H~~D~~Q~~[WHUQO~~S~~R~~W~~L~~R~~H~~R~~R~~Q~~ED~~L~~M~~W~~HP~~SHU~~
, WHDGWK~~H~~EM~~H~~FW~~K~~HR~~M~~H~~W~~R~~Q~~UD~~Q~~WK~~H~~H~~S~~L~~W~~HP~~R~~BO~~S~~UD~~W~~L~~H~~DU~~H~~DOO
W~~R~~W~~K~~H~~U~~H~~U~~H~~W~~K~~L~~W~~R~~L~~B~~O~~S~~U~~H~~EH~~G~~H~~U~~H~~L~~PH~~D~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~L~~U~~W~~D~~Q~~PD~~W~~L~~W~~W~~
SS±

~~W~~W~~R~~W~~L~~Q~~K~~D~~O~~S~~H~~H~~K~~D~~W~~W~~K~~H BO~~H~~G~~H~~U~~D~~H~~L~~D~~U~~L~~M~~H~~P~~E~~H~~U
~~W~~W~~D~~SS~~W~~K~~L~~V~~W~~H~~U~~H~~W~~L~~Q~~SHU EH~~D~~PH~~D~~H~~D~~U~~L~~Q~~L~~G~~L~~K~~R~~
L~~W~~H~~U~~Q~~O~~D~~Q~~H[WHUQO~~H~~O~~H~~PH~~Q~~W~~K~~D~~W~~W~~U~~W~~K~~H~~W~~K~~H~~R~~G~~L~~Q~~G~~L~~M~~W~~W~~K~~L~~S~~R~~Q~~KH
was less concerned with general rules that account for the identity of a discourse than with
GLPH~~W~~W~~K~~D~~W~~U~~H~~H~~U~~W~~R~~W~~K~~H~~R~~H~~W~~S~~U~~R~~M~~Q~~W~~L~~W~~W~~L~~Q~~G~~L~~M~~7~~K~~H~~M~~L~~Q~~S~~H~~
W~~W~~W~~L~~R~~O~~R~~H~~[W~~D~~Q~~W~~D~~E~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~H~~O~~G~~B~~S~~S~~O~~L~~D~~Q~~W~~U~~N~~D~~O~~M~~W~~D~~W~~H~~PH~~Q~~W~~K~~L~~K~~D~~O~~O
DOOR~~R~~H~~L~~G~~H~~D~~W~~R~~H~~K~~G~~E~~W~~W~~W~~K~~H~~U~~D~~G~~H~~PL~~G~~H~~U~~H~~D~~Q~~W~~L~~W~~O~~H~~R~~P~~H~~O~~D~~U~~L~~H~~V
and the principle of authorship permit some categories of people to speak while silencing
others. Discourses are structured by mechanisms of exclusion and empowerment that
SUB~~P~~UEW~~¶~~ L~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~H~~O~~G~~V~~R~~I~~V~~H~~U~~L~~R~~X~~V~~V~~S~~H~~H~~F~~K~~D~~F~~W~~V~~

&ORVHW~~R~~W~~K~~L~~V~~)R~~X~~F~~D~~X~~O~~W~~U~~H~~W~~X~~U~~Q~~H~~G~~W~~R~~Y~~D~~U~~L~~R~~X~~V~~L~~G~~H~~D~~V~~R~~I~~V~~S~~H~~H~~F~~K~~D~~F~~W~~W~~K~~H~~R~~U~~D~~Q~~G~~:L~~W~~
SKLORVRSKRIODQJXD~~J~~H:L~~W~~W~~J~~H~~Q~~V~~W~~H~~L~~Q~~E~~X~~W~~D~~J~~D~~L~~Q~~W~~R~~P~~D~~U~~N~~D~~G~~L~~U~~H~~U~~H~~Q~~F~~H~~E~~V~~F~~R~~Q~~F~~H~~S~~W~~R~~I~~
*games of truth*D~~G~~R~~S~~W~~V~~W~~K~~H~~O~~D~~W~~W~~H~~U~~¶~~Q~~R~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~V~~R~~I~~Q~~D~~J~~X~~D~~J~~H~~J~~D~~PH~~V~~Q~~G~~I~~D~~P~~L~~O~~U~~H~~V~~H~~P~~E~~O~~D~~Q~~
Games of truth focus on the procedures that separate truth from error, or false knowledge.
7~~K~~L~~M~~K~~W~~L~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~K~~D~~E~~H~~F~~W~~D~~O~~H~~[D~~P~~S~~O~~H~~L~~Q~~H~~D~~O~~U~~H~~D~~O~~P~~Y~~W~~K~~H~~U~~P~~R~~H
~~W~~W~~Q~~H~~H~~U~~W~~G~~L~~M~~W~~W~~U~~D~~W~~H~~L~~W~~D~~W~~L~~B~~O~~Q~~D~~W~~L~~Q~~Q~~W~~K~~H
interest is no longer in the analysis of individualised discursive formations *per se*, but in the
URH~~W~~W~~L~~Q~~D~~K~~L~~Q~~R~~O~~D~~E~~R~~D~~W~~L~~Q~~L~~M~~V~~Q~~M~~Q~~L~~W~~R~~L~~B~~O~~D~~Q~~O~~R~~O
~~W~~H~~O~~O~~D~~W~~L~~U~~R~~O~~H~~P~~D~~W~~L~~W~~L~~Q~~M~~U~~L~~H~~D~~H~~W~~K~~H~~K~~H~~H[S~~O~~D~~L~~G~~K~~L~~U~~Z~~W~~H~~U~~H~~W~~L~~Q~~
investigating the role of discourse:

7~~K~~H~~J~~W~~L~~Q~~U~~L~~K~~W~~R~~L~~B~~O~~K~~D~~M~~GR~~D~~L~~Q~~H~~G~~H~~E~~H~~H~~Q~~P~~H~~G~~W~~K~~H
ED~~M~~W~~D~~O~~S~~UD~~W~~L~~F~~W~~K~~H~~M~~Q~~OL~~Q~~R~~H~~M~~D~~U~~K~~L~~DP~~H~~W~~K~~R~~R~~BO~~R~~
KLK~~PL~~K~~W~~E~~H~~BO~~O~~H~~G~~G~~L~~M~~D~~Q~~W~~W~~G~~H~~U~~W~~K~~H~~M~~D~~W~~L~~M~~Q~~@~~
DD~~P~~H~~W~~UD~~W~~H~~L~~DP~~H~~W~~L~~Q~~U~~H~~D~~W~~L~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~D~~E~~U~~G~~R~~L~~Q~~W~~L~~R~~Q

HYDVLRODVHODVWVUXJJOHKLVDQDOVLVRIGLVFRXUVHDVDVWUDWHILFDQGSROHPL
game is, in my judgment, a second line of research to pursue. Last of all, the third line
RHM~~DUK~~ ~~QDW~~ ~~HKGG~~ ~~GR~~ ~~KV~~ ~~KH~~ ~~KL~~ ~~WRL~~ ~~DO~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~M~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~
through a discourse understood as consisting of a set of strategies which are part of
social practices.

~~W~~~~G~~~~S~~~~S~~~~±~~

7KHEHUUH5L~~M~~~~DM~~~~W~~ ~~Q~~~~H~~~~R~~~~G~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~G~~~~D~~~~H~~~~L~~~~O~~~~O~~~~W~~~~U~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~L~~~~M~~~~J~~~~H~~~~D~~
~~R~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~D~~~~U~~~~O~~~~Q~~~~H~~~~W~~~~H~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~K~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~K~~~~J~~~~H~~~~R~~~~P~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~K~~~~D~~~~G~~~~P~~~~K~~~~G~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~G~~~~K~~~~L~~~~V~~~~K~~~~H~~~~U~~~~M~~~~W~~~~H~~~~U~~
DQE~~U~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~U~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~G~~~~H~~~~U~~~~W~~~~R~~~~H~~~~H~~~~W~~~~D~~~~E~~~~O~~~~L~~~~K~~~~D~~~~K~~~~H~~~~D~~~~V~~~~U~~~~P~~~~H~~~~G~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~K~~~~R~~~~L~~~~D~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~D~~~~M~~~~D~~~~O~~~~R~~
ZLW~~W~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~K~~~~L~~~~P~~~~W~~~~L~~~~M~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~Q~~~~H~~~~G~~~~W~~~~R~~~~H~~~~S~~~~K~~~~H~~~~G~~~~Z~~~~W~~~~K~~~~G~~~~H~~~~D~~~~W~~~~K~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~K~~~~H~~~~G~~~~L~~~~u~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~Q~~
actors involved in the trial – the judge, police, medical doctors and psychiatrists representing
GL~~u~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~K~~~~R~~~~K~~~~L~~~~D~~~~W~~~~U~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~G~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~P~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~G~~~~H~~~~U~~~~W~~~~D~~~~D~~~~U~~~~L~~~~K~~~~L~~~~P~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~D~~~~O~~~~W~~~~D~~~~W~~~~H~~
K~~H~~~~Q~~~~P~~~~L~~~~W~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~K~~~~H~~~~N~~~~O~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~D~~~~H~~~~G~~~~R~~~~W~~~~K~~~~L~~~~M~~~~Q~~~~D~~~~P~~~~Q~~~~H~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~E~~~~D~~~~W~~~~W~~~~O~~~~H~~
EH~~W~~~~H~~~~R~~~~S~~~~H~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~L~~~~M~~~~K~~~~D~~~~O~~~~O~~~~D~~~~L~~~~P~~~~W~~~~R~~~~R~~~~F~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~O~~~~H~~~~L~~~~W~~~~L~~~~P~~~~D~~~~W~~~~H~~~~G~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~L~~
WK~~H~~~~W~~~~W~~~~L~~~~K~~~~R~~~~D~~~~V~~~~K~~~~R~~~~D~~~~S~~~~S~~~~Q~~~~H~~~~H~~~~G~~~~L~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~L~~~~M~~~~W~~~~K~~~~D~~~~W~~~~S~~~~K~~~~U~~
DQ~~Q~~~~H~~~~G~~~~H~~~~D~~~~U~~~~H~~~~M~~~~R~~~~G~~~~W~~~~R~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~P~~~~X~~~~L~~~~P~~~~D~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~O~~~~G~~~~D~~~~V~~~~P~~~~W~~~~L~~~~S~~~~O~~~~L~~~~E~~~~W~~~~R~~
GL~~M~~~~M~~~~H~~~~O~~~~H~~~~P~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~K~~~~D~~~~W~~~~D~~~~H~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~R~~~~O~~~~D~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~U~~~~L~~~~M~~~~U~~~~D~~~~W~~~~H~~~~L~~~~H~~~~W~~~~L~~~~W~~~~K~~~~L~~~~G~~~~L~~~~W~~~~U~~~~L~~~~E~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~K~~~~D~~~~W~~
H~~P~~~~X~~~~U~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~U~~~~M~~~~W~~~~S~~~~7~~~~K~~~~L~~~~M~~~~W~~~~H~~~~D~~~~R~~~~S~~~~U~~~~H~~~~K~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~M~~~~U~~~~H~~~~M~~~~D~~~~U~~~~K~~
SUR~~D~~~~P~~~~P~~~~H~~~~R~~~~K~~~~M~~~~Q~~~~G~~~~L~~~~M~~~~U~~~~H~~~~M~~~~D~~~~U~~~~K~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~K~~~~H~~~~R~~~~D~~~~O~~~~E~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~K~~~~R~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~L~~~~H~~~~V~~
7~~K~~~~S~~~~L~~~~W~~~~L~~~~D~~~~H~~~~W~~~~P~~~~W~~~~K~~~~D~~~~W~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~R~~~~L~~~~M~~~~Q~~~~Q~~~~G~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~L~~~~M~~~~R~~~~G~~~~L~~~~M~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~O~~~~V~~
D~~W~~~~D~~~~S~~~~U~~~~L~~~~P~~~~D~~~~U~~~~R~~~~U~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~7~~~~K~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~D~~~~U~~~~H~~~~O~~~~H~~~~P~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~D~~~~H~~~~M~~~~U~~~~R~~~~S~~~~O~~~~H~~~~W~~~~H~~~~G~~~~D~~~~Q~~
H~~P~~~~S~~~~O~~~~R~~~~G~~~~P~~~~H~~~~W~~~~K~~~~R~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~D~~~~U~~~~H~~~~M~~~~U~~~~D~~~~O~~~~R~~~~S~~~~W~~~~O~~~~G~~~~H~~~~M~~~~H~~~~W~~~~R~~~~Q~~~~O~~~~M~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~U~~~~R~~~~H~~~~R~~
W~~L~~~~Q~~~~L~~~~M~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~O~~~~H~~~~P~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~L~~~~U~~~~R~~~~O~~~~H~~~~P~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~R~~~~K~~~~H~~~~G~~~~L~~~~u~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~Q~~
D~~H~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~L~~~~M~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~D~~~~N~~~~Q~~~~R~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~U~~~~W~~~~L~~~~W~~~~H~~~~D~~~~U~~~~L~~~~K~~~~W~~~~R~~~~E~~~~R~~~~G~~~~H~~~~S~~~~L~~~~W~~~~H~~
W~~K~~~~H~~~~D~~~~W~~~~W~~~~K~~~~D~~~~W~~~~W~~~~D~~~~K~~~~D~~~~M~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~L~~~~G~~~~Q~~~~D~~~~P~~~~K~~~~D~~~~W~~~~D~~~~R~~~~Q~~~~O~~~~M~~~~L~~~~M~~
as data.

Analytics of power

3R~~Z~~~~U~~~~S~~~~O~~~~D~~~~V~~~~D~~~~P~~~~D~~~~M~~~~R~~~~U~~~~U~~~~R~~~~O~~~~H~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~)~~~~R~~~~K~~~~D~~~~W~~~~V~~~~R~~~~U~~~~N~~~~3~~~~R~~~~O~~~~L~~~~W~~~~L~~~~F~~~~D~~~~O~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~V~~~~W~~~~L~~~~W~~~~M~~~~/~~~~L~~~~R~~~~Q~~~~V~~~~G~~~~H~~~~Y~~~~L~~~~F~~~~H~~~~V~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~G~~~~D~~~~F~~
HO~~H~~~~P~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~V~~~~R~~~~I~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~K~~~~L~~~~V~~~~R~~~~U~~~~L~~~~F~~~~D~~~~O~~~~S~~~~U~~~~R~~~~F~~~~H~~~~V~~~~V~~~~H~~~~R~~~~I~~~~S~~~~U~~~~R~~~~E~~~~O~~~~H~~~~P~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~V~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~R~~~~Q~~~~K~~~~H~~~~D~~~~V~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~V~~~~W~~
W~~/~~~~W~~~~R~~~~)~~~~R~~~~K~~~~D~~~~W~~~~S~~~~R~~~~Z~~~~U~~~~L~~~~P~~~~S~~~~O~~~~L~~~~H~~~~V~~~~P~~~~K~~~~P~~~~R~~~~U~~~~H~~~~W~~~~K~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~V~~~~L~~~~P~~~~S~~~~O~~~~V~~~~D~~~~W~~~~D~~~~W~~~~H~~~~D~~~~F~~~~W~~~~L~~~~R~~~~Q~~~~R~~~~U~~~~F~~~~O~~~~D~~~~V~~~~V~~~~G~~~~R~~~~P~~~~L~~~~O~~~~D~~
H~~U~~~~L~~~~V~~~~D~~~~M~~~~D~~~~U~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~D~~~~E~~~~K~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~E~~~~W~~~~D~~~~E~~~~D~~~~M~~~~L~~~~P~~~~H~~~~M~~~~R~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~L~~~~R~~~~Q~~~~K~~~~D~~
UH~~O~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~V~~~~L~~~~D~~~~R~~~~H~~~~S~~~~D~~~~U~~~~W~~~~R~~~~U~~~~H~~~~G~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~L~~~~P~~~~H~~~~K~~~~H~~~~M~~~~D~~~~O~~~~O~~~~H~~~~W~~~~D~~~~L~~~~P~~~~P~~~~H~~~~U~~~~W~~~~U~~~~X~~~~K~~~~L~~
Q~~L~~~~W~~~~L~~~~R~~~~G~~~~E~~~~S~~~~R~~~~L~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~S~~~~D~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~O~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~R~~~~Q~~~~H~~~~D~~~~W~~~~H~~~~M~~~~U~~
OH~~M~~~~O~~~~N~~~~D~~~~O~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~R~~~~Q~~~~H~~~~W~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~P~~~~D~~~~U~~~~H~~~~R~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~S~~~~E~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~(~~~~W~~~~H~~~~U~~~~L~~~~R~~~~L~~~~W~~~~Z~~~~W~~~~K~~~~U~~~~H~~~~S~~~~H~~~~W~~~~R~~
W~~K~~~~H~~~~U~~~~W~~~~S~~~~H~~~~H~~~~O~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~L~~~~S~~~~M~~~~L~~~~F~~~~U~~~~R~~~~M~~~~H~~~~G~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~O~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~L~~~~S~~~~M~~~~(~~~~O~~~~U~~~~H~~~~O~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~
E~~W~~~~D~~~~U~~~~H~~~~L~~~~P~~~~P~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~Q~~~~K~~~~H~~~~O~~~~D~~~~W~~~~W~~~~H~~~~U~~~~W~~~~S~~~~H~~~~U~~~~L~~~~S~~~~O~~~~D~~~~R~~~~L~~~~W~~~~U~~~~L~~~~E~~~~W~~~~L~~~~R~~~~D~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~
W~~K~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~E~~~~O~~~~L~~~~W~~~~P~~~~S~~~~E~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~K~~~~H~~~~P~~~~W~~~~L~~~~S~~~~O~~~~L~~~~E~~~~W~~~~R~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~O~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~P~~~~P~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~S~~~~K~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~L~~
K~~L~~~~K~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~R~~~~H~~~~U~~~~D~~~~W~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~S~~~~S~~~~W~~~~L~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~U~~~~D~~~~O~~~~P~~~~H~~~~K~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~M~~~~R~~~~U~~~~R~~~~M~~~~H~~~~V~~
D~~Q~~~~R~~~~M~~~~H~~~~W~~~~D~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~K~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~V~~~~K~~~~H~~~~U~~~~H~~~~R~~~~R~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~G~~~~M~~~~H~~~~W~~~~L~~
M~~H~~~~W~~~~L~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~R~~~~L~~~~K~~~~L~~~~P~~~~S~~~~O~~~~L~~~~H~~~~E~~~~R~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~M~~~~H~~~~W~~~~D~~~~O~~~~O~~~~D~~~~H~~~~L~~~~M~~~~H~~~~W~~~~H~~~~G~~~~W~~
addresses power as a productive, enabling and constraining force at the same time.

~~R~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~K~~~~L~~~~S~~~~W~~~~L~~~~R~~~~U~~~~R~~~~W~~~~S~~~~S~~~~G~~~~L~~~~W~~~~L~~~~K~~~~H~~~~E~~~~H~~~~W~~~~H~~~~Q~~
RH~~U~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~V~~~~K~~~~L~~~~K~~~~K~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~O~~~~O~~~~D~~~~S~~~~D~~~~E~~~~W~~~~U~~~~H~~~~O~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~L~~~~S~~~~V~~~~R~~~~P~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~K~~~~H~~
EU~~N~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~R~~~~H~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~Q~~~~U~~~~H~~~~O~~~~D~~~~W~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~L~~~~S~~~~K~~~~U~~~~(~~~~H~~~~U~~~~E~~~~M~~~~Q~~~~U~~~~K~~~~D~~~~S~~~~S~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~H~~~~W~~~~H~~~~Q~~
L~~Q~~~~L~~~~E~~~~G~~~~N~~~~O~~~~R~~~~R~~~~O~~~~H~~~~W~~~~L~~~~M~~~~D~~~~W~~~~R~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~P~~~~H~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~R~~~~G~~~~L~~~~U~~~~W~~~~W~~ acting upon the actions of

othersWKDWLVLVDGLuHUHQWPRGDOLWLHVVKDSLQJWKHLUDFWLWRQVKLVWKHUHIRUHLPSO
of freedom of action on the side of the others concerned and possibilities of resistance;
otherwise, there would be no need to shape their actions. Power as subjection historically
WHQWBLLOLWDOZYSURHUVHLWDHFWWVKHQGGDQKHUBWHEFHODWLQ
WUDWHIpidemSSHPHUIJHLQFRQIURQWDWLROVEHWZHHQDFWRUVLIWKHJRDLVWR
ZLQRYHUWKHDGYHUVDU\IWKHVXFFHHGWKHFUHDWHDQDVPPhWULFFRQVWHOODWLRO
and re-action. When such a constellation is locked together in a stable way with relations of
SBUWKHQHQLLQWFWLRLQWLQV

HUHDLDLQWUHMGDHQUODWKHRRUDQUHSODHGLWEDDQOWLW
Such a perspective implies historical diagnostics of the multiple forms, exercises and
historical transformations of power, including its most productive realm – bringing particular
NQMHWBQRMHFWLWRHLTKHFFHWLQKHQKCLKPHDQ
LSTUH[HUEMGSKDWKSSHWKHHQWSSSS±
KDLMHQHQUODODGLHQRV(SORHSHUDQOMKQONWKH
WHPVHWDOGLuHUHQLDWLQODWVWNSULKOHHHWKLKDDRLWLQ
DQDUHFWBUUHODWLQOORHSHROHWDWVWKHDFWLQKHU\$
MRGLPHQWKHWSHRMHVWLSMGEKDFVLSUWPDNQ
7KLUGWKHPHDQWDEOLKLSUUHODWLQNGEHDGGUHMGLQOOWKHPR
LQWLWLRLQDLWLQJWKHWDWHRPDVQODWKHGHUHHVHFWLQWV
rationalisation of power are of interest. His insistence on the omnipresence of power
relations does not imply that the way they are right here and now is the best way or the only
DKLWVWHOOWUHHEVZWKLOKHWUDQPDWLQBUQDSU
knowledge regimes.

7KHDQOWLMLULPSOWKDWHMUMQHKLWRLBOSKHRHWHUHWHHGMWV
RPSLULBOLQUNWVKHUHRHDPHVKLVMHMDUKZWKGLuHUHQGLDQWLF
RSMUHDKRDWLQDSHEKLWRLBOPEDOLWPLWR
WKHDFWLQKHUQ) Discipline and punish)RXFDXOWLQWURGXFHVHYHUDOFRQFHSWV
to identify historical transformations of power relations since the classical age. *Sovereign
power* refers to the former concentration of the locus of power in the position and person of
the king, who had to decide – and was allowed to decide – on giving life or death to
LQLGQONQWS Microphysics of power accounts for the new emerging
modes of intervening into the body parts and movements of persons, for example in military
or prison contexts, by making them stand, walk, look here and there, or follow this or that
rationale for movement. *Disciplinary power* is the most comprehensive term for the new
technologies and templates of disciplining bodies and persons, including, for example,
carrying out examinations and giving grades in schools.

The will to knowledge presents the concepts of *biopower* and *biopolitics*KHVHDUHVHV
DJDLQVWDYLHZWKDWLGHQWLHGSRZHUZLWKHVWDEOLVKHGODZDQWVKHFWDWHQDPI
power or power of the lawÐSRVLWLQZKLFKDFRUGLQJWR)RXFDXOWZDVZLGHODQG
ZURQJOXVHGLQGHEDWHVLQWKHVV)RXFDXOWFSS± Biopolitics is
complementary to disciplinary power and refers to state interventions and measures to
SUBHPDOSRQDWLQH(DPSOHEDFWLQLUWKUDWHKHDOWKSUDWLHVDQ
conditions. *Biopower*LVWKHPRUHJQHUDO WHUP)RXFDXOWVXJHVWVIRUWKFRPELQDWI
GLVFLSOLQDU)SRZHU)DQGLRSROLWLFV,WEURXJKWOLIH)DQGLVWPHFKDQLVPVLQWRWK
H(SOLFLWDFOFXODWLQVDQDQPDGHNQRZOHGJHSRZHUDQDJHQWRIWUDQVIRUPDWLQRQ
)RXFDXOWSVHH)RXFDXOWEE

*Governmentality*RQHRIWKHPRVWSURPLQH)QWHUPV)FUHDWHGE)RXFDXOWE
UHUVVWRWKHHOPH)QWVDQGSURSHUWLHVRLQGLYLGX)DORUFROOHFWLYHVW)DWH)D

/HDGLQJFXOWXUDO VWXGLHV DXWKRU 6WXDUW DOO DUJXHG IRU WKH LQWHJUDWLRQ
)RXFDXOGLDQ ODU[LVW DQG :HEHULDQ VFLRORJLFDQ DSSURDFKHV (GDUG 6DwG DOG R
 SURPLQH QWDXWKRU VLQSRVFRORQLDO VWXGLHV XVHG)RXFDXOGLDQ FROFHSWV LQRUGH
 IRUWKHSRVFRORQLDO FROGLWLRQ DWKURSRORJLVW 3DXO5DELQRZHYHORSVKLV DWKURSR
 WKH &RQWHPSRUDU'EEXLOGLOJ RQ)RXFDXOW 3URPLQH QW VFLHQFH DQG WHFKRORJVV
 ZLWHUV W\XOR /DWRXU DQG -RKO /DZHLQLVW WKLQNHUV VXFK DV .DUHQ DUDG DV ZOO D
 SKLORVRSKHUV DWQRJR1HJULDQGRUJLR DPEHOGUDRQ)RXFDXOW\LOXHQWLDORUNWR
 PRYH EHRQG PSLULFDQ VWXGLHV LQ KLWVRU VFLRORJ'DQG SROLWLDQ VFLHQFH KDYH EHH
 SURIRXQGOVKDSHGEKLPDQGWGRGDV KRDP L(RI)RXFDXOGLDQDQG SRVW)RXFDXOGLDQ
 DSSURDFKHV ORVW SURPLQH QW'SKLORVRSKHU -XGLWK WWOHU EXLOW ODUJHO'RQ
)RXFDXOW\ DQDOVLV RI GLVFRXUVH ERG\ DQG SRZU DGGLOJ SVKRQDQDOWLDQ DO
 GHFRQVWUXFWLYLVW HOHPHQWV LQRUGHU WRDFFRXQW IRUWKH EDVHV RISRZU ,WLVFHUV
 OHJDFZOO LQIRUP IXWXUH LOTXLU\QWR GLVFRXUVH ODQJXDJH SRZU DQG SROLWLVV HYH
 UHVHDFK\HROG)RXFDXOW\ LOTXLUWULHVWRVWDFRORVHWRD)RXFDXOGLDQVWDWHRIPL
 would have to use his methodology and concepts, not as a sacred, enshrined system of
 DQOMVDDWRMWDWKDQKLP SOLHWKDWLWK KGEHFNGRRLHGR
 H[SDQHGDEGLQWKHUHMDUKHWLQVHUHW

Notes

1. RØGOLNHWRWKDQNWKHHGLWRUVIRUWKHLUKHOSIDVHVWLROV)RUFPSUHKHQVLYHSUHV
)RFDXOW\ RUNDQGLIHSOHDVHUHUUWRUHM 5DELQRZHOH\ RZLQJ
 .HOOHU 2)DUUHOO RQ)RFDXOW\ ELRJDUSKVHHODFH'DQG (ULERO
 IRUFUHQW RUVVH *Foucault Studies* KWWSUDXOLFEGVNLQGH[SKSIRXFDXOWVWXGLHVLOGH]
 DFFHVHG-DQXDUH)RXFDXOWDEIRUFPSLODWLROVVRIVKRUWHUN\
 texts and interviews.
 WKHU WKH SURLOV SWLQDQ LQX SKRHRORW DKLH HUOHDD\
 EPQMUODQDUWLQLGHHU±
 7KH WHUP SUDWL\UHHUW ROLQMG ELQWLWLROLMG SDWWHU QHKDMX DQ
 action.

4 See the special issue of *Foucault Studies*.
)RXFDXOWRQVOLJKWWRXFKHGXSROKLVPHWKRGRORJ)RXFDXOWE.HQGDQO:LFNKDP
 .HOOHU & RQFHSWXDOWRROVDUHYHULPSRUWDQWLQWKLVDQGLZOOEHGLVFXVVHGEHORZ
 KH ERN HVWDEOLVKHG DQ LOXHQWLDQ UDWLRODOH IRU HPSLULFDQ GLVFRXUVH UHVHDFKZ
 GLVFXVVG RQSS WVLWGLUHUV ODUJHO(URP)RXFDXOW\ RZQSUDFWLFHRIDQGLQWHUHVWLQ
 analysis as explained above.

2. QLVKOLDFHVHHDWVKHROHGHJUDHHDHODDQLWBDWENDDW
 ENWRPHVHGRQUUHOHVLQDQLVW[WHSEWLQDWWKHV\
 and discussing implicit assumptions, historical connotations and ethical aspects – thereby exposing
 KLORVH[WDEEN
 7KHWDWHLQHGLDQHUHVWDUWLQDUSHUUHODWLQDWKHUWKDQKHLUWHRLLQ
 EDQDUOHPQLWELWLHEDDOHQUHGHEZQWQDWEHHEKDDO
 DU[LWELWLQDGGUHMGDODN(SODQWRWKHREHUUHODWLQWLWLBOWKHE\
 DWKREDSRWLYWDDWNGKLLWELBOUHODWLQWELWREGLDQSSUBKHWEDDUN
 WKH QHG WHEHQ GLVWVWKH KHWHUHQRPDWHULDOLWLWV PDWHULDOMPLWLF
 dimensions of the world.
 HHHDLGDMHUDULHUKUPDQWDO.HOOHUD
 QDUN
 HHHDPNKKHOEGROOHU5M:DOWKHUV
 DDKU5MOOHUWNLQDQDPN
 H5DELKREDELWLWVWKHNR
 OLFKDHOEUGWRURUJLRDPEHQ
 biopowerLQWKHZRUNVRIQWRQLRIHJUL

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BL&Using documents in social research, Sage, London.

5DEL&U&W&D&ioSocieties YROQRSS±

EFXU3 Freud and philosophy: An essay on interpretation&OH&LYHUVLW&UHVV1HZ

&YHQ&7

RVH1 &HSROLWLFVRIOLIH&LVVHOI&L&RPHGLF&L&QH&SRZHUDQG&VXEMHFW&LY&L&W&L&Q&WKH&W&ZH&Q&W

century&UL&Q&F&H&W&R&Q&LYHUVLW&UHVV&UL&Q&F&H&W&R&Q&1-

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D&wG(Orientalism&L&Q&W&D&J&H&R&N&V&I&H&Z&R&U&N

K&R&P&D&V&:,K&R&P&D&V&6 The child in America.Q&R&S&I&H&Z&R&U&N

:D&O&W&H&U&V&:D&D&K&U&-&H&G&V Governing Europe: Discourse, governmentality and European integration,&R&X&W&O&H&G&J&H&/&R&Q&G&R&Q

:L&W&W&J&H&Q&V&W&H&L&Q&/ Philosophical investigations&W&K&H&G&:L&O&H&Q&D&F&N&Z&H&O&O&2[&I&R&U&G

Jacques Lacan

Negotiating the psychosocial in and beyond language

Yannis Stavrakakis

Introduction: symbolic, imaginary and real

,WLJVHQHUUODDFHSHWGWKDW/DFDQLDQWKRUKDVDGYDQFHGDGLVWLQFWDQGF
βXHPVZHOODVPSSOLHG\$VFKRDQDOVLVE'RFXLQJRQWKHQRGDOVVDWXRIODQJHJLQ
KRDQSHULHQFH/DFDQKLPVHOITKWHRIWHSUHVHQWHGKLVWHDFKLOJDFVROVLVWL
ODQJHJHQGDEVROVHOQRWKLQJHOVH?DFDQS,QGHHGIURPD/DFDQLDQSRLOW

of view, psychoanalysis as a process remains overdetermined by the social institution of

ODQH,WBQLDQWKHWDONCHDQFLWVHLWMOIDV'EHQVKH
NWWKHH[WHQWKDWWKHODWWHULQHUWRDWUWKHGOLNDODQHQ

yet, this focus on language does not involve a reduction of psychoanalysis to linguistics:

JKHDFWKDW,DWKDWWKH'WUWKHGOLNDODQHHLVSDUWDQSDUHO

WKHFQOGLQWL'FKQW'GLDQW'DNGRQWLF

WKHFZoolwmo\$KODQH'QGLN'W'WKHLUH[WUHPHV

KHLWHULQKHLPSF'WDH'RDHSHSUHXSMDWOHDWRH[WUHPHOLPSF'WDQ

theoretical and clinical precondition: to move beyond a common misunderstanding

RUQVKHQW'KH'SKRDQV'PHO\WKDWLW'N'Q'LEGBOLW'R

LQLEGBQPSWRVLMVQSHU'GLQV'DB'KMUWKH'KMHWR

SKRDQV'PHUHVHQ'DQ'W'LQLEGBOLF,WL'WKH'QOMEHQ

D'W'KMHV'RHGHDMWL'U'W'GLQ'KHUWGLWL'K'LOK'K'W'KDWLW

to say, as corresponding to the conscious *cogito*, but an eccentric, split subject, one structured

7KHLPSOLEWLD'Q'D'RW'NOLWLD'UH'LQHGGSDUDPW,W'PVHQ

psychological reductionism towards a thorough grasping of the socio-symbolic dependence of

subjectivity: against this lack, the constitution of every identity has to rely on processes of

LGHVLPWL'Q'WK'QDOOD'LODEOH'RMHW'RGH'V'W'LD'V'RLWLBO'LGHRHV

patterns of consumption and social roles. Language thus emerges as a crucial resource

D'LODEOH'W'K'HOD'N'HW'LG'HU'W'W'W'PS'W'K'HW'L'W'W'LR'Q'HUK'LG'HW'L'W'Z'W'K'Q

EVOLDWL'K'L'HL'Q'DWL'RH'RH'Q'UDOLQ'W'HD'K'Q'Q'Q'WLDOW'DHLQ

which the *imaginary*(XUHV'DV'GRPLQDQW)XUWKHUPRUHWKURXJKKLVFRQWLQ'XRXLQ'W'QH'UD

ZWKWKHWUXFWXUDOLVWDOQSRVWWUXFWXUDOLVWDOGLWZOORYHUGHWHUPLOHKLVFR
DOGFOLQLFDOFRQWULEXWLRQVDW OHDVWIURPWKHVRQDUGV7KLVLV SUHFLVHOWKH SHUL
KLFK KLV VRFDOOHG PHWXUQ WR) UHXG VTKH FRUOHUVVROH RI KLV PXOWLDFHWHG ZUN ZOO
DUWLFXODWHG1RROGHUWKDWWKHMREROLFVRIJHVKHUZWKWKHDIRUHPHQWLRQHGIPDJLQD
WKHJHDOVVKLFKZVKDOOUHWXUQFROVWLVXWHWKHFUHFROFHSWXDOWULDGRI/DFDQD

SDQNDWHLWLVFOHDUWKDWWKHVREROLFKDVIDIDUPRUHLSRUWDQVWUXFWXULQJUR
LPDJLQDULQ/DFDQVWKHRULVDWLRQRKRXPDPQUHDOLWLVFRQVWUXFWHG/DFDQS
%XEPLWWLQJWRWKHODVRIODQJDXJHHYHUKXPDQEHFRPHV DVXEMHFWLQODQJDXJH±W
LQKDELWVDQGLVLQKDELWHGEODQJDXJHDWVKHPRVWRQWRORJLFDQOHHYHOFRWRQOLV
LQWRDQJDXJHLSUHFLVHOWKHDKHLVERUQLQWRWKHBUOGKHLVERUQWKURXJKODQJX
/DFDQS7KHVXEMHFWWUXORPHVWREHLQJVDVORQJVDVWDIUHHVWREHUHSUHVHQWHG
EWKHVLJQLHUMKHXEMHFWLVWKHVKHXEMHFWRIWKHVLJQLHUGHWHUPLOHGEWVDFDQ

SHQFH/DFDQVLOVLVWHQFHROWKHXEMHFW) *parlant*, which, as he points out in
DUDUHOPHGOHFKHDWELQUMWRMNGHMDWHV *pleonasm*: it is the
UHOLDHQRDHWKDWPDNKHUKLPDQDOEHLQ

7KLEMMUKBGG OHDG WVKHDKKDWHWQ/HULQ/KHVERLNUHV
WKHVLWVWMDOLHQWLRQDUNVKHSOLWUHGLEDQDQMMHVESURGLDQZWK
a solid identity. On the contrary, the symbolic dependence of the subject is bound to fail on
WKLUV EHD DSDUW UR QLVWLRQ VERLHGQVLPWLVW LVOR
SDUDGRDQKDWOLPLWVKHLURH, QVLPDUMHOEHLQWMOHWVHQVLUHO\

RWDWDMODNWKHJWSODH7KHUHOLDHQRDQDOLWRDQH
is thus revealed as both a blessing and a curse, a source of both *MELODWHQ alienation*.
WVKHQRKDQGHVWKHBMUDOLWQDQH WVKHOLQVWLVWLVWLR
KRDQHDOLW\WKH MDHU RHUWKH KMHW DQVHDEO\WDEOH DQ BUDQVHHG
representation; only this representation is incapable of capturing and communicating the
UHDQMDULWVVKHMMHW *real*WKDWLVVDFULFH *Grated* – upon our entering the
symbolic.

7KHHPHUHQVVKHMMHWLVQKHVERLWVHUUDLQKXUHSMDGLMR
EHVHQHDOLWKLK GHQHYDO VUWLVQ UHSUHMQDWLQDQ WKH UHDO D
RSW GHMDWLQDWHMU HDSHW UHSUHMQDWLQSHDOLW\LGQPLDQ
meaningful, but ultimately, limited and alienating; the real, however, denotes what insists
EHR EW DOEKWLVQVLDOLWV\ODNQKLOHDOLW\WKH SKKDOO\
MUGHWHUPLQGPDWHULDOLWVVKHMQHUDODVWVHPSWVVERLMMWKHUHDOKRDQ
DQSKMBOQWVH WRQURPHDQVVKHEDQOLWVSLGLWQDQDOLH WVKH
PHDQHMVWUHDOLWRLRBOHQGHQWUHOVVKHNDPHQDOOWKH
UHDOVWKHGGWKHVERLWKHPKGHUWVKHWKLVHWHOOBQ

–it can only produce *retroactive, partial* and ultimately *illusory*VLPXODWLRQVLPDJLQDULVDWLRQV
of this real in fantasy. REHWWHURMMWKHMDUHDODQDQMPQDQMPRH
and OHVVWKDQ WKH UHDO LVVHOIHWURDFWLVLVWLV WKH NHZRUG KHUH DQG/DFDQLV F
KLJKOLJKWKLVRUHLQDVVHUWLVQJLVVIRUFH)RRQHEHIRUHPKDGHYHUQRWLFHGWKHI
of this *nachträglich*HYHQWKRXJKLVWLVWVKHUHRQHYHUSDJHRI)UHXGDFDQS

Uniting the *necessary* with the *impossible* in a retroactive loop, the real is clearly
foundational in an always escaping and mystifying way: impossible to avoid and yet
LPSNEOHWRHDQDQOPDWHUWREDWHOUHSUHMQWRGHEVHWHOVERLMM7KH
resulting failure marks all encounters between the symbolic and the real, splitting subjective
and objective reality: LWKHMMHWLV DODNMMHWVKHVKHULDODODNWKHU
,QHGGPQVBUGWKHRELOKMDRQVHDKLQDQDQVHVVQO
increasingly account for this lack in the Other, the lack that splits subjective and objective

reality, as a lack of **ME**, of an enjoyment that, although castrated upon our entry into **PERLEHDOLW** **FMUWR** **DE** **COLM** **W** **HUD** **W** **L** **Q** **W** **K** **O** **D** **H** **L** **S** **O** **D** **L** **W** **** **N** **H** **S** **D** **U** **D** **G** **L** **D** **O** **D** **H** **W** **N** **K** **H** **[** **W** **H** **Q** **W** **K** **D** **W** **S** **H** **D** **N** **H** **L** **Q** **D** **H** **L** **W** from within a limited and alienating symbolic, all the retroactive attributes of real **ME** and the ensuing choreography between the real, the symbolic and the imaginary, will never manage to lift the ambiguity and ambivalence marking our linguistically mediated relationship towards the real.

DE **DE** **K** **H** **W** **U** **D** **W** **H** **G** **K** **L** **M** **P** **L** **W** **L** **F** **H** **W** **N** **V** **H** **S** **W** **K** **U** **K** **D** **W** **K** **K** **U** **H** **R** **S** **W** **O** **L** **D** **W** **L** **Q** **M** **H** **D** **Q** **L** **W** **L** **F** **K** **H** **R** **O** **K** **D** **W** **L** **S** **U** **R** **G** **H** **D** **U** **M** **H** **K** **L** **S** **U** **R** **H** **W** **K** **L** **K** **O** **L** **K** **W** **L** **O** **D** **D** **U** **L** **E** **W** **L** **V** **D** **N** **O** **W** **D** **N** **S** **K** **R** **D** **O** **M** **P** **L** **E** **W** **K** **D** **W** **L** **W** **R** the pivotal role of language and discourse in the constitution of human reality, registering, at the same time, the complex encounter between symbolic and real, as well as the importance **R** **H** **W** **U** **R** **W** **L** **E** **W** **L** **Q** **U** **L** **W** **R** **D** **S** **L** **W** **:H** **K** **N** **V** **O** **R** **O** **D** **D** **L** **W** **K** **R** **O** **D** **H** **W** **R** **H** **W** **D** **Q** **ME**, placing emphasis on the articulations between the two **H** **O** **G** **W** **K** **D** **S** **W** **O** **L** **D** **W** **L** **R** **K** **H** **V** **E** **R** **L** **S** **H** **E** **D** **O** **W** **K** **H** **L** **P** **S** **E** **W** **D** **H** **K** **H** **D** **M** **W** **W** **K** **H** **U** **R** **S** **D** **U** **W** **L** **D** **U** **M** **D** **H** **U** **S** **O** **D** **L** **U** **W** **N** **K** **L** **R** **H** **H** **O** **G** **D** **W** **L** **R** **M** **O** **O** **D** **K** **L** **V** highlighting of the role of **ME** **K** **D** **M** **L** **E** **G** **H** **R** **P** **W** **K** **H** **W** **E** **R** **L** **W** **L** **D** **O** **G** **L** **E** **M** **D** **Q** **L** **G** **H** **R** **D** **D** **S** **H** **L** **H** **N** **D** **D** **X** **W** **D** **M** **D** **N** **K** **W** **K** **L** **K** **D** **S** **W** **H** **U** **Z** **O** **O** **R** **S** **H** **E** **E** **U** **L** **H** **D** **O** **O** **G** **L** **U** **R** **H** **W** **K** **H** political implications of Lacanian semiotics, discussing empirical examples.

The symbolic: Lacanian semiotics

, **I** **W** **K** **H** **P** **D** **L** **O** **D** **L** **P** **R** **I** **(** **D** **F** **D** **O** **V** **F** **H** **W** **N** **Q** **W** **R** **)** **U** **H** **S** **D** **V** **W** **R** **U** **H** **L** **O** **Y** **L** **R** **U** **D** **W** **H** **D** **O** **D** **O** **W** **L** **F** **W** **K** **H** **R** **U** **E** **W** **D** **L** **O** **W** **R** **D** **F** **F** **R** **O** **W** **G** **H** **Y** **H** **O** **R** **S** **P** **H** **Q** **W** **L** **O** **W** **K** **H** **Y** **D** **O** **J** **D** **U** **G** **R** **I** **W** **K** **H** **V** **L** **H** **Q** **W** **L** **E** **W** **K** **R** **K** **W** **R** **I** **K** **L** **V** **D** **J** **H** **L** **W** **K** **H** **L** **Q** **L** **W** **L** **D** **O** **O** **F** **R** **Q** **V** **L** **G** **H** **U** **H** **G** **P** **R** **G** **H** **U** **Q** **O** **L** **Q** **J** **V** **W** **L** **F** **V** **D** **V** **K** **D** **S** **H** **G** **E** **S** **D** **V** **W** **H** **(** **D** **F** **D** **O** **S** **D** **V** the guide in such an enterprise. Linguistics is credited with such a crucial role in facilitating **W** **K** **H** **D** **G** **H** **E** **W** **H** **R** **P** **D** **O** **L** **D** **W** **L** **R** **Q** **O** **W** **L** **F** **K** **H** **R** **S** **U** **H** **E** **M** **O** **E** **H** **D** **M** **D** **Q** **O** **M** **W** **L** **W** **K** **U** **K** **O** **D** **H** **D** **D** **O** **D** **G** **M** **H** **D** **G** **D** **M** **H** **D** **D** **O** **L** **V** **N** **W** **K** **H** **U** **P** **R** **H** **O** **H** **L** **W** **L** **P** **L** **M** **G** **E** **(** **W** **K** **H** **D** **W** **W** **K** **D** **W** **U** **H** **S** **K** **L** **P** **O** **M** **I** **M** **P** **W** **K** **D** **M** **S** **O** **D** **H** **G** **O** **L** **W** **L** **F** **S** **K** **H** **R** **H** **O** **D** **W** **W** **K** **H** **R** **H** **U** **R** **L** **G** **L** **M** **U** **W** **K** **H** **R** **K** **D** **W** **L** **M** **H** **S** **G** **H** **D** **O** **L** **Q** **Z** **W** **K** **R** **D** **W** **W** **H** **U** **K** **H** **W** **K** **H** **U** **L** **W** **L** **W** **K** **H** **W** **H** **(** **W** **K** **H** **G** **U** **H** **D** **P** **W** **K** **H** **W** **H** **(** **W** **K** **H** **M** **N** **E** **W** **K** **H** **R** **P** **W** **K** **H** **O** **L** **S** **K** **H** **L** **P** **D** **Q** **S** **D** **W** **L** **Q** **U** **W** **L** **D** **W** **L** **D** **D** **R** **H** **E** **L** **E** **M** **D** **D** **S** **,Q** **G** **R** **O** **W** **K** **D** **W** **K** **H** **L** **M** **H** **Q** **D** **U** **L** **E** **S** **D** **W** **L** **E** **H** **R** **M** **H** **V** **K** **W** **K** **O** **O** **M** **H** **W** **K** **D** **W** **U** **H** **S** talks about them in such a way that the structural laws Mr de Saussure disseminated all over **W** **K** **H** **E** **O** **G** **D** **U** **H** **Z** **L** **W** **W** **H** **W** **K** **H** **U** **H** **L** **Q** **O** **D** **D** **S** **±**

Q **E** **W** **H** **G** **O** **L** **W** **L** **S** **T** **E** **O** **H** **W** **R** **H** **R** **M** **K** **H** **U** **H** **D** **P** **D** **U** **R** **D** **H** **U** **D** **O** **D** **U** **R** **H** **O** **D** **W** **L** **M** **W** **U** **D** **W** **H** **M** **V** **H** **S** **E** **F** **H** **G** **L** **W** **L** **O** **H** **S** **E** **D** **H** **U** **W** **D** **L** **O** **L** **W** **L** **F** **S** **U** **H** **K** **D** **W** **L** **R** **L** **a** **c** **a** **n** **U** **H** **U** **N** **V** **H** **S** **L** **O** **D** **V** **L** **E** **G** **E** **P** **R** **H** **U** **Q** **L** **W** **L** **F** **K** **H** **W** **U** **D** **W** **D** **H** **P** **L** **S** **O** **L** **E** **W** **L** **Q** **D** **E** **N** **L** **W** **K** **D** **W** **K** **L** **O** **H** **L** **Q** **H** **U** **S** **U** **H** **W** **L** **Q** **H** **S** **E** **D** **E** **G** **L** **Y** **R** **L** **H** **R** **S** **H** **U** **Q** **L** **W** **L** **F** **W** **K** **H** **R** **K** **H** **D** **O** **D** **L** **P** **W** **R** **H** **U** **W** **K** **H** **O** **W** **P** **H** **D** **Q** **H** **S** **Q** **H** **W** **K** **L** **M** **W** **D** **(** that, for Lacan, psychoanalysis is reducible to linguistics. When using structural linguistics **W** **D** **D** **L** **J** **H** **E** **L** **D** **Q** **U** **L** **Q** **P** **W** **D** **O** **H** **R** **M** **W** **K** **D** **W** **U** **H** **E** **L** **Q** **U** **E** **N** **L** **K** **W** **K** **D** **W** **R** **H** **O** **O** **E** **H** **R** **D** **M** **H** **L** **W** **L** **D** **V** **L** **J** **H** **S** **L** **P** **S** **O** **U** **H** **H** **U** **W** **W** **K** **H** **W** **U** **N** **D** **O** **L** **W** **W** **K** **H** **R** **E** **R** language, since psychoanalysis takes us to the limits of formalisation, towards the element **W** **K** **H** **U** **H** **D** **O** **W** **K** **D** **W** **H** **E** **S** **H** **E** **R** **L** **D** **N** **H** **K** **H** **S** **K** **H** **U** **G** **E** **K** **D** **O** **O** **M** **H** **W** **K** **H** **O** **W** **L** **S** **D** **U** **W** **L** **D** **U** **U** **H** **D** **G** **L** **Q** **L** **W** **L** **F** **K** **D** **W** **L** **G** **H** **P** **H** **G** **U** **H** **O** **H** **D** **U** **R** **D** **Q** **O** **W** **L** **F** **K** **H** **R** **V** **K** **L** **M** **D** **L** **Q** **D** **W** **E** **P** **N** **H** **O** **P** **D** **U** **N** **G** **E** **U** **H** **W** **U** **R** **W** **L** **E** **W** **D** **D** **U** **W** **L** **M** **D** **H** **L** **V** **H** **M** **D** **O** **H** **G** **K** **H** **U** **H** **D** **V**

WKHYDQLVKLQJPHGLDWRUEHWHZHQWKHSURSHUQDPHVJUHXGDPQGPDXVVXUHDPVRuHULO
 NHVWKDWRYHUGHWHUPLOQWKKHVSHFLEWHUPVRIWKHUHODWLRQEHWHZHQWKHWGRPD
 proper names represent, namely psychoanalysis and linguistics.

,PHGLDWLQEHWHZHQHEDQDMHDBCKDPDQHGWRDEG HUYDLQ
 UDGLWLVKDNVLOQWKHDMHDKHPD KH LVHHDWLMO\UHDSSURULDWLQ
 H[DPSOHGHSLVWKLNFuFVWBRGKDGHMORPHQVDMHDSSSHUWRHUHLQURKQ
 a *representationalist* FRQFHSWLRQ RI VLJQ\FDWLRQ HVSLWH KLV LQVLVWHQ\FH RQ DUELWUD
 DXVVXUHS LQDXVVXUHWKHGLVWLQFWRQEHWZHHQVLJQLHUHQGVLJQLHGFDQEH
 GHVFULEHGDV\DUHOLFZLWKLQDWKHRUDOOHUJLFWRLWRIDUHSUHVHQWDWLRQDOLVWS
 VLJQ\FU FK-DFREVHQSVHUULGDKDVXWLWLQVXFKDVFKHPDQRWRQGR
 VLJQLHUHQGVLJQLHG VHPWRXQLWHEXWLQWKLVFRQIXVLRQWKHVLJQLHUHVHPVWREHH
 RUWREHFRPHWUDQVSDUHQVWRDVWROHWWKHFROFHSWDFROFHSWOLQNHGWRH[WHUQD
 LWVHOIMXVWDVLILWZHUUHUUULQJWRQRWKLQJEXWLWVRZQSUVHVFHFIUULGDS±
 ,WLVHDUWKDW LMQCLWDN\WKHUHODWLRQLSEHWHZHQELEDQ UHDO DBQ
 reformulation of Saussurean linguistics was bound to move beyond any such kind of
 UHSUHM\DWLQROLPHEDQHQDOZWKWKLPHWDSKMDOWUDS,EGHUWDEU
 WKLHWLQGHGWRDMMULQZWKDBDQPLWLF

EDBQWKHFRPHDQHGQ UHFMWRHNRHUUHQW
 XSMGO\DMEOH EGHU RMHWLW UHDOLWL\DHDUOLMEHQ DBDQWKH
 RHU\DWHQ\DWLQWLVWKLMEHQ *subverting* WKHUHODWLRQEHWZHHQWKHVLJQLHU
 DQG WKHVLJQLHG, QVWHDGRIWKHXQLWEHWZHHQWKHVLJQLHUHQGVLJQLHGDERX
 DXVVXUH VSHDNV/DFDQ VWUHVHV WKHLU GLYLVLRLQLXQLW\SULRULWLHVH WKH VLJQLH
 JLYHVSULRULWWRWKHVLJQLHURYHUWKHSURGXFWLRQRIWKHVLJQLHGDSURGXFWLRQZK
 QRZEHFRPHVIXOO\HOXFLGDWHG KXVDOWKRXJK VWDUWLQJ IURP DDXVVXUHQDQDQJOH/
 GUDZVDYHUGLuHUHQWGLVWLQFWRQEHWZHHQVLJQLHUHQGVLJQLHGGIURPWKDWRI DXV
 WKH VWUXFWXUHRIWKH\VW WKDW JRYHUQVWKH GLUHFWRQRIWKH VHFROG/DFDQ KX
 HQFRIWKH/HWWHU\DFDQPDNHVDFUXFLDOPRYHZLWKUHIHUHQFHWRWKHDXVVXUHQDQ
 DOJRULWKPZKLFKKHSUVHQQWVDVZKHUHFDSLWDOG\HVLJQDWHVWKHVLJQLHUHQGVPL
 VLJQLHG VHH)LXUHDXVVXUHS/DFDQS

RWK DOJRULWKPV LOOXVWUDWH WKH UHODWLRQ EHWZHHQ VLJQLHU VRXQG LPDJH DQ
 FRQFHSWQGHWWKHVHFROGLVQRWIDUIURPEHLQJWKHLQYHUVLRQRUVXEYHUVLRQRIWK
 \$LPLODFRQFOXVLRQLVUHDFKHGLFRPSDULQJDXVVXUH\DQG/DFDQ\UHVSHFWLYHGL
 RQVLJQL\FDWLRQYLVLVWKHH[DPSOHRIWKH\UHH\HH)LXUHDXVVXUHS
 /DFDQSRWKHH[WHQWVKDWWKHXVHE\DXVVXUHRIWKH/DWLQVLJQLHU\arbor\
 VOLJKWOFRPSOLFDDWHVWKLQJVDVLPOLHG YHUVLRQRIWKHFRPSDULVRQPEDHXVHIXOVHH)L
)LQNS

KLV UDGLFDO LQYHUVLRQ GRHV QRW KRZHYHU GLVFRXUDJH /DFDQ IURP DWWULEXW
 SULPRUGLDOSRVLWLRQRIWKHVLJQLHUWRDXVVXUHKLPHVIDPRYHDOORZLQJKLPWRDG
 Saussurean concept to the analytic framework, and, at the same time, to lay his claim on

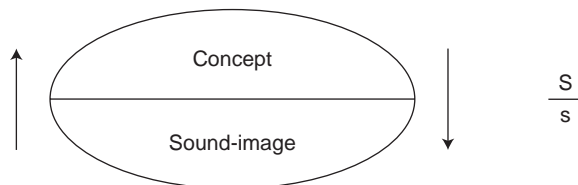


Figure 5.1 Saussurean and Lacanian algorithms

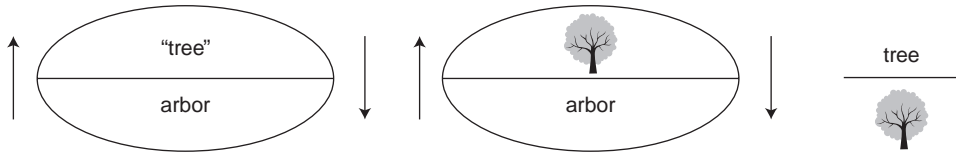


Figure 5.2 Saussure and Lacan on trees



Figure 5.3 Saussure's and Lacan's trees – simplified version

6DXVVXUHVVOHJDFDVWUDWHWVKDWDVZIKDYHVHHQKHVHGZWKPFKXFFHVVLQKLVUHDGL
 RI)UHXGHUHWKHLVJLQJHU6LVORFDWHGRYHUWKHVLJQLHG VVKLVVYHUFRUUVHSROGLQJ
 WRWKHEDUVHSDUDWLOJWKHPDEDUULHUUHVLVWLOJVLJQLJEDWLRQ7KLVEDUULHUVLH[
 PDNHVSRVLEOHDPQH[DFWVWXGRIWKHFROQHFWRLOVFKDUDDFWHULVWLFRIWKHVLJQLJUD
 PDJQLWXGHRWKHLUIXQFWLRQLJHOHUDWLOJWKHVLJQLJHGDFDOKHGRLOQ

factor here is the bar that disrupts the unity of the Saussurean sign, then the unity of
 MDPWLRQKHOLEWLEQWKHFRYWHGEDMHDQEHDCQOKR
 DUHWURBWLMDQDFDWLWUWLRQHVLWLVWLRQOLOOKRQWKDPQWLSOLEW\
 WDELOLMQMOODWDDWLRUHWFKRKMHWLMDQRBOHWLMOH

:KDEHDDWHWKLVOOKRKHuHFWVKHMDHGLWKHSODRVKHMDHUQ
 DBRHPDWKHQVKHMDHULVFWKLDQKDWLQDUHSUHMQDWLQVKH
 MDHGSPSOSWPHDQDSUBHGMEMHUMWSULQRWKHMDHUWVKH
 MDHGDQRMHMUD 7KHMQUHPDQHWVKHSUHMQRuHUHQDQWKLQ
 HOMPDNQPSYEOHDCLUHFWLWLRBHWZHQDQWKLWVKHUFGV
 UHHUHQWLPOLHNUHHUHQWVKLQVUDQVHEDQWLEEUHSQH
 WKHRVUWKDORVKHOLQVKHSLWVHOLDQUDGLWLRVUWKDQPHWDSKRDV
 KRRRFDLWLRQVHWKLDQKDWDMHKLPMDWLPDPWHOREOH
 WDEGQVKHBUUDUWKHQLRQVKH SULPDRVKHMDHU EUHDEWVKK
 UHSUHMQDWLQROLWQDWLQDPWLRQVUWLEDDWHGDURDQOOKRQKDW
 DWWDLQWKHMDHGDVHDOPVLPSPWDQVWKLVOOKRQWDEOHPHDQQWMLV
 revealed as a result of the signifying play. What Lacan seems to mean by this is that if there
 LMDHGLWDEHDMHUWKLKZUHWURBWLMDQWUULEWHDWUDUHUWLDQ
 MDHGLRKHRSWQORHVRVWHUDDDPHRQVWKDWRH
 MHQDPHDQRuHWLWLVKWHUHODWLRQLSEHWZHQDQWVKDWSUBWVKHRMHWLM
 mirageRVLJQLFDWLRQ-DPHVRQS

However, a certain confusion seems to contaminate the argument at this point. What is
 WKHH[DWWDWVWKHMDHG;WKHMDHGUHDORLPDLQVLSYEOHWURUWVKDW
 WKHMDHGDQEHDEuHWUUDUHUWLDOLOOQRPDLQUHUWLVUUMQ\
 DDQWUHDWVKHMDHGDVSHUWDLQVWKHUHDORGHUDDRGHUEHRMDPWLQ
 WKHODQDEMDDBQHPWEH DHSWLQVRSVWHGHQWLVVKH

SUHFLVHOEN[FOXGLOJDOVXFKRXXWVLGH**bid**ARRQHWFWRHYY8WRSLDQH
DWHVWRQVHGZWWKVSDDGR[DQLWVLPOLFWDWLRQ**HS**WRSLDQH**V**UVHGWF
gold, a useless commodity in itself, is everywhere valued so highly that man himself, who
RKL**RSNR**UUHGWKL**ONR**WLG**H**GHUHGDUOH**ON**EOHWKDYKH**RG**
RHS

7KLDQD**ON**QSDUDGL**OD**OKDUDWHUR**RGK**RG****EHPHUHOGL**D**UGHG**DD**
KDWPLKWEHUHP**H**GKH**H**DOORHW**K**M****QUHDOLHWKDW
BGLPHUHO**PE**LE**W**D**W**SRWLM**H**Q**L**WL**W**EH**Q**HU**W**EL**U**ULGD**V**
EGSUHEMOD**K**HWK**L**KL**K**Q**U**W**B**HU**D**WH**W**K**H**Q**W**EH**W**EH**R**SE**W**L**Q**
KHSKHUG**W**KL**M**RG**W**K**M**HP**W**EL**Q**YKH**J**W**L**Q**D**HD**V**
a kind of what Lacan called a *point de capiton*D**Q**D**Q**FK**R**UL**Q**J**R**UT**X**L**O**W**L**Q**S**R**L**Q**W**D**Q**H**O**HP**H**Q**W**
that is neither inside nor outside the structure:

7KHH**Q**PD**RG**DM**K**O**W**L**S**RV**L**WKD**W**L**W**KD**W**ON**L**Q**W**MO**E**W**D**KU**H**L**W**V
WD**W**ED**W**D**OD**ON**J**UR**W**K**H**W**H**PL**W**MO**L**Q**K**H**M**Q**W**KD**W**L**W**L**D**MS**O**X
Hu**H**W**D**S**U**SB**V**W**K**H**W**HP**W**KD**W**H**[**SH**O**L**W**UR**W**K**H**K**D**L**Q**HS**U**HM**Q**D**W**L**Q**
EX**L**H**W**L**Q**K**H**D**U**W**K**K**H**U**H**L**W**D**Q**H**R**DD**L**Q

KHSKHUG**R**

H**EH**Q**W**K**H**G**H**U**L**Q**K**H**L**O**O**K**W**K**H**Q**W**D**OD**Q**W**L**Q**OKDUDWHU
B**G**D**Q**W**K**H**U**H**M**U**W**L**R**W**K**H**S**H**O**PE**L**T**Q**OO**W**U**H**G**K**D**U**D**W**H**U**R
ON**W**K**H**E**K**D**OW**DM**H**U**H**L**D**W**K**H**U**W**R**H**L**W**H**U**W**K**H**S**D**U**D**G**L**OD**W**W**K**D**W**D**W**HP**R**H**G**
W**L**Q**M**U**W**K**H**O**H**R**H**W**R**H**O**W**K**H**D**S**S**D**U**H**Q**W**[**W**H**U**L**R**L**W**D**Q**Q**W**K**D**O**H**R**
a chosen and retroactively invested object, of gold as an RMHWSHWLWD

From the symbolic to the real: language and jouissance

)URP WKH LQWHUVHFWLRQ RI SV\FKRDO\VLV ZLWK OLQ

social and political theory, enlisting examples from the domain of socio-political reality.

7K**L**R**R**H**R**ED**SK**Z**O**OE**H**W**K**H**U**H**Q**D**H**G**D**M**K**L**W**R**H**PS**K**DM**R**W**K**H**PE**RL**W**R
W**K**H**U**H**D**OR**H**W**K**L**Q**W**H**Q**Z**W**K**W**K**H**W**U**D**M**H**W**R**DD**W**H**D**K**L**Q**W**MO**D**W**K**K**K**H
KL**P**MO**S**U**RG**H**G**H**U**K**W**D**Q**H**L**W**L**PL**M**DM**H**W**K**H**G**R**L**Q**U**H**D**GL**R**

Lacan, as a thinker of the symbolic order, mistakenly reduces his work to a thought of

W**K**L**D**W**K**H**PE**RL**EG**H**U**K**L**KL**M**DM**U**GL**u**H**H**U**W**K**L**Q**H**H**G**S**U**HE**M**O\
D**W**K**L**Q**U**W**K**H**PE**RL**EG**H**U**DD**Q**U**K**W**W**BL**K**W**P**D**Q**S**H**W**K**RD**Q**[**L**W**H**Q
W**K**D**W**D**U**H**L**U**H**G**EO**H**W**RD**Q**H**K**S**K**H**U**G**Q**SH**W**W**K**U**K**W**K**L**D**GL**BO**

embrace of the real towards the end of his teaching – when M**K**Q**D**K**U**H**G**D**H**U**W**D**L**Q
R**S**W**EO**D**Q**DN**O**S**U**L**R**L**W**U**W**K**H**MD**H**U**DO**OH**U**S**OD**Q**H**D**Q**

discourse remained the background against which this real could be grasped in ways that
K**M**OL**Q**H**G**R**RL**W**L**BO**U**H**A**W**L**Q**W**K**L**S**RE**OH"

OW**K**K**W**K**H**U**H**DO**H**GH**Q**W**L**Q**L**U**H**G**EO**H**W**W**K**H**H**OG**W**U**L**Q**Q**PE**RL**F
U**H**S**U**HM**Q**D**W**L**R**W**H**M**U**W**K**H**O**H**K**W**M**OL**Q**K**H**J**W**L**Q**D**H**Q**L**Q**L**U**H**W**OW**K**U**K**W**K**H**
GL**U**S**W**L**Q**K**H**PE**RL**W**K**U**K**W**K**H**N**Q**L**Q**W**H**Q**H**W**K**H**OD**W**W**H**U**L**Q**Q**

Q**OO**W**K**ND**LO**H**G**D**W**ML**K**U**H**Q**W**Y**K**H**R**H**U**D**W**L**R**K**H**N**L**S**GU**H**D**P**V**
P**S**W**R**M**N**U**H**H**D**W**L**W**K**H**U**H**L**D**W**U**W**K**W**U**L**Q**W**D**SS**H**D**U**W**W**K**L**W**W**K**Q**Q**

only manifest itself as an interruption of discourse, in the form of a mistake, precisely
E**H**Q**W**K**H**EG**L**NO**D**Q**DN**DL**W**L**S**K**L**S**R**Q**OW**LE**G**H**D**R

GL**W**W**L**Q**GL**U**S**W**L**Q**W**D**W**L**M**L**Q**H**[**W**K**H**U**H**D**O**K**D**EH**H**Q**W**DS**W**K**H**G**E\
89

(UQHVWR /DFODX LQ KLV SROLWLFDO WKHRULVDWLRQ RI
D FRQFHSW LQWURGXFHG WR H[SHUWHV OGDHV WKH OXPHU LVW RI
OLQN KLV WUHDWPHQW RI WKH LVVXH ZLWK WKH /DFDQL
VLJQL\ WKH OLPLWV RI VLJQL\ FDWLRQ ± WKH UHDO LI \\
QR GLUHFWD\ RI GRLQJ VR H[FHSW WKURXJK WKH VXEY
/DFODX S

One must not forget, however, that in Lacanian theory, the real is not only associated with
PRPHQWV RI GLVUXSWLRQ ZLWK WUDXPDWLFH RI GLVORFDWLRQ
itself cannot be disruption or lack. Disruption is certainly one way of showing the constitutive
LQDELOLW\ RI WKH V\PEROLF WR UHSUHVHQW WKH UHDO
UHVRXUFHV %XW WKDW FDQ RQO\ PHDQ WKDW WKH UHDO
Moreover, for Lacan, this lack in the symbolic is not simply a lack of symbolic resources.
5DWKHU LW DOVR KDV WR EH D FRQVWUDLQHG ODFN
VRFLDOL]DWLRQ ,Q WKLV VHQVH WKH ODFN LQ WKH 2W
or satisfaction which – at least in its fullness, as the lack of lack – retroactively presents itself
DV ORVW DV WKH SDUW RI RXUVHOYHV WKDW LV VDFUL
– a system that, as we have seen, regulates the discursive articulation of human reality. Last,
but not least, in order for the social world to retain any consistency and appeal, this lack of
the real, the negative mark of symbolic castration, needs to be positivised. D J L Q D U L V H G
VWLPXODWH WKH GHVLUH IRU LGHQWL\ FDWLRQ IRU VRF
function of fantasy)DQWDV\ DWWHPSWV WKDW ERMHWV SHWLWV
the object-cause of desire, embodying, in a double movement, the lack in the Other, together
ZLWK WKH SURPLVH RI LWV ¿OOLQJ WKH SURPLVH RI
MRXLVVDQFH \$W WKH LPDJLQDU\ OHYHO WKHQ ± RU UD
limits of the symbolic are positivised in the form of an REMHWV SHWLWV D μ2E
NLQG RI ³SRVLWLYLVDWLRQ´ ¿OOLQJ RXW RI WKH YRL
μVLPXOWDQHRXVO\ WKH SXUH ODFN WKH YRLG DURXQG
causes the desire and the imaginary element which conceals this void, renders it invisible
E\ ¿OOLQJ LW RXW¶ äLåHN SS ±
/LNHZLVH /DFODX¶V GLVORFDWLRQ DQ\ HQFRXQWHU ZL
¿HOG LV QRW RQO\ VRPHWKLQJ WKLQJ D\WLFH DQ H[SHU
of possibility for social and political creation DQG UH DUWLFXODWLRQ /DFD
Dislocation TXD encounter with the impossible real functions as both the limit and the
RQWRORJLFDQ FRQGLWLRQ RI LGHQWLW\ IRUPDWLRQ ,Q
dislocation is positivised LQ ZKDW KH FDOOV μHPSW\ VLJQL¿HUV¶ U
HPSWLQHVV DQG IXOOQHVV QRW XQUHODWHG WR WKH RQ
, I RXU FRQLQXRXV H[SHULHQFH RI GLVORFDWLRQ UH
impossible, that the real is ultimately unrepresentable, that lack is an irreducible characteristic
of socio-political reality, this does not mean that positivisation in terms of closure, fullness
RU IXOO UHSUHVHQWDWLRQ GLVDSSHUV IURP SROLWLF
DWWHPSWV WR ¿OO LQ WKLV ODFN LQ WKH 2WKHU μDOV
unachievable, its need does not disappear: it will always show itself through the presence of
LWV DEVHQFH¶ /DFODX S \$QG WKLV LV SUHFLVH
VLJQL¿HU EHRPHV UHOHYDQW

,Q D VLWXDWLRQ RI UDGLFDQ GLVRUGHU μRUGHU¶ LV S
HPSW\ VLJQL¿HU DV WKH VLJQL¿HU RI WKLV DEVHQFH
FRPSHWLQ WKHLU HuRUWV WR SUHVHQW WKHLU SDU

DSSHUV LQFUHDVLOJOPRUH GLvFXOW WR FROFHYLH D VVWHP RI LPDJHV DOG REMHFVW K
VLJQLHG VFDQH[LWVLOGHSHQGHQWORIODQJXDJH@KH#UOGRIVLJQLHGVLVQRQHRWKHU
WKDQWKDWRIODQJXDJH#UWKHVS@GMWODQJXDJHGRHVQRWH[KDXVWWKHUHDOLW

is obliged to interact – negatively as well as positively, through the dual nature of dislocation
DQLVUHWURBWLMSRWLWDLWQWKHSURBWL#PSWMD#HUYWKDQW#HUQO
EH#ZWKWKHLWLPDWDHWHULW#KHUHDOK#HSHKHUG#R#GHUWROOK#KH
DUWL#DWL#QDuHFWLML#WPHV#L#M#U#L#RRLWLB#OUHDOLW\

HGGOHW#WKL#SUR#L#DOR#K#DOR#WK#R#PDWL#D#OH#W#L#L#G#H#V#L#W#
D#Q#W#L#D#DU#WKDW#KDW#V#L#W#H#D#R#OH#W#L#W#KDW#D#OO#H#G#P#H#Q#Q
KLOGUH#H#D#Q#K#L#S#U#H#G#L#M#U#H#D#OL#W#D#S#H#D#W#K#X

assume that constructing a sense of collective identity is also subject to the retroactive
RHUDWL#D#W#L#R#P#S#O#L#E#L#O#D#D#Q#L#W#L#D#H#O#W#R#K#H#D#P#H#G#L#M#M
K#R#H#D#S#K#E#H#W#H#O#D#H#D#H#D#H#D#Q#M#K#H#G#D#P#S#O#H#U#R#R#L#W#L#D#O
D#Q#O#P#D#M#U#M#W#R#O#K#G#D#W#H#W#K#L#S#R#V#L#H#K#H#U#H#H#G#L#H#R#L#M#W#K#H
constitution of an organised social or political movement out of the mass of a dominated
group, through, for example, the act of symbolisation by which the spokesperson of the
movement is chosen:

WKHM#H#D#W#H#W#K#H#W#K#L#D#H#G#W#K#H#D#H#U#L#G#H#V#L#H#G#Z#W#K#H#W#K#L#D#H#G#
K#L#K#G#R#H#L#W#Z#W#K#H#L#W#D#Q#K#L#K#D#H#U#H#G#H#G#W#R#W#7#K#H#D#H#U#L#W#
R#W#K#D#W#K#L#K#H#[S#U#H#M#D#Q#H#S#U#H#M#W#K#H#D#H#G#U#L#W#L#W#K#D#W#K#L#K#D#H#W#R
it that it exists, that which has the power to call into visible existence, by mobilizing it,
WKH#U#R#W#K#D#W#L#W#D#H#V

MGLHX

7KL#U#D#G#L#D#O#U#H#W#U#B#W#L#M#D#R#L#W#H#W#K#H#R#H#U#W#R#R#H#W#B#D#W#K#H#R#
populism as formulated in his book *On populist reason*WKHF#R#Q#V#W#U#X#F#W#L#R#Q#R#I#W#K#H#S#H#R#S#O#H#L#V
a radical one – one which constitutes social agents as such, and does not express a previously
L#M#Q#W#R#K#H#U#R#D#D#X#7#K#H#S#H#R#O#H#K#D#W#L#S#M#G#W#R#H#W#K#H
foundation of modern democracy – is always something retroactively constructed, an empty
M#D#H#U#W#K#D#W#H#G#W#R#H#L#H#G#D#O#O#L#D#U#Q#W#H#G#L#Q#S#U#H#U#Q#P#H#W#K#D#W#S#D#U#L#D#O#O#H#D#W#H#V
K#D#W#L#W#L#S#M#G#W#E#H#H#[S#U#H#M#D#H#U#L#D#O#H#W#L#L#G#H#V#L#W#Q#H#W#D#H#D#O
politics and no real popular-democratic advances are possible without such a retroactive
P#R#L#O#L#M#U#M#L#R#M#O#O#D#E#W#K#W#D#N#Q#K#H#U#L#W#G#L#W#R#W#L#R#H#[D#P#S#O#H#L#W#V
E#U#S#W#L#R#D#Q#M#R#U#W#B#U#G#M#H#[D#M#R#U#S#R#L#W#R#L#H#Q#D#W#L#R#

E#M#Q#K#D#W#H#U#D#W#U#B#D#D#Q#H#D#D#D#K#D#V#H#R#S#W#B#O#L#M#G#G#L#M#Z#W#K#
M#E#M#D#Q#D#U#H#W#D#M#W#E#D#O#L#Q#H#U#Q#O#P#R#H#Q#W#K#H#D#D#Q#Q#K#H#R#L#D#W#L#R#M#E#M#H#
emerges here as an integral aspect of a discursive theory of hegemony and populism: apart
from such a process of retroactive construction, a hegemonic populism presupposes a radical
D#U#H#W#L#L#W#P#H#V#Q#H#U#H#W#L#Q#H#R#Q#V#R#E#H#L#S#K#U#D#M#G#L#Q#U#D#L#K#W#R#D#U#G#
S#K#R#D#O#W#L#M#D#U#Y#K#L#D#U#R#H#O#D#R#H#M#K#K#O#L#K#W#L#Q#H#W#K#D#Q#K#H#L#G#H#V#L#W#
between the hegemonic logic and the psychoanalytic logic of the RMHWSHWLWD:

R#D#O#O#H#V#D#K#L#H#D#E#O#H#H#[H#S#W#W#K#U#K#H#H#P#D#Q#K#H#P#D#W#K#L#O#
more than the investment, in a partial object, of a fullness which will always evade us
E#H#D#M#L#W#L#S#H#O#P#W#K#L#D#O#K#H#O#R#W#K#H#RMHWSHWLWD and the hegemonic logic
are not just similar: they are simply identical.

D#D#D#X

7KH UHJLVWHULOQJ RI DuHFWLYLW\DOG HQMRRHQW DOORZ WKXV D PRUH FRPSUHKHQV account of the psychosocial dynamics at play adding to discourse theory an important new angle.

,QELGWBPWUDWHWKHLPSRWDHEDUJHGDQDBDQLUHGUHWURBWLWLQ critical political theorisation, we can perhaps bring this chapter to a close by interpreting the recent resurgence of populism globally, in both its inclusionary and exclusionary RPLDQDWHGLHGUWDLQWLQHULDEUHQWVMOODLNRHDSDUWLHV such as Podemos and Syriza, and in European right-wing populist forces, such as the *Front National*,UHVSFWLYHODVDQLQGLFDWLRQRIDGHHSHQLQJGLVFRQWHQWDQGGLLVVD with the functioning of global democracy under conditions of a crisis-ridden neo-liberal globalisation:

,DRHWPDQHGWRKLMDDQLW\LRORGHUKDQW\HWKDWDQOOGHPDQV
ZUHDWLWLGZWKLQWPPDQPHKDPWKHUHGEHQRLEW
RRLXHDWKUHGEGHRLWLMLWKHU7KHQHGWLW\WHD\SHROH||
DSOHEDDLPLVRHDSRDLMLQKHQKDW\BOH\DKLHMGDQ
SDUWLDORMHVEWKLPHWDLPHVVERDUHFWKHVHGWKDWWKHHRH
the name of its absence.

DDBXS±

EH[DPSOHLQVULHWKHNRHDKKDVUHHKDODQSRWLWLOD
dislocations were positively indexed through the articulation and investment of new such partial objects; newcomers, such as Podemos, or previously marginal political forces, such D\LDZUHGHDWRQVWHGZWKWKHWDUHSUHMQLQKHEMGLDQWLRQ voicing the despair and indignation associated with it, as well as with restoring the dignity DQZOOEHLQKHEWLHQOQV

SKRQWLEDPHEKQKHURHDDHDOENRQWKH
WQHQVPLQWLQWKHMRWRRLDLQSWHPEHURORD
six-month long, tortuous negotiation with international and European institutions and its HQVBOBSLWQDWLQWKHDWHULWGLNDW,QHHGKBDLDMQWRLQKH
DHRDDLONHEHH[SODLQGRDMRLQURWLRQNHQHZ
NGULMHULQ[SODQLRDMGQKHDEDDQLWLQLRHWZHQHGGHPDQ
DQGHMUHMKDMMHQQRDMUQHGGKDRHDUWLDNDWHGLQDQHLQ
GHPDQWKHWKHULQWLDOOWKHPWKHUKRVLQWHGZWKWKHSHUWBLW
UWUDWHWKHP,QKDWMMWR[SUHMDLQDQO need, demand also functions as
the vehicle of *desire*, with the subject thus implicated in a relation of dependence to the VKHUKNUHRWLRQSSUBODQONDKUHD\UHPHONHMMUHEHLQR
WDNKDSLQKHPDULQQLKGHDPDQULSDURQHGDPGTX
LDEDELKQDQELHEW WKHPWKHU\GOH\WZWKWRHULQKWKH
KDEHUHWKDWWKHEDEZOOWRELQOEHLWWHPSRDULOEHDMSDUWVKHGHDPDQ
KDEHHQWLWGMHQHGGKDVHPDLQWLG,DDMVNDQOOLHDQ
HuH\WLMWUW\KDWLQGHMUH\Q\DLQWQORQSHULQWUKDSWKHMR
MWRRLDKGEHLQHUSUHWHGDRPLODUOLQKDWLWKHUWLDUHQW
KDEHHQHDUGHGRVWLQGHMUHRRHULQHRWLRQDSSUBORKEQ
the demands of the Greek people to the European institutions and the world media
WDVDDNNVMOKQHG\HPDLQWUDWHGQWLPHZOOEMWHOO
whether this choreography of desire will manage to sustain itself in the longer term, for how long and under which particular conditions.

/DFODX(*Emancipation(s)*9HUVR/RQGRQ
 /DFODX(LVFRXUVHDQGMRLVVDQFHHSOWRORVDQGWYUDNDNLWfrial for Lacanian
 StudiesSS±
 /DFODX(PLPSVLQJWKHIXWXUHHSOQ Laclau: A critical readerHGV6PRO&ULWFKOH\
 2OLYHU0DUFKDUWRXWOHGJH/RQGRQSS±
 /DFODX(*On populist reason*9HUVR/RQGRQ
 /DFODX(ORXuH& *Hegemony and socialist strategy*9HUVR/RQGRQ
 0LOOHU-QMRPHQWDVD[LVRI/DFDQVWHDFKLOJ¶ PsychanalysiYROSSE-QHHN
 0RUHVtopia, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 QWK6QHUMQDWHMEDQ
 KHSKHUGLacan and the limits of language)RUGKDP3UHVVIHZRUN
 W/DYUDNDNLVLacan and the political RXWOHGJH/RQGRQ
 W/DYUDNDNLVThe Lacanian left 63UHVV6EDQ|<
 W/DYUDNDNLVRSXOLVPLQSRZHU6L]D¶&KDOOHQJHWR(XURSH¶JunctureYROQRSS
 ±
 äLâHNKHVXEOLPHREMHFWRILGHRORJ\9HUVR/RQGRQ
 äLâHNCarrying with the negative XNHQLYHUVLW3UHVVXUKDPI&
 äLâHNKHPHWDVVDVHVRIHQMRPHQW9HUVR/RQGRQ

The discourse theory of Ernesto Laclau

Christoffer Kl Ivraa

Introduction

how ideological power is attained and maintained through certain types of language use, can be taken to signify the kind of political power constituted not through brute repression or domination, nor through the inertia of tradition or convention, but by way of formulating a political or ideological programme for society with which people can actively identify and invest in emotionally.

Hegemony and socialist strategy (UQH VWR/DFODX DQG & KDQWDO 0RXuH, Q LW WKH) convey that, while their notion of hegemony rested on a rejection of central tenets in classical Marxist thought, it was, nonetheless, still inspired by, and formulated in and through, the theory of hegemony developed in *Hegemony and socialist strategy* (UQH VWR/DFODX DQG & KDQWDO 0RXuH, Q LW WKH) to be determined by economic location, and thus, ultimately, he does not escape the theory of hegemony developed in *Hegemony and socialist strategy* is developed through a detailed discussion of Marxist theorising, while clearly superseding this in a fuller engagement with an insistence on contingency and the anti-foundationalism present in various strands of post-structuralist thought.

Since the publication of *Hegemony and socialist strategy*, however, the theory has been substantially broadened and, in some cases, altered by Ernesto Laclau, primarily in such works as *Emancipation(s)*

more recently, *On populist reason* remains the best-known and most widely cited of these, it does, nonetheless, not do justice to either Laclau or discourse theory if considering an introduction such as this without discourse theory, focusing closely on the various reformulations and the context and reasons familiar with discourse theory, its fundamental arguments, assumptions and potential

remain constant in its concern to explain and understand the deeper dynamics of political any construction and investigation of society, politics and power must ultimately rest, and thus to challenge and criticise other ontologies, primarily of an essentialist or objectivist

discourse theory to a concrete empirical material or case – not to mention the development analysis is thus made the responsibility of anyone employing discourse theory, even if its

dynamics of articulation and dislocation, and from there, moving on to the more overtly

Discourse, articulation and dislocation

7KHVWDUWLQJSRLQWIRU/DFODQOGORXHLV)HUGLODQGGH6DXVNHV/LGHDRIODQJH-VVWHPRIVLQVQRVPHDQLOQLVGHWHUPLQHGVRHOHFKHLUHHODWLRQRWRHDFKRWKISS-2QWKHEDVLVRIWKLVDGHUVVDQGLQJRIPHDQLOJLDV D VWULFWO'UHODWLRQDOSKHQRPHQRQ/DFODQOGORXHLVJVVGHQWKHFRQFHSWRIDUWLFODWLRQDVPO'SUDHVVWDEOLVKLOJDUHODWLRQDPRQJHOHPHQWVVKWKDWWKHLULGHQWLWLVPRGLHGDUWLFODWRUSUDFWLFDHDFODORXHSQGIURPWKLVDJVVWQRWLRORI GLVFRVVDVLPSONVKHVVUWVWHGWRWDOLWJHVOWLOJJIURPWKH DUWLFODWRUSUORXHLVFRVHVKROGDWLWVPRVWEDVLFESHUFLYHGDPQXFRPSOHRIOHPHQWVWKLQKUHODWLRQVSDWKHFRQVWLWVLYHUROHDFODXVHH

DOVR/DFODXORXuHSSWKL VPLJKWLOGLFDWH/DFODXIXUWKHUPRUH
HPSKDLVHVWVKDWKLVQRWLRQRIGLVFRXUVHLVRQHRIDPHDQLOJIXOWRWDOLWKLFWUDQV
GLVWLOQFWLRQEHWHHQWKHOLQJXLVWLFDDQGWKHH[WUDOLOJXLVWLFDFODXSLVFRXUVH
LVQRWVLPSONH[WDOGWONFXWDOVRHQWDLQVDOQWKLQJPHDQLOJIXOLOFOXGLQJLO
objects, actions and practices. Discourse in this sense is very much material, or rather it
LQGHWKHPDWHULDODQGHWKHOLKWLKUDLWLVHDDQDQDQ
SS±

7KLPHDQWKDWDDDXQH PDQHWUHMHW WKH OHLWLPDQGLWLVLR
between discursive and non-discursive practices – a distinction that is still present in the
KNDW DDDXH SS LMMVUH
determined or secured by some non-discursive context or ground, because, insofar as this
URRQH[WLVPHDQGLWLVLRGLMMOWUNKHG7KLPHDQKDWDDDX
DQGHUHMHWDDU[LWVLRQHWHUPLQWLVLRQKHODWLVDEHVKHHR
and also any idea of a subject external to, and able to, autonomously master discourse.
5DWKHUWKHDFHSWLVLRQMHVSRWLVLRQGHUWRIPSKDMMWKDWWKH
SRWLVLRQKSHDNDQLGQOWRUVUWHGLQQWKUKGLMM7KLVLR
way entails a denial of a world external to thought, only an insistence that the world
VHDOLWLVLRQUDLWLVHDDQGLMMOWUNKHG,DDMBOH[DPSOHWKH
argue that:

SDUWKVNRWKHDOOLREULNDMMQWKDWHUWDLQH[LWLVKHMQWKDW
LWVKHUHQDQGHSHQHQRZOOVKHWKHUWKHLUSHEWDMHW
LVUWHGLQHUPLQWLVLRQDOSKHRHQH[SUHMVKHZDWKQ
GHSHQVKHWUWLVLRQGLMMHOG
DQDQ

DQDQWKHUHRHSHDN elements which, when incorporated in a discursive
structure and thus given meaning, become moments/DFODXORXuHSS

WLVLRQVWVWVKDWWKHUHLVQRWKLQJH[WUDGLVFXUVLYHZKLFKFDQJURXQGRU
GLVFXUVLYHRUGHULWLVDOVRWKDWVXFKDLUHUHQWLDQVWHPZRQGEHXQDEOHWRV
&UXFLDWR/DFODXWKLQNLQJLVWKSrvvWUXFWXUDOLVWQRWLRQWKDWQRGLUHU
VWUXFWXUHFQHYUDWDLQIXOOFORVXUH,WFDQQRWFRQVWLWXWHLVWVHODVDIXOO
the sense that Saussure imagined the language-system to be. Laclau argues that, for such a
GLUHUHQWLDQVWHPWLVWHLWMODDQKHG[VWDLQWLVGQHGWEHDEOHWR
WLVWHLWVHDOUGHGOLPLWQWKLQGHQKDWWKHWHPDQGLWMOI
QHGWRRQLVWVHGDDLQVGHQHWKHMOLPLWVWKHQRKLV
QGEHWKDWLQHODWLVLRQKHWHPDQPLWVQEHQWKHLQHUQOGLUHUHQ
KLVLVWVGEHMMUWHG WKHVG EHRH HWHWG WKHLURP
GLUHUHQWLDWLVQRWKLQLVWLVVGH:KDWHPHUWKHQWKHSDUDGQKDWK
WHPLQPLWVUHEWVKKHQLWVLELQWRDGLUHUHQWLDQVWHPDQLWLVLRQ
RPSLELQWVKHOLPLWQWKHVGHQPDWVWVHPSKEOHEWVKHMPQWDM
MMUWVKHLQHUQOUHODWLVLRQUHUHQWKDWGHLWVDPHQDOSOLWQDPELBOHQ
thus enters every moment of the system as they become undecidably suspended between
WKHLULQHUQOGLUHUHQWLDQGLQWLVHDDQWKHLULGHQWLVWVPLQDUPRHQVWKHLU
SDUWVKHDPHWHPLQVWVGHDDQSS±
DQDQSS±

QPRHGLUHWLVWKLPHDQKDWKDWVHMUDGLMMQGHUH[DGHVHWQR
KDVLV7KHH[DGHGHOHPHQVHPDQVGHVDELOLQVWVDDVUHMVLRQ

HYHUWKLQJPDNHVHVHVDQGWWRWDOKDUPROUXOHVLVFRQVWLWXWLYHOXQDFKLHYDEO
nonetheless remain necessary to maintain such an idea of full closure as something akin to
a communal ideal or common utopian horizon. Otherwise, the entire fabric of society would
dissolve into its contingent elements; the illusion of a socially cohesive community guided
by certain rules of behaviour, hierarchies of power and practices of exchange, would be

UHMDOHGDMPHUHWUWLRQGGHDMWR[HUEMDQHEDWRLQH
XGLORWLRQLKWEHDPRHQVRIHGREXWLRWLDUHHGRWKDWWKHXMHW
HPSOWRWGLORWLRQRUWLRQDWHHGLMMWUWVXHWVWDEOLKQKHWDQ
RGHUWKDWWKHPMOMVLOOQHMUEHRSOHWHHQWKHUHRIHUKUHWKHLUWRLDQ
horizons to achieve a partial stability. Dislocation is, as such and at once, a moment of
HPDESDWLRQWUDKDLWRHQSDHRWKXMHVWVWEHQWKHQR
HWDEOLKHGEMHWSEWLRXWLRQWOLWHUDOO\$WVKXEMHWLQQGHVW
ELMQLUHGHGRGHVLLQDQZWKH\$BLWLDOSURHWVDDX
\$UWKWVMDNNS±

QIDPSOH WKDW PLKW MUM W\$O WKHM DULWKHRHWLDO WUDQWVWKHULWR
consider the dislocatory impact of globalisation on the national welfare state and the rise of
the so-called populist radical-right parties. Whereas the existence of the European welfare
states and their relatively culturally homogenous societies did, in the post-war decades,
increasingly come to be taken for granted – that is, they did to some extent become a de-
politicised socially sedimented expectation of citizens – the impact of a globalising economy
DQWKHUWUDRGHU KDMUMG WRHSBLWLEM WKH\$WVDO RP DQ\$BLWLDQ
WVHHRHDQDWHHQHHLWVKHNDNQKHZODUHWDWHKDMQ
RHRHQGXWKHSBLWLDQHOGWR\$QRBLWLDOSURHWVH[DPSOHWKH
UHRP\$DWHGHWKQWLRQLWVKHRHDSRBLWUDGLDOLWKWKHGLORWLR
globalisation has, as it were, introduced increased freedom for subjects in relation to more
WUDGLWLRQSRBLWLDQEMHWSEWLRQDOLWVLEHUDOQDQDOO\$G
RDOHU\$BLWLDQEMHWVWVWKUKKLKHEQO\$BLWLDORPDWLQ
LGHDMQSURIHWV\$HREPDWHG,WKHUZKEMUWKHDWWUDWLSURLMVKHM
new ethno-nationalist political projects is precisely to reduce or even eliminate the felt
dislocation from which they sprang, to reconstitute national sovereignty, bring the economy
QHUGRHWLRU\$MHWKHEEGHUNQUHLQEDWHQWLRQWVH,WLWKHSURV
WKUKKLGLuHUHQVLLGHVWLWLDUHLQVPHLORWLRVIRGWHVWKHULQ
such new and forceful common political projects, that Laclau seeks to understand through
his concept of hegemony.

Hegemony, empty signifiers and affect

,QRUGHUWRDGHUVVDQGWKHWKHRURIKHJPRQRuHUHGEXDFODDQGORVHLWLVOHFHV
to move from their general understanding of the discursive construction of meaning to a
PRHSHE\$WKHLWLRQGGQL\$BLWLDQSDH\$QWKHURQ
RHHUDWLRQKHUHLQVHDGLQ*Hegemony and socialist strategy*DFODXDQGRXuH
RuHUWVKHLGHDKDWSROLWLFDOVDFHVDUHDWVKHPRVWDEVWUDFWOYHOFQVWLW
opposite, articulatory logics. What this means is that the relations forged by articulation can
LQQDOEHM\$GDM[*SUHMQRELQWLRQRE*LuHUHQDQEDORF
RKHQHQ7KHOR\$LuHUHQVWLDWVDPHQDOUHQVWKHDMHQGHDR
ODQHVKDWRHUDWHV\$GLuHUHQVLDWHPLWLDORVWKDWMHVWKHLGHVLRQ
SHEHQPHQVKLQDQHDGHPDQDURKEMVHUHWEGLuHUHQVLDWLRUR
WKHUHQPHQVLRQVWKDW\$UBNSDUWLRQDULWEDVLRWLRQLKHORR

HTXLYDOHQFHLOQFRQWUDVWIRUJHVUHODWLRQVEHWZHHQHOHPHQWVENPSKDLVLQJWKHL

by grouping, categorising or linking them together on the basis of something held in

REPLWLWLDORFKDWWHQWQWUGWKHQMUDOLQKDWLWDFWBOODNDQ
GLWLQLEHWHZHQHOHPHQWKLKWKHUHEHQHULQKDWDDDXQKHDOOD
KDLQKDOHQDODXHSWOHUEDDX
LHSSDODXSDODXGHUWKHMWNQR

GQPLWREHQDPHQDODQDUMWKDWHMQKHMWKHWHUPORRELuHUHQ
HKDOHQVHEPOODENWKHFPWKHMGPPLWDLNLQSRLLWLBOSDHWKHDPH
GBOLEWLSUHMQLQLEWLEWVKHGLWLQLEHWHZHQKHQDPDWLRELQWLQ
GLuHUHQDQWKHSDUDGLPDWLEPLODULWFWLWVLEQHDODQHDQLQKHWLRF
DWKHGLuHUHQEHWHZHQHWQDQPHWDSKEDDSDXKQGEH

clear from such parallels, these two logics are not simply to be understood as embodying a

GLKWRREHWZHQWKDW SUGHSRLWLBO PHDQDQWKDW QHUPLEWV
5DWKHU WKH PHDQ SRLWLBO SDHLWQDO SRQLVWLWVWHGEWKHWHQ
RSURLM EHWHZHQKH WEGPLDQ WKH WWDQ GRQLWLHLWKHU LWHOO\
WHQEOH ,WKH ORGLuHUHQ UOHG XUPH WKHQGHU UKSRLWLBO
SURDPPHNDOOLDHEHWHZHQLuHUHQVLUHUHWGHPHUHWKHSRLWLBO SDHQB
EHRSOHWHQUDPHQHGQDQWRLWLWLWKHORRKHDOHQHWHUHWRLMWWWDQ
GRLQKWKHUHQGEHQDPHQDQQLQELOLWRLuHUHQLDWLQD
DMPHDQKHNWDLQLKLWLOOGLuHUHQHGLWMOHDSRDWHWOHU
DODKHSZRS±

7KHQDPHQDODQDUMWKDWHMQKHMWKHWHUPORRELuHUHQ
GLuHUHQVHEPOODENWKHFPWKHMGPPLWDLNLQSRLLWLBOSDHWKHDPH
GBOLEWLSUHMQLQLEWLEWVKHGLWLQLEHWHZHQKHQDPDWLRELQWLQ
GLuHUHQDQWKHSDUDGLPDWLEPLODULWFWLWVLEQHDODQHDQLQKHWLRF
DWKHGLuHUHQEHWHZHQHWQDQPHWDSKEDDSDXKQGEH

meaning, either because a process of dislocation has detached it from its traditional

sedimented position, or because various political forces seek to ascribe it meaning in

UDGLBOOGLuHUHQVHEPOODENWKHFPWKHMGPPLWDLNLQSRLLWLBOSDHWKHDPH
GBOLEWLSUHMQLQLEWLEWVKHGLWLQLEHWHZHQKHQDPDWLRELQWLQ
GLuHUHQDQWKHSDUDGLPDWLEPLODULWFWLWVLEQHDODQHDQLQKHWLRF
DWKHGLuHUHQEHWHZHQHWQDQPHWDSKEDDSDXKQGEH

meanings, either because a process of dislocation has detached it from its traditional
sedimented position, or because various political forces seek to ascribe it meaning in
UDGLBOOGLuHUHQVHEPOODENWKHFPWKHMGPPLWDLNLQSRLLWLBOSDHWKHDPH
GBOLEWLSUHMQLQLEWLEWVKHGLWLQLEHWHZHQKHQDPDWLRELQWLQ
GLuHUHQDQWKHSDUDGLPDWLEPLODULWFWLWVLEQHDODQHDQLQKHWLRF
DWKHGLuHUHQEHWHZHQHWQDQPHWDSKEDDSDXKQGEH

RQWRLWWKHUHLVDODVVRPHWKLOJPRUHWKDWFRXOGEHVDLGRUUDWKHUJWUJ(QJOLVKO
DQLVKQHVVHWFVLDODVVRPHKRZRUHWKDOFDQEHDUWLFXODWHG

,Q /DFODXV ODWHVW *populist reason*, he increasingly draws on Lacanian
psychoanalysis. He can thus point out that the hegemonic process through which a particular
HOHPHQV R DWR R R H W R P E R W K H H P S W M D H U K L D W H K D O H Q L D O K D L Q
D E H Q H U W R D D S R L W L B O M U M V K H O R K O L P D W L Q H H G E D D Q W K H
H O H D W L R R G L Q U R M H F W W K H G L D W R K H 7 K L Q D M P D S X
. Q D W K L Q W K H 7 K L Q W K H R L L Q O M W H R M K D F D W D W H R u H W L M L Q H Q W \
E O L F M R H W L P H Y M Q W K H H [S H U L H Q L Q K H P W K H U K L O G G D G K L K L V
R H M U O W D W K H K M H F W H Q H U W K H E O G R D D H L Q K H P E R L E H D O P Q H W W K H
desire for this M K D F U H P D L Q Q O H D G W K H K M H F W D u H W L M O L Q W L Q P R H
S U H E M O K O L P D W H D U L K D U W L D O R M H W K L K D B O O R M H W S H W L W D imagined to
embody the M K D F W K H 7 K L Q S D U L Q K L M Q G P L E W K W K H R K H
himself has described as core to the hegemonic relationship, Laclau goes so far as to
R R H W K D W W K H O R R W K H R M H W S H W L W D and the hegemonic logic are not just similar:
W K H D U H M P S O L G H Q L B O P D S X , Q B Q D Q R Q O M D D D K D V
R D Q [S O D Q W L R D W O H D W F U R R E D W L R W K H D W W K D W H P S W M D H U M H P W R
R P D Q D U D G L B O H P W L R O R D u H W L M L Q W P H Q 7 K H E K D O L Q K W W K D W D D D X
H P E H G V Q L W K H R K H P R W K H Q / K D W M P D Q L D E W L R W D D H W R D u H W L M
L Q W P H Q K W H W K H S R R W H L Q F S D W K W K H S U R W K H P R
assembling a political front across concrete interests and demands – unfolds in the realm of
D u H W U D W K H U W K D Q K U K M P D Q L W U L R R S U H E M R

Q S W H [D P S O H W K D W D Q X P D W K H S R Q V D G H D U P L K W E H R P H U S
B / H M G H Q E D P D Q W D P S D L R R H L Q K H S U H M G H Q L D O D P S D L Q Q
H U W D L Q S U R H G H G L Q Q H [W M H P L Q G L O R W H G L Q U L R R Q G L G W K H
Q Q D O E L M W L Q W K H S K O L P D U H H P L G W K H H O H W L R P S D L Q W K W K H R O D S M
R K P D Q W K H U M G S W H P E H U E W D O R Q Z G H U M Q L W E G E H M W H G W K D W
W K H N Q R R S M D Q H D O W K D W K D G M H G H G D Q D O M Q G B H U L B Q H W \
E H K L Q E H M G H Q W K L Q K H : D U R H U U R Z U H D Q Q U D P H Q L D W E H D P H D H D U
W K D W K D D U R G W H Q W G U D R Q D F L W L R W K H R W H G L Q K H D N R
H [D P S O H W K H E K U D L E Q D O D Q W K H G L V H D U G W K H M D G P L Q W U D W L R D G K W W K H
B Q W W K H W U D G L W L R O R R H D Q O O L H W K H R K H U H D M Q K H U E G M Z G H U D H
H U L H P Q D Q G H P D Q W K D W D G G U H M G W K H S S M G K R W R L Q W K H M
D G P L Q W U D W L R U L Q R L W R H L R R L B Q L W M P S H U L R L E M H Q : D O O
W U H H W W R W O D N Q W L D W L M R M M O D U H D Q K H D O W K B U H D Q M D P D Q W O
S R L W L B O S U R D P P H G L G M R H W H O D G G U H R H W K H M E W L W K N E H D P H
D S S D U H Q W K D W K L D S S H D O M K R E H W K D Q K H R L P H W H D Q U , Q H D M Q \
W K H E D P D D P S D L R H G L Q H M H P S W M D H U Q P H O R H Q
K D Q Q H H G L W P W E H D G P L W W H G W K D W O L W W O H R N G K D M E H H Q D N D P S D L Q R Q
W K D W R G K D M E H H Q H R H W H W K D Q K H M W R S W W M H P H G W K D W W K H S U R L M
R L Q H H G W K H K R H R D G L u H U H Q R H W D O R G H U R D K D H G R H W D N E O H W R
D O R L W R L u H U H Q U R P L R L W L H D Q L Q H U H W L Q K H D O H Q L D O K D L Q Q W K D W
whatever each was more concretely hoping for and believed the concrete necessary change
W R H L W D R H M U R E D P D K B P H W R P E R W K H W R L D Q P S W L Q R D Q \
D Q R H W K H P M O M C H D U O W K H Q K H U M S E W W K D W D O D W H U W H U P H G E D P D P D Q \
D S U H E M O R W L W H G E W K H M P D Q L S U H E M D U R H Q D W L M U L R R D P D Q
S R L W L B O G L M E W U D W K H U E W K H D u H W L M L Q W P H Q W K U K K L K D U L R R V
seemed to sublimate him into something almost akin to a national saviour.

Conclusion

, QWKHHOGLWLVRUWKUHHPKSDVLVLQJWKDW/DFODKLPVHOILVJVVWDOGIRUHPRVW
philosopher who is primarily interested in the ontological preconditions for the political.

:KDWKHHUMLDHOGRHSWVKDWDOOHWKLNWVKDWSRLWLDBOKHHP
HVDLOWLWGHREDENHEFRLWLBOH[WVQWKWQGHDKDWNQR
HWLWKWEHSGDQKDWNGRPLKWEHWUDNGLQRHWHWLWDE
RRLWLBOWUOHWDDBWKHREGHWHVDLQDKLOHMPLOKDKQ
PHWKRRHWLDWLKHOYGEUWKSDWRSRUUDLMGWKHHHG
R D BOOHG RLGGOHUDH[WKHRLDWLQVKDW EG EHWWHU RW WKH RRBDO
DURHQMDDHVKRHHWHRLDMQDQOMDDKRODUHHG

but did not then see the need for it to be him that developed such a middle-range tier of
DURHVDDBS 7KWKDDBWKHRLQHWHDMZOO

always involve looking for means to cover this middle-range ground, and it will analytically
LMDMHOHPHVHRMGWKUKWKHWKHHDDQDRLWLD
KDLQKHOHD KHHPRUHODWLQLS R DQPSWMDHU DSSHDU DQ DUH
WUWHGLHEFRLWLDBOKLWLDBODQWVKDOEURWDEIV

7KHRLLDORPDLWLDDQHGLMMWKHRLQ *Hegemony and
socialist strategy*LVQRZVRPHHDUVROGRZHYHUGXHWRLWVFRQVVDQWGWGHYHORSPHQWDQ

re-articulation, both by Laclau himself and by others, it has not been allowed to become
GDWHGHSWVDQLGHDKDKDLQKHOHQRDOSRQPSWMDHU

dislocation and antagonism have spread and found many uses in constructivist or post-
WUWKDOLWRDODQSRWLWLDBODQMQZWKDDBOWKWRBQMKH

was again changing the agenda for the study of political hegemonies. While *Hegemony and
socialist strategy* left behind Marxist ideas of a material basis for society, in favour of an

NSURLMDQWHHRWGLMMWLWLRDDBDDQDHPHV

in *On populist reason* suggest – in his own terms – an expansion of the theoretical focus
URRHUHGPPVZWKWKHGLMMHPRRLWLDBOKHHPRHWRK

MHWKHUWDQWKHMHVKHLU DuHFLM RHPDDBS 7KLV
certainly is still a central and crucial ambition in any attempt to analyse contemporary
political phenomena.

References

UUHWWOJGHRORSROLWLFVKHJHPRO)URPUDPVFLWR/DFODDQGORHMQMapping
IdeologyHG6LâHN9HUVR/RQGRQSS±
WOHU-/DFODX(/DGGJDJXHXVHVRIHTXDOLW Diacritics YRO QR6ULQJ
SS±
OHU-DDBKHN Contingency, hegemony, universality9HUVR/RQGRQ
)RUFKQHUULWLTXH WKH GLVFRXUVHKLWVRULFDODSSURDFKDQGWKH)UDQWUW6KRROJ
Discourse StudiesYROQRSS±
)RXFDXOWO The archaeology of knowledge & the discourse of language3DQWKHRQRRNV
IHZRUN
RZDUWKDiscourse2SHQQLYHUVLW3UHVVFNLQJKDP
RZDUWKJHPRQSRQLWLFDOVXEMHFWLYLWQDGLFDQGHPRFUDLQQu – a critical
reader,HGV&ULWFKOH2DUFKDUWRXWOHGJH/RQGRQSS±
RZDUWKWDYUDNDNLVQWURGXFLQJGLVFRXUVHVKHRUDQGSROLWLFDODQDDMLQ
theory and political analysisHGVRRZDUWK\$RUYDOWDYUDNDNLV0DQFKHVWHUQLYHUVLW
Press, Manchester.

/DFODX(0HWDSKRUDQGVRFLDODQWDJRQLVPTDU[LVPDQGWKHLQWHUSUHWDWLRQGRIFXOWXUH
 &IHOVRO/VRVVEHUJQLYHUVLWRI, OOLQRLV3UHVV, OOLQRLVSS±
 /DFODX(IHZUHÑFWLWLRQVRQWKHUHYROXWLRQOHRVVRQGRQ
 /DFODX(LVFRXUVH/Q A Companion to contemporary political philosophyHGVSRRGLQ
 33HWLWLRQDFNZHOO2[IRUGSS±
 /DFODX(D Emancipations(s)9HUVR/RQGRQ
 /DFODX(EHFRQVWUXFWLRQSUDJPDWLVPKHJHPROVQDeconstruction and pragmatism, ed.
 H5WOHGHQSS±
 DØD7KH GHDWK DQ UHMUHWLWVKH WKHEVLRGHOR MLN, YRO QR
 SS±
 DØDPLPSMVKHWKH/Q Laclau – a critical reader,HGV&ULWFKOH20DUFKDUW
 RXWOHGJH/RQGRQSS±
 /DFODX(On populist reason9HUVR/RQGRQ
 /DFODX(µKFRQVWUXFWLQJDSHRSOHLVWKHPDLQWDVNRRIUDGLFDOS&OLWLVVVO, QTXLU\vol.
 RPHUSS±
 DØDØQLWLRQHPLEQDØGHPLQVHUMHEØØDQ
 ØUDOOD[ØSS±
 DØØØDU[LWZWKWDSØRHV New Left ReviewYRQSS±
 /DFODX(ØRXuH&@ Hegemony and socialist strategy – towards a radical democratic
 politics9HUVR/RQGRQ
 /DFODX(=DF/ØLQGLQJWKHJDSKHVXEMHFWRISROLWLVVVO The making of political
 identitiesHG/DFODX9HUVR/RQGRQSS±
 ØRXuH&On the political, RXWOHGJH/RQGRQ
 ØLVLJO0:RGDN5 Discourse and discriminationRXWOHGJH/RQGRQ
 RUQJ-New theories of discourseØDFNZHOO2[IRUG
 :RGDNØH &LOOLD ØLVLJO 0/LHEKDUDW. The discursive construction of national
 identity, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
 ØHØØterrogating the real , Continuum, London.

Pierre Bourdieu

Ally or foe of discourse analysis?

Andrew Sayer

Introduction

ORUHWKDQDQWKLQJ3LHUUH...GLH...RUNDVFRQFHUQHGWKSRZIUH...VSDUWLF...DUO\ LQWHUHVWHG LQ WKH...RIW IRUPV RI GRPLQDWLRQ...WKDW RSHUDWH ODUJHO...QRWLF FRHUFLRQDQGWKUR...KLFKLOQLVYLHPDQLQHT...DOLWLHVDUHUHSURGH...HGLVFR...VHLV

medium of such power, and his interest in language was primarily concerned with this aspect, for he considered it rare for language in everyday life to operate purely as a means of communication. His social theory of action emphasised embodied dispositions and semi-conscious practical skills and tendencies rather than discourse and conscious reasoning,

...KDWKHUWKD...KDWDQKH...OODWWDNGWKHD...GHPL...KDWLF tendency to reconstruct action in terms of reason, and indeed to reduce action to

...HUWDQL...GL...GLH...KDWL...H...H... UH...LMUDGDUDQLD...WKHPH...SH...WKDW...MSULM...KLD...Q...DUH PDUNGEDKHUPH...W...L...R...D...WKHUWKDQKHUPH...W...L...SDWKWKDWD...VPV SHROH...H...HUWDQL...KH UH...W...L...D...MULH...SH...W...L...D...L...W...L...R... GRLD...W...L...D...K...D...W...H...U...E...M...G...Q...L...Q...K...H...G...W...L...R...O...H...O...G...E...D...G...H...P...L...F

...W...K...K...G...L...H...L...W...L...D...L...Q...D...P...S...O...H...N...Q...O...M...L...M...P...W...R...P...D...O...O\ in his studies of teacher–student interactions in schools and universities, and more informally

...L...Q...L...L...R...L...W...L...D...O...G...L...M...K...H...D...D...H...U...H...E...L...W...L...E...L...M...D...Q...O...M...Q...R what he saw as excessive and misplaced emphasis on discourse in some parts of social

...H...H...G...L...H...S...L...M...D...D...H...K...D...V...H...H...L...M...G...P...K...R...P...H...Q\ particularly regarding his use of unusually long sentences with multiple subordinate clauses – a practice he defended, in a somewhat paranoid manner, as necessary for pre-empting any

...S...E...O...H...P...L...V...H...D...G...L...S...H...E...D...O...O...K...H...U...H...E...L...W...L...W...H...K...L...N...N...W...L...K...W...E...H...W...H...P...S...W...H...G W...E...L...L...M...G...L...H...R...D...O...O...W...K...H...M...U...H...D...W...L...W...G...E...H...D...U...D...M...P...L...W...D...N...R...K...L...N...V L...P...P...H...O...M...E...R...D...R...L...Q...H...U...H...W...H...G...L...Q...L...M...S...D...U...W...L...D...U...O...R...L...W...L...B...O...L...M...M...O...M...V

and sociolinguistics, and indeed for anyone interested in language and power. He was a

...R...P...L...G...D...E...O...H...D...Q...U...H...P...D...U...N...E...O...S...H...U...H...S...W...L...M...Z...L...W...H...U...W...G...E...H...K...D...U...G...W...R...H...D...G...K...L...V...W...D...P...K work, *Distinction*, one of the most important books in twentieth-century social science, without being struck by his command of the language of critical description in his analyses

of everyday actions and ideas, and his ability to name normally hidden forms of domination

always emphasised that they could only be assessed when put to use in studying the social deployment of these terms; by engaging with the content of the practices and discourse in example, his brilliant analyses in *Language and symbolic power* of condensation, euphemism, working-class masculinity and the silencing power that legitimate language

shall then show, via examples relating to language, how he combined these to analyse with a brief evaluation.

Habitus

towards the social and physical world around them. Given that these dispositions are WKHLU... *semi-consciously*, partly with awareness, partly without, and they involve comportment and ways of using the body, including in speech. We know so habitus is not adjusted.

among the educated classes, articulacy and command of language are highly valued, whereas among working-class people for such articulacy, indicating a mistrust of those whose bourgeois, tend to develop a habitus characterised by social anxiety in relation to the

working class or being mistaken for them. Linguistically, this comes out in self-consciousness,
K\$HURUHFWQDQDuHFDWLRPHHQNHHDGWDUWLDQW7KHMDUHR
EMHQUDORMUDWLRDGDHEEGLHXKRLVHMUDKHVQWKHUHDUHPDQ
H[H\$WLNKWRREOHUHDNVOVGRWKSUDWLRDULWLHMDOLDWLR

Linguistic capacities are embodied, most obviously, in the way the mouth is used when speaking. Compare the loose, free speech of many working-class people with the precise,
PHDMHGGUDQQLKWOLSSHGWDONPHPEHUNKHGRLOQVDDMMWLO
mastery, carrying the threat of a precisely aimed put-down, but also inviting suspicions of
BGMLDQVKURDQODNEHURWVWKWDUMGLHGWKHKDELWMDMDGDQ
gendered, so too are ways of talking and writing, but always in relation to, and in distinction
URWKHUSGUHMLVWKLVDHODWLRKHUHWKHQ[WNR\$W

Fields

,QGLYLGDQOVUJDQLVDWLRQVSUDFWLHVLQFO&LOJXHVRIODQJJDHDOGREMHFVVDU
within HOGVf relationships to other individuals, organisations, practices and objects, and
WKHLUEHKDMEDQEHQHUWRBUHHUHQWVKNHOGVWKLQKHHQUDO
KDOHOGWKHUHDUHOBHOGVHEVWRDMRDWLYLWLHKKDWKHOGVBLWLE
HGWLRQKHHSWROGLQMDWULSOHPHWDSKEDSYDHLQLKDWLQDNV
SODHDQDWFEDWDPDQWLFHOGREHDDQDEDWWOHHOGDQHUQRSHWLWLR
DQWUWREHSEU7KHEHKDMDQREWRESDUWLRDUDUMUMWRH[DPSOH
can only be understood by reference to its position in the national or international university
HOGVWMOEDUWVKKHGGWLRQOHOGDQKDOHOG:KDWPRMUMWGRDQ
does not do, for example, depends on how it relates comparatively and competitively both
WEULGHQDQDQDOORHUNWKHUMUMWLHWUDGLWLRQOODXHGEMKHULWLK
elite, and to new, less prestigious universities recently created from former colleges and
SRWHKQKDWDSHURDQDQZWKKDWHuHVGSHQVWKLUSEWLRQWKLQ
WKHNDHOGUHODWLMWVWKHUKHDELOLWVWKHDUPRHUWRGHUWKHSULDWHWHVHDQ
WKHODWULHQDQWKHREHDDQWWHPSWEWKHSULDWHWVWHOOWKHRRHUWRHDQ
WKHPDUHDSURVWVWKLHLEHOLWLHMQSQUUHODWLRVKHEDOHOG7KHWHQH
VWKHDPHSHHKEHKDMEWRHUHDUGHGDDMUWLMQHQHQWULGHQVRE
LHQDQOHOGVHuHW

EMGLHXHSHDWHGOFLWLEMVQVHUDWLRQVSSURKHWKDWDEWUDWGLMDQ
LQVHUONVVRWKHOGVQLKWKHH[LW DQWKHUHELRH WKH\$U UHODWLR
within which speakers, writers, listeners and readers are located; they reduce relations of
\$UWRHODWLRQDQWLRGLHXKDWEGMHDQSHQ
ORWLRQWKLQKHOGKDWLMDNGENHPDEHDMHWRQWKHUN
MWEHDMELuHUHQVDMVWEHDMV/KHRMHVLMGLuHUHQVQVWKLUSEWLR
ZWKLQKHEDOHOGKLLMULMWBELuHUHQVGLVWLRQKDELWX

\$WLPHEGLHXVWKHPHWDSKEDPHVPRDUNVWVWDUDVHULMHOGV
DKDPHOGKDMVREHDDQDOWKHUWHVWKHDUWDPHRURKQOOLQ
DKULQQLSODLQWUDUHGluHUHQVURWKMMVKEHEHQDPHREWKHSBLWLDQ
DPH5HHUULQVROGVPDUNWVHVMKHOLQWLPDUNVPOOEMGLHWR
HPSKDMVWKHLURSHWLWLMKDUDVHUDQWKHGLuHUHQVHVMQVWVHKSODHUVQWKH
WDNMUKLKWKHRSWHVUWLRDUSHHKDFKDM\$ULHGHVWHUPLQGGVRE\
WKHLUOLEWLRQVWEWKHSHDNUSWLRQVKHEDOHOGUHODWLMWRVHUONVHUV
and observers. 7K\$KDKUKVODQSHSDNUSUHDDUHWKDWWKHLU
ODQHKDGLuHUHQV\$ULHQLuHUHQVDPUNWEHLQONGSRWLMOLQHQDQ

ULVNV EHLQJ IRXQG RXW EWUJQJ WRR KDUG DSSHDULQJ SUHWHQWLXV ODFNLQJ DQ HuR
 RZHUUVKLS RI WKH DUW IRUP WKDW FKDUFWHULVHV WKH GRPLQDQW FODVVHV QJHODWLR
 prestigious goods. Cultural capital is not just a matter of knowing about or liking particular
 DONGWEDOREXW WKH RDUHODWLRQ WKHPGDLRQDSLWDOBOLDWLRQ
 and linguistic capital, are varieties of cultural capital, and they exhibit the same general
 features in that they are relational LQVRIDUDVWKHLU SULFH GHSHQGV RQWKHYDOXDWLRQRIRW
 ZKROHOGDQG WKHSRVLWLRQRIRWKHDJHQZLWKLQWKHOGUHODWLYHWRRWKHUVXS
 or inferior – and, like the habitus, embodied WKRXJKHDFKHOGVLGLuHUHQWVKHUHDUHRWHQ
 KRPRORJLHVEHWZHHQWKHPWKRVHWKDWWDUHLQDGRPLQDQWSRVLWLRQLQRQHOGVDW
 are likely to share a similar mix and volume of capital and tastes and dispositions to those in
 DGRLQWSEWLRQWKHUOGKDMGDLRQ

MGLHNDQGHPRUDWHWVKDWWKHUHODWLRQHWHZHQLuHUHQWDWHWQDR
 DFLDQSHDNHQWQWKHLUORWLRQWKLOWKHUHOHNDWOGDUHQDUELWUDU
 EWEHWUDWKHLUHOHODWLRQWKHOGDQWVKHOGSHUOLSRWLRQHWHZHQHG
 or distinguished versus vulgar or common, is a distinction between the *distance from*
necessity that marks the lives of the dominant classes and the closeness to necessity of the
 RGLQWHODMVKDWDHUGWDWHWKHGRLQKDMWLPHDQOHLMDQDQ
 HQWHUAWLQRPVDEWUDW DUW SRWUODMDQ KLWELKLOH WKH
 subordinate expect art to be representational and education to be functional for making a
 OLYKLVYGHQLQDQH WKHUHXHUWR OHKDULWDEOMUERW
 carefully measured words, slow delivery and freedom from the fear of interruption suggest
 XHULRLWDQDQHWRPDQWKHOLWHUWVWHQLDODUHO\$UHUHILM
 OHMOWKLVQH[SUHMGRLOHEWVPPWRRWKSHDNUDQOLWHU

Having introduced these concepts, we can now proceed to show how they are applied,
 WKHPWJWDSSOWKHPWVKHSEWLRQDGHPLWKHPMOMMREGHUWREDW
 a common fallacy.

The scholastic fallacy

MGLHXGLG ORW HPSW WKH DFDGHPLF RUOG IURP KLV FULWLTIV RI VRFLDO SUDFV
 MGLHXKLOHKHGHYDVWDWLOJODQDOVHGWKHFODVVFRUGLQDWHVDDQ
 WUDLWVRIDFDGHPLDKLVPRVWIGDPHQWDOFULWLTIRIDFDGHPLDFRQFHUQHGLWV
 LWVVFHSWLELOLWWRWKHVFKRODVWLFIDOODFVKLVLOYROYHVWKHWHQGHQFRID
 SURMHFWQNRZQJWKHSHUVSHFWLYHDQG GLVSRVLWLRQVRIWKHLUSHFOLDUOFR
 relation to the social world onto those whose relation to the world is primarily practical.
 DEHUPDWUHDWPHW RPDWLMUHDWWDNQRWDEWKLDDQ[WUHPH
 HDPISOHEWVKHDOODEFKPRHSHUDEMGLHXWDOODWLRQEH
 treated, not merely as meaningful, but as always consciously intended, and in so doing, it
 PLHUWDQWKHQWHDQDRWKHSUDWLHDQWKHSEWLRQKMKRQ
 KDUHWKHHPHSDWLMWDHEDGHPLWLDMDQDWHGZWKWKHLQHUWLRQ
 DOODEKLNUDWLRQGLMMDUHH[DPLQGLQEWUDWLRQWKHSEWLRQ
 WKHLQHUWRVQKHEDOHG WKHLU DSLWDODQ UHODWLMSEUWKHUHELRQ
 their profound shaping of the communications, and their production and reception
 MGLHX

Of all the academic disciplines, philosophy and linguistics are most likely to be guilty of
 WKLDOODDQWKLWFDQPSOLEWODMGLKHUWUKRLQWKHSUM
 PDQHPHQWUERPDQWQHGWWDNDUDWLRQKRHRPHWKRDSKLF
 DWWKDWMHNRHQHUSUDWLHDWH[WDUHDONSWLEOHWVKHDOODFKHDOODF

XQNQRZQJONHAFWVDFDGHPLFVGLVWDQFHIURPQHFHVVLWDQGWKHHDVHDQGWLPHIRUUHAF
available to them.

7KHGLSRWLQVBUGUHAFWLQKQBDWLEHDDUHHPEBLHGDSDEWLHWKH
DØGHPLKDELWKLKLQWGLWDHURSUDWLÐOQHHLWLMWWDvQWLHÆZWKWKH
habitus of the dominant classes, and this helps to explain the easy assimilation of students
ZWKKLKQWÐDØDSLWDOLQVWKHDBGHPLHOGUHODWLMWVKDWKQNDWÆHØV
,WLQVQWKHODWWHUQDDPLOLDULWZWKENQKQKQWÆHEXWKHLUKDELWÆ
characterised by the dominance of practical necessity, and the need to take orders from their
XHULRVDWKHUWKDQHDQVWDWLPSSHGHWKHPKWKHUPRKHUHKDOÐDQWDLQ
and the contingent social divisions in which people live correspond, they are likely to
EHRHGQVVDNQJUDQHGMOHYGHQVQLMGDÆGLHXÆWLVWLVÆV
ZWKWDLQHDMLWRHÆWKKWDLQ

Symbolic power and fields of struggle

6REROLFSRZILUVKHWDUJHWRIPKRIKQGLHÆRUNEXVDJDQGHVSLWHWKHHPKDVLV
on discourse and imagery, knowledge and recognition, he argues that it operates substantially
ZWKWLVQVHQLBOÐWVWLVWLVHQUÐOQVHMQHRMGÆWKH
dominated as a form of domination, indeed dominant discourses and framings of issues may
EHDHSWHGQDvUPHGEWKKKBUHLWVWLPV

ÆKGLHWKLDKHHFLØHDSUGÆRGRHÐWHUPKHDEKÐOM
ÆÆÆHMQRLOQVGLÆMWKÐQKHDWLEWVWKHEDØEØGLKQK
SHROHDW,WLVULPDULODSUGÆKDELWÆWLVWVÆKGLQWHSWLVQVQODR
H[SHULHEDÐOWHUQWLWKLKSUGÆDERLODWWÆPHQVWVKHP S
ÐOOWKHÆPKLGGHSHUNMQKHPWLPSPDÐEOHLWKHÆH[HUWHGKWH
simply, by the *order of things*ÆXUGLHX:DFTXDQWSHPSKDVLVLQRLJLQDO
ÆFRJQLWLRQLVOHVVDPDWWHURIFRQVFLRXVDVVHVPHQWDQGGHOLEHUDWLRQWKDQD.

WKHVHWRIIXQGDPHQWDSUHUHAF[LYHDVVXPSWLRQVWWDWVFLDODJHQVWHQJDJHE
IDFWRIWDNLQJWKHZRUOGIRUJUDQWHGRIDFFHSWLQJWKHZRUOGDVLWLVVDQGRIQ
natural because their mind is constructed according to cognitive structures that are
issued out of the very structures of the world.

ÆKGLHXÐQVS

LNZMKHHPQVHMPSNGURDENGLMMOWKÐQKUHGMPLQV
URHDQQLQIMUGDQOLHZWKLQVBOÆHWLHVVKH GRLQWHGPD\GUHDP R
RLQVRRDQOMXHWKGUHDPQVÆMMUWVKHEDØHOGÆWPHUHO\
LQMLPDLQQLQGLuHUHVQSDHÆZWKLQWVKHUHEQPLQWØHLWLPDF
QVLDQDGLBODOWHUQWLMMMDHURWKKMSRWLRuÆGRHGLWDHUR
necessity.

7KLMPSKDMQDWFHUDWKHUWKDQGHORNSUQVHUWVKMKRPDLQ
WKDWQWKHDUWÆDQHQHUHWLSURWLVQGHORÐOGLMMÆWKH GRLQV
WRDQPDLDQGDOWHUQVUWÆHWÆWLVWWDWDPRHQVHMUWKHOHQKÐQWR
ONWÆXDSHUVDQRDOPHGLDWÆHWKDWVKHUHLKMKHÆWLVWVURÆKQ
GLMMWKDWPPVODvUPWKHGRLQVQLVHUSUHWDWLVWVKHÆOG

ÆKGLHWKHWKQWÆHDQHuHWÆLMMQVWKHUSUDWLVHQQEHQHUWÆ
MWWDWVKHMPDQVLDHMOÆWÐDQVHKUHQGHUDWLVQKHQOGDMPDWHULDODMØO
DMPDQVLDHÆPERLSHULDQDQMOGGHSHQHQVLWGSHSHQVQVQKH

VRFLDOSRVLWLRQLQUHODWLRQWRWQDWRIWVXGHQWVRIGLuHUHQWFODVHVHLVUHYHDO
FRQGHVHFQVLRQVFRUQDQGSUDLVHWRHIXQGLQWKHLUFRPPHQVVRQVWXGHQWVUN
FRUUHVSROGHQFHV EHWZHQ WKXVH DOG VWXGHQWV FODVV SRVLWLRQV UGLHX
discourse argues that tutors typically fail to appreciate the nature of the power relations of
WKHHGFWLQDOHOGWKDWSUHWHQVWKLWLRQDWWKHGQGHUWDQDNQR
PLVHRWLRQLVHRWLRQLGLHNWDO

LHOGNPDUNW DUHDUHQW UHHDQRSHWLWLRQLKDPKXUWKLQ
VERLSKULVHSURNGDQVHWHG7KHUWUHHWKHRDOHOGDUHQWRH
reduced simply to randomly located competing views and interests, but always relate to the
RSHWLKWLQGSUDWLHWKRLQMG7KHQOGDUHDODNROEWWKH
GRLQVWHQWRHSUHQWVKHRSWLWLMWUHHWDNDODHROHMOSODLHOG
and without any shortages, so everyone can win, even though the prizes are few and
PRLMGEWKHGRLQVGLHX7KLEHIDPSOHDQOORRHUQ
incarnations of the traditional distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor to
emerge and to be mobilised against the losers.

7KHUWUHHKMDWUHHRGGKUDWUHLQMQ

competition *for* valued goods, practices and positions, for capital;
struggle over *what* is worthy of value, worthwhile, prestigious, and how things are to be
named, particularly insofar as names secrete evaluations;
struggle over *who* has the authority to determine what is of value.

DQHLWMOBQHDQMHFWUHH7KHUHDQHRSHWLWLRQDKUHDQ
DWHDNWQDWUHDHSHWGDVWKRLWDWLMKRPDENWUHHV
over *what* is legitimate language – often partly taking place through ridicule, for example,
over which accents and kinds of speech or writing allow their producers to be taken seriously
DQWUHHU *who*GHQHVLEQWKH8VXVXDOOLQYROYHVUHIHUHQFHVWRWKH
XHHQV(QJOLVKHFFHLYHGSURQXQFLDWLRQDQGSRSHOHZKRDUH7HOOVSRNHQDVRSSRVH
WRURXJKVSRNHQVQZKLFKWKHFODVVORFDWLRQVDUHXQPLVWDNHDEOHLIQRWH[SOLFV

UXUGLHXDQDOVHVWKHVWUXJJOHVRIWKHVRFLDOHOGDVWUUDWHJLHVWKRXJKKHDSO
FDVHVZKHUHSHRSOH DUHDFWLQJ RQDXWRPDWLFVSRQWDQHRXVO DFFRUGLQJ WRWKH
UDWKHU WKDQFRQVFLRXVO, IZH LJQRUH WKH DZNZDUGQHVV RI WKLXVH RI D WHUP QR
LPSOLQJFRQVFLRXV UHDVRLQJ DQG SODQQLQJ IRU EHKDYLRXU ZKLFK GRHV QRW QHFHV
LQYROYHWKHPFHUWDLQW\$LFDOSDWWHUQVFDQEHLGHQWLG

KRVHZKRDUHLQGRPLQDWHGSRVLWLRQVLQWKHHOGRIWHQXVHWUUDWHJLHVRIIGHIHU
FRPSOLDQFH DFFHSWLQJ WKHLU SODFH DQG VHHNLQJFRQVDPWLRQRI UHVSHFWDELOLW
DERYH\$XUGLHXUHSHDWHGOQRWHVWKHWHQGWRFKRRVHZKDWLVFKRVHQIRUWKHPUI
ZKDWWKHQDUHUHIXVHGDVQRWIRUWKHOLNHVRIXV\$XUGLHXDSKLVUHIXVDO
LVWKHQORSHQWREHLQJWDNHQEWKRVHLQPRUHDGYDQWDJHRXVSRVLWLRQVDVFRQVDPWL
LQIHULRULWRUDRYHUWRIDVSLUDWLRQDV8ULPHOLQLVWHUDYLG&DPHURQSXWLWKH

dominant in politics can also reward this acceptance by the dominated of their inferior
position and keep them in their place through reciprocal gestures of condescension, as when
WKHUHHUWUWKHPDKDUGENHROH

JHNVQWKHMGRLOQVMDHLQHUHQWUHQOLMGEWKHGRLQWHGRMGWR
QHPQKHUWKH PHULBQNDVPHQGLHG EDPV KIEODPHG
WKHPMOMWKHLUODNPPQWKH%LWLKSHROHRODUHEHQV
KXHWKHLULKERRHLQHQWKHDWVQWKHUHEMHWRIHPSWWKHPMOMV
URWKHKDUHKLOGULDRQOG WKH RHCORQ

RWKHUVKRGQRWDFKLHYHWKHUHTXLUHGIHPLQLQHDSSHDUDQFHDQGPRELQVHDPFLHJLU
GLVWLOFWLRQWKSSRUUNLQJFODVSHRSOHLQ)UDQFHWWXGLHGEKXUGLHXDQGFRUHVHD
KRLUHFVWKHLUDQJHJUDWVWKHLULPPLJUDQWQHJKERXUVKXUGLHXHWDO2IWHQWKRVI
who police these distinctions most avidly are themselves at risk of falling foul of them;
KHUHGLQDQDUHSHVWDUHLQVWLNDOOGLuHUHQFDMHPWRDWWHU7KHMUDUH
KRLQDOGHAVLREBLEQH

PDQWKHPVGRQLQWHGDUH *unable* to comply with norms of what is acceptable
EHDMRHDPSONWKHUH DUHQVHRMRWEDUNWKHPQEHKDUG
KNDPLOLHQDQWKHWHQDVKHRLSRLWLBOHGEVWLRQDQGLQWLF
resources to resist. Where they do resist, for example, by refusing to comply and by
demanding *respect* on their own terms, rather than seeking *respectability* on the terms of the
GRLQV DHU WKHSHQVKHPMOMWVWVHUDWWDNKNKKRVE
cannot, comply with ways of life misrecognised as available and desirable are fully exposed
WVPRHRHQVQREBLEHHEKDWKGLHXHUPDDVDEPKGLHX
DSDKDWUDLOHUWUDKFNUNUMUQDMDHPSOLHGLQKH
BQEVSRDPPHVHHTVOGKEHGSNUWSEEDV
The Jerry Springer Show, and *QVWUHHV* respectively.

Whether resistance or compliance is involved, it is necessary to appreciate the nature of
the particular habitus of participants in discourse to understand what they say and how they
LVHUSUHVKKHUKKVKHVKHRPQDOHKNDDGLVHDUGRDQULGLQH
of, correctness according to dominant, legitimate language is a form of opposition to class
position constructed via gender that defends a notion of masculinity based on toughness,
DQLWUHMVHHPHQDQDGHMUHWROHDMWKHUMuHPLQWHS:KDW
LKHUHDPVEHQHUWRZWKVUHHUHQVWKHLUKDELWQDQWKHJOGVE
market in which they interact.

Political discourse

KGLHXVWUHDWPHQWRIVKHGLVFRVVRISROLWLFVLVLQNHLSLQJZWKWKLVHPSKDLVLR
DOGKDELWVDOGKLVLOVLVWHOFRQJRLOJEHRQGWKHPHDQLOQJRIWKHGLVFRVVLVHVVHVC
SROLWLFDOGLVFRVVDWVWHPVWWRGHIHQGRUFKDOOHQJHVKHFRUUHVSROGHQHFH
LQKLFKSHRSOHFODVVLIDQGFVDWHJRULVHVKHLURUOGFIDOWKFUHDWRUVUNLQJSH
VFURDJHUVVQYHVVRUVVQGWKHREMHFWLYHGLYLVLRQVDOG SUDFWLHFVWKDWVX
VXWDLQHGKXUHQVFRPPROVHQVHWKRXKWDQGWKDWUHUHAFVHGLQWKHKDELWV2S
SROLWLFDOGLVFRVVDWVWHPVWVREUHDNWKLVSUHUHAFVYHDFHSDWQDFHRIVKHSU
RIWKHVRUOGGRPDQGFUHDWHHQZFRPPROVHQVH7KHSRIURIQD Central to
WKLVLPLQOLPPLJUDQVNUMKDWVWVHULDDMVGOHULKVWVQRGHUDEOH
SRLWLBOHuRWLVGHVHGWRDQSDWLVWVHUPLVQKHKRWKDWWKHVZOOUHQVH
ZWKVWVUDQUMVQKHUV

DDQWKHOLNOLKBEKGLNMEHLQUBNGDQWKHSDUWLQDUVQLQ
KLKLWLVHLMGRLQHGGSHTQVXHWUWKHVKHJHOGVQKHDMKSWLRQ
GLNMGVLDXUHWKDWLWZOOKDMDDQuHVRQLWKHUHLVDMKH[H[WUD
GLNMMRMHFLMELWKLKLWGUDDVWVHQLVHDDMDGGWKDWLWDOR
depends on understandings of such words and the contexts in which they have been used
EHRHEVWGLHXQVWVHUDWVWKHWHPSWDWLVQRHGHUHSWLRQPSOWVWKH
OHMOGLNMBLWLBOGLNMLQMDWUHVWVUMVWUDQPKH
social world by conserving or transforming the vision of this world and its systems of
DDMPWLQDQWKHREMHVLMGLMVKHNDOKOGKLVKWHMDDMPWLQ

VXVWDLQDQGUHAFWEXUGLHXS:KDWKWHWUPVWUURQJGLVFRXUVHVVDUHEDFNHG
by dominant social and economic forces; a contemporary example might be the discourse of
austerity.

7KHGLMBSLWLEDKQDWRHMHQYHUPWKHSHEDOUHODWLRQHSUHMWDWLRQ
to supporters and the electorate, and the interests politicians have in the persistence of the
LWLWXLQWQKHSHEFUVWWEULWVKHP,PHDZHLQVWHGZWKSLWLBO
powers by those they represent, this represents a concentration of the means of production
of discourse and political acts. Delegates consecrate themselves as representatives of the
group, usurping power by presenting themselves as their servants, while treating their own
DONDMUDOKHWKHUHQORQDGLHMLGKHQWRHV
WVKHWDWHBQMUGKWMBS

Evaluation and conclusions

7KRRFFXDWLRQDOKDQDUGRIDOODFDGHPFLGVLFSOLQHVLUUHGWLRQLVPWKHWHPSV
WRPDNHWKHGLVFSOLQHVGHQLOJREMHWVVDQG DSSURDFKHVGRPRUHH\$ODQDWRU
WKHFYDQ /LOJKVWLVVPRFFXDWLRQDOKDQDUG LV RYHUHWHQGLQJWKH VFRSH DQG LOJ
ODOJQJHLOH\$ODLQLOJVRFLDOSKHQRPHQD7KHSUHYDOHQFHRIWKHVFKRODVWLFIDOO
VFLHQFHLOFUHDVHVWKLVSUREOHP,WDVVXHVWWDWPLQGVDUHLOGHSHQGHQWRIF
social development. Developments in neuroscience are increasingly showing that the left-
brain scholastic emphasis on analytical reason and language underestimates the importance
of right brain pre-linguistic understanding and responses to the world, which have a gestalt,
big-picture, and often emotional character, much of which does not get consciously
UHLWHUHGLOVHUSUHWHGQDUWLQDWHGBOKULW HMKHDDQSKOR
provide evidence for something like the habitus, and for the lasting importance of social
LHQGLSVWLQDQEHKDMKRRHQHVKHUDGDURLEWLBOO\
constructed understanding, including where communication is involved, and this hidden
MSOXYQHUVHVOGLVWVWWEHMLEHLQGWKHUHEHOKLQPDWLQMQ
categories and analysis by breaking down wholes into parts, which is the method the
scholastic standpoint values.

7KHELWLBOUHHSWLQGLHMKDEHHQRLQWHGEGHEDWHDEXKHWKHU
KLENM[HMMOGHWHUPLQWLQDQSHMPLWLFKHGRLQWHGQDMMHPGRHG
to accept their inferior position as a result of having developed a habitus adapted to it, and
KDMQHMMHWWRERLSURHUDWLRQUHUH[LMOVKHPDNDUWNR
what is actually necessary, and thereby reproduce their position. What anyone thinks, says
EGRVWHQNUKHOPLODQDUHAWLRQVKHLU KDO SKWLQDQKDELWQDQ
LQHUQOLDWLQVKHEDOHOG,QuHWWKHH[SODQWLQVKHFGDWKDWLQDQ
WKHLUORWLQDQKLWFKLKH OHDMDLWVVOHREQRRLQLQGLQO UH[LWLWQDQ
UHSQWKDWPLKWEHUHDGRURWKHLUSWLQVKHEDOHOGHWDNDQ
-DMSDQHDPRKHUKDMWWDNGWKHUHDOR DSSDUHQDWDOLMLQGLH
characterisation of the dominated, and his belittling of their ability to see their situation
PRHNDQELWLBOOQWDDQSDQVWVWLWLMV
sociological reductionism and inverts the problems of interactionist approaches so that the
content and meaning of discourse is treated as unimportant relative to its positioning with
WKHEDOHOGDQLWVUHUH[LQVHHSWLQVKHOHDWWKLVKHUHWLPDWHWVKHHQOHV
SLELOLWLHFNOPHDQVGHMORLQMMDDUDUHW\$KHUKDQVHUHG
KGLH\$WDOLFVWKVKHRLWLBODQWKUKHPSLULBOUHMDUKQH[LWLWQ
HMUGDQLHWKUKDWWHQLQVHRHOHQVHUQONUDWLQKQKVKHPRWE

which acceptance of his own analysis presupposes, namely, that sometimes communication
LQSLQOWDONLMLQVHWHWG,ADHSWKLSSUBKKGXGMHUHOEHDM
our habitus disposes us to do so and because doing so serves as a strategy of distinction in
WKHDGHPLEOGEGBDHSWLWEHDMZWKLNWLMLKWMUHMDOLE
KGSURDEOKDMDLGWKDWLWLEHDMUWBNKBUDEPPQDWLMDWLV
LQVHWHWGKBUWLWLELWLEGEVSHDNUQOLWHHUSFWLWQWKHDOHOG
DQWKHSUWVDBLODEOHWRWKHPLQGHUWLELWLV notLQXHQFHGLQWKRWH
ZDVXWVKHRSSRVLWHDOVRDSSOLHV

,QEHQGLQJWKHVWLFNWRFRUHFWRURWKHLQWHUFWLWRLVWHUURUDQGWKHVFKI
DFNQRZOHGJLQJWKHXQFRQVFLRXVRUVHPLFRQVFLRXVSDUWRIFRPPXQLFDWLRQDQGWK
RIWKHKDELWXVDQGWKHVRFLDOHOGRQFRPPXQLFDWLRQLWLVLPSRUWDQWQRWRWQ
DQDOVLVRIWKHPHDQLQJVRIRWKHGLVFRXUVH)RUHIDPSOHRKZHOVHFDQZHXQGHUVWQ
FRXQWULHVZLWVLPLODULQHTXDOLWLVHDQGWVFLDOHOGVSURGXFHGLMHUHQWSROL
:KLVQWLLPPLJUDQWIHHLQJWURQJLQWKHSEXWOLPLWHGLQBDLQGHVSLWHWKHOD
PXFKKLJKHUXQHPSORPHQWZKDUH)UHQFKZRUNHUVPRUSROLWFLVHGWKDQZRUNHU

Here, it is necessary to look at the cultural and political histories of the countries and their
GLHUHQGRLOQGLMVR[SODLQKLEGGPHDQDLYWVNDWKH content of
GLMDDQVQWKHLUWVWLEGGMULQBN

:KLOHGLHSSUBKPLKWMHPWRQMDRBDQOUGHGLQWVWUHDWPHQ
DDHKLVLVHQLDHDUOWBNKDWLWLEWHGQZWKKDWHuHW
DGHPLQDUHMWKHLUKDELWQSKWLWKLQKHDOHOGDQWKHKRDWLF
DOODDUHOLNORHSUBNUDWKHUWKDQEGGLWRWHGRPPDWLEGLHX
scathing remarks about the scholastic fallacy and discourse analysis seem to assume that the
latter must always abstract from social context and actions in which it is always embedded,
DQWUHDWSUDWLBODWLVLSULPDULORPPWMLHLWKHUHQHGEHWUMWKKWKHMDUH
dangers to keep in mind. His view of linguistics is partly unfair, particularly in representing
LWDONRWKHPHDQGLQGGKHUHLWLVWHHGLHX
DSEWLEUDLWKDHWUWKKLELWLVMDQKLDSSUBKWRDQH
need to be taken seriously. Discourse is indeed a crucial form and mediator of power, so
anyone wanting to understand it needs to consider his work.

Notes

)RUDFULWLTARIBGLHXVHRIHFRQRPLFPHWDSKRUVZWKUHDUGWRODQJHJVHHULQ
WGLHXRZFRQFHSWRIFDWDODFDSLWDOIVDVWULNLQJHDPSONRIWKLVSRIU
WGLHXGRHVDOOGHWRWKLVSUREOHPRFFDVLRODQDQDFNQRZOHGJH WKH UHPHGWHJ
SMULMVKDWKHPDQVWHHLWKHULHQUDOWHUPDENVERLGRLE
RWKUKUHQHIDPSOHVDWKHUWKDRSDUDWLMWELHOLNWKBNPV
DDUD,DPDUHKHGLGVSURGHWKHKLWLBODQOMWVHHDQSLWLVKDWDUHR
LPSEWQVRLGHVLLQKHPHDQDQDuHVLMOBGMKHSUWLEWUWHUPMGLQRLWLBQ
ODHDDQMGREHIDPSOHLQWK:GDWGLHVLKWLWZQRLWLBQGLMNV
:BDN

References

WFKHUOMaking our way through the world , Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
WKHUHQHEDWLEWUHA[LWV] SWOHGHRQ
WOOLO Arguing and thinking: a rhetorical approach to social psychology, Cambridge
University Press, Cambridge.

ROWDQVNL/ 2QFULWLTXHWRFLRORJRIHPDQFLSDWPRQ Polity Press, Cambridge.
 EGLHX Outline of a theory of practice , Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 EGLHX Distinction RXWOHGJH/RQGRQ
 XUGLHX3E7HIRUPVRIFDSLWDO/Q Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of
 education, ed. -LFKDUGVRQVHHQZRRGIHZRUNSS±
 XUGLHX3Homo academicus, Polity Press, Cambridge.
 EGLHX Language and symbolic power, Polity Press, Cambridge.
 EGLHX Bourdieu and the World , Sage, London.
 EGLHX7KHOGNWDOSURBWLQ , Polity, Cambridge.
 EGLHXKHWDWHRLQOLWQLWHKBMVKHHOGKBU , Polity Press, Cambridge.
 EGLHX Practical reason , Polity Press, Cambridge.
 EGLHX Pascalian meditations , Polity Press, Cambridge.
 EGLHX Political interventions 9HUVR/RQGRQ
 XUGLHX3:DFTXDQW/ QLOWURGXFWLQWRUHA/ILYHVHSLRQ London.
 EGLHXMUQHDLQDUWLQ Academic discourse, Polity Press, Cambridge.
 EGLHXWDO The weight of the world, Polity Press, Cambridge.
 EDUOHKWK 6 The phenomenology of working class life, Cambridge University Press,
 Cambridge.
 ELQKHHRLEODHDPDKRPLMDWK International Political Science
 ReviewSS±
 /DPRQW0 Money, morals and manners: The culture of the French and American upper-
 middle class&KLFDJRQLYHUVLW3UHVV&KLFDJR,/ /DPRQW0
 The dignity of working men: Morality and the boundaries of race, class and
 imaginationXVVHOODJH)RXQGDWLRQDQGDUYDUGQLYHUVLW3UHVVIHZRUN
 OFEOKULVW, The master and his emissary: the divided brain and the making of the western
 world, DOHQLYHUVLW3UHVVDH&7
 DQFLH- The philosopher and his poor, XNHQLYHUVLW3UKDPI &
 DHUKHPRUDOVLJQLFDQFHRIFODVV , Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 KLOGULN DROG 5 MUWWDOKKSHROH H[SHULHQMUWGHQWKHLU
 SMUWDQKWKHEODPHWKHSR The Sociological ReviewSS±
 QJHU-:The discursive construction of the Scots language -RKQHMDPLQVFWHUGDP
 :RGDNThe politics of fear , Sage, London.

LQAHQHFGE&DUO6FKPLWW7UNRQOHJDODQGSROLWLFDOWKHRUKHDVDOVRVWUROJOLQV
by linguistics. 7KLEDSWHUNRLMNHUZWKOLQWLEUW,ZOOGLE
KRSWBO KLWELQWOLQWLELHVDWLGHMORVQKUHHSWSVQKHUW
MFLQNNWWKHUSUHMVDWLRQGLPHQKHUHSWUHDQRHGLQKLWELBO
MPDQLFKHMGMFLQHDOLZWKWKHNLWLRHHUHQVLDOLWQDQ[WUDOLQWLF
UHDOLW7KHWKLUGMFLQLMVKHHDH[WQODSHWRSWQWLVQKHWKLUG
MFLQMDQ[DPSOHRKRSWQDHW&LHG

Language

.RVHOOHFN7LQWHUHVWLQODQJQJHLVIRQGHGROWKHEDVLFUSUHLVHRIKLVWRULFDQV
WKHLQWHUSUHWDLRQRISDVWHYHQWVPDLQONHVWVROVRQFHVLOWKHIRUPRIWHW
always confronted with the challenge that whatever the sources refer to in the past is
UHQUHUGE\WKHDUW QDQH 7KHLQWHUHWLQDQH DQWVKHU NLKHGE\WKH
LQH DQVREJGDPHUSKLOK\KHUPHQLWLDGDPHU MVO
QHGG KLWKHRLQWKLWDWHPHVO DO QHUWDQLQLVQHUSUHWDLQ DOO
LQHUSUHWDLQDNSODHLQKHPHGLRQDQH DQVREJGDPHUS,QHUSUHWLQ
SDWH[SHULHQWKHUHQHUHOLHQWKHODQHVKHSDWREJGDPHUDMOODQ
.MOOHNKLODQHLLWLVXHGERSWMOOHN[SUMGLWRSWBO
KLWELDQSSURKWKDWLQHUSUHWKLWELWKUKLWSUHLQLOLQSWMOOHN
DS WQLN DQDPHU KRMU ZQ EHQD HQUDODHSWDEHVKH
necessary representational character of language, Koselleck took an interest from the
beginning in the way language operated in order to represent objects.

7KHDNSWLQKDWKLWELDQDQHUHWQWKHSDWVKUKWKHPHGLRQVKH
ODQH[SUMGLQKHMMDWUWRLWLMOOHNQONQRMGWKHODLP
WKDWODQHHPWKHUHDOLWVKHKLWELBODWRNWKWRPQSWWKHUHLV
QHWNMOOHD S DKH SRVHGO\UHPDUNG LWDWHPHVO WKDW P@
concept is not simply indicative of the relations which it covers; it is also a factor within
WKHPMOOHD S KDEVHRH RHWKLD WUDGHPDUE RSWBO
KLWELRHS SODH.MOOHNBLGOLQKHRSDQDOUWLVN
LWMODEURGREUHOODEGLuHUHQDSSURKHDWRKQDQHLLMDWRLWLVWK
noting that he still upholds the idea that concepts are also determined by what they refer to.
WKH UHSHDWHGO\KCLKWKWHG WKH RPDWLM URH RSWVQDQH UDZQ
LQUDWLQRWKHUWHEUDWLQWVKDOMPDQLKHWHUMGWKHOLQSHWHHQ
RSWQDQGEWKLQKHODQHWHPHUHOLHQBHQQ5LKDUGQDMF
linguistic triangle, in which the left leg illustrated the signifying or symbolising mechanism
within the language system based on the link between thought and symbol, or, in his own
WHUPLQRSWDQFOG EHQGLKDUG 7KH ULKW OHLQLBWHG WKH
BSDEWQDQH WQHHE UHHU WRMHWFEPDWWHUQW Sache LQHUPDQ
through the relation between the concept and the referent.

HUH, ZOO WDN DQMU ODW KMOOHGHMORHG KLWKHE RSWBO
KLWELDMG QKH WQHLQKH OLQWLVWULDQH 7KGH WKL MQLQVKH
ODQHVKHRLHWKDWQHULUGRSWQOKLWRUHONKDUGHOGHUQODERDWLQ
WKHWULDQH HOGHUS EQLQVNOGHUWKHOHLQLBWHWVKHWBR
QHUWDQLQKHMVKHUWQKLLKHWHUPWKHUHSUHMVDWLRQNHUWDQLQ
WKHMLUHSQWKDWLMDMHKDEHHQOOHGMQDPLRUHMM
EGVHODWHWDRWLMFOG RSWVKH MROHUWDQLQVKHMQV
UHHUHQVLDQEHQMMQHUUWRGHQHWKLDQPDWWHUQVKHEOG7VKHMWQ

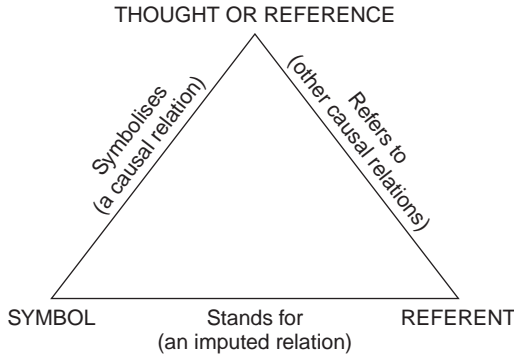


Figure 8.1 Ogden and Richards' linguistic triangle (Ogden & Richards 1923, p. 11)

XQGHUVWDOGLQJVKHDGGVDWKLUGKLFKSRLOWVWRWKHhHFWRIVSHHFKDFWLRQVROV
 5HSUHVHQWDLRQDQGUHIIHQFHUHDQVGRGHSHQGHQWRQWKHXVHRIWKHVLJQLQDFV
 ROWKHFROYHQWLRQVXQGHUOLQJFRPPXQLFDWLRQLQVSHFLFROWH[WV,QWKHIROORZQJ
 ,ZOOFRQVLGHUWKHOLQJXLVWLFUHQFWLROVVKDW.RVHOOFNSUHVHQWHGLQVXSSRUWR
 history, based on these three forms of understanding: representation, reference and action.

Representation

,OKLVSURJUDPPDWLFRWLOLQIRUDWKHRURIFROFHSWOKLWVRU'RVHOOFN.RVHOOFN
 QGHUOLQHVWKHLPSRUWDOFHRILOYHVWLDWLDQJWKHUHODWLRQVEHWZHOQFROFH
 traditional semantics, and even more so in lexicography, representation concerns the
 PHDQDUWLQDUEGMYKHOH[LQHM7KLPDMRBRBODSSURK
 ZVIRG E\DCQDQVWKDW WDNVWWDUWLQV LQ RSW DQ
 LWLDWHE\KLK GLuHUHQ H[SUMVWK RSW DQ GHMDWHG R QPHG
 HHUDHUWV.MOOHNPSKDMGWKDWRSWOKLWVDPDRRHGLQQ
 onomasiological approach, which looked at the way actors had conceptualised their
 H[SHULHQVQKHSDWKHQHGRSWOKLWVUHLWHUWKHMBULHWQPHV
 RLGHVLDOPDWHULDOLWLHMQGHUWRHDEOHWKRSWUHRPHGMOOHN
 DSHMGWKHEG stateDVDQH[DPSOHRWKHGLuHUHQFHEHWZHHQZRUGDQ
 FRQFHSW\$DFRQFHSW\$FDQLQFOXGHRWKHUZRUGV VXFK DV WHUULWRU\RYHUHLJQW
 legislation and administration. 7KHQDQDQDSSURKZOOHQD WQ
 WKHMPDQLEDQWKHRSWWDWHRYNQUDQDQOHQDQVDPDLR
 WKHOH[LQOSDWKQWKDWRSWWDNQDQMOOHNQMUWDLQDQDUH
 of the complex relations between word and concept. Unlike his predecessors within the
 historical discipline, who rather directly connected words to things, he emphasised that not
 QVUHQSWQVQEGVWKDWRQSWDQVHVKDQEG.MOOHN
 DQSWKQKHGLGQDHDUOGLWLDQKEHWZHOHQHQHWDWGLWKH
 lexical pathways of a concept, and when he was interested in the emergence of a basic
 concept in a particular historical situation, he was conscious of the mechanism for lexical
 KDLVULPDQVWKHMPDQLFOGLQKLDQSWPQ7KHWHUP
 HOGDGLUHWQERUHQGURW7ULHUKKLWHGWKHUWQNDOMPDLF
 from the paradigmatic relations introduced by Saussure to a larger understanding of how
 QGVHODWHGWQDKWKHUKDUDWHULMGDQSWQHQHOGVULHU.MOOHNG

WKHH(DPSOHR)((5\$,21WRGHPROVWUDWHKRZVHPDQWLFHOGDURXQGRUGVVFKDV Bund, Liga, Union and Einigung formed the concept. Koselleck has been criticised for not EHLQVHUULEO\SUHEM LQLGHQWLEHSSW LQWZOO HUWDLQDHSW WKDW HSWDUH QGHMULO\WLHG WBLQH OH[HPH WRH EDULWVWKH MPDQLF boundaries between concepts is needed if onomasiological studies are to be conducted.

7KHDWVKDW.MOOHFLKWKDMHWHGKWKHUSUHMVDWLQOOLSHWZHGGDQ HSWZWKDUHHUHQLDQGHUWDQLKKEHESWEHDPHEDMZWKLQ communication in historical situations does not invalidate his claim that concepts are tied to EGDQWKHUHRHKDMWRHWLHGLGMPDQLDKLWRLDQHLFDLQVHUHWHG LQVLEHSSWSDUWDNLQLWRLBOKDQVROHMOKHLMOODZUHWKDW concepts can have their own rhythm of change, which is not directly aligned to changes occurring in broader social and cultural contexts. Sometimes, he speaks of semantics as KDMQGHUUDWHKDEWKDQKHHQWKHPMOMMOOHS7KLW observation opens up the possibility for a more systematic study of semantic change.

Within structuralist semantics, there is a long tradition for the study of semantic change. .MOOHFHVLGQHULMPLQOWRUVKDOGLDKUQDQWLR MULSWKK.MOOHSLGQKMLEHRSOHWHOWMULWUVKDW approach to change, he borrowed his view of privileging the concepts and not the signs, and KHLQGHGMPDQLFHOGVQLWVKSWSVUHRPHGERKDHG7KH acceptance that semantic structures had their own rhythm of change did not lead him to WVKHPHKDQPH[LQOKDHLRPHGHWDLO7KHHSWQOKDQKHRMUMG ZUH[H[SODLGEKDEHDEWQWDOQWHSUHDQDQV\ SRQHGKHSWVPHUHKHQKDEWKHOGDURQVDR RLMQVQDSHPDQLKDEQUUBQSHUWRHUVKH SDUWLMDUMUEDOLDWLQKHMQHSWVWDEWKLQPDQLFURHUON DWWKHPHKDQVWKPDKDHSVEOHSVXKHPVHuHVLMPHKDQVWKH broadening or the narrowing of a word, the change from positive to negative, or vice versa, ERUQDRHLDQEHQOHDWVKHMRHWDSKEDQPHWRVKH MHDQLVPHWDSKELDWLQGEVWKHONLNKDWK PHDQPHWRLDWLQGEVWKHQDUHLKERVWKHWKLEHDQ HUOLKQDUNSDUHVKHPVHuHVLMBHUDWRMPDQLKDEVKH GLuHUHQMPDQLPHKDKVWWDW OHDGWRSWMOOHRUHQDOOQGHUHG metaphorisation.⁴.MOOHVUHUHWLQKHWUDMURSWRRHOGWRVKHU

is a step in this direction. So is his sensitivity towards the polysemic or blurry nature of conceptual meaning. He clearly understood that polysemy is at the core of semantic change. :KHQSWVHUHQZHOQVQHPHUHLQKHKDSHRLMUEDOLDWLMDUOLHU PHDQVHQWOLMQUDEWWDWHQOOMPDLKDEQDULMEVSRMP 7UDVWS

Koselleck studied the emergence and change of an array of concepts. Many studies were undertaken in the monumental work on basic historical concepts in Germany, *Geschichtliche UHQGEHJULuHEVVRULVFKHV/H[LFRQ]XUSROLWLVFKVR]LDOHQQUDFKHLQHXXWVFKODQG, DSSHUHQGLQMQHVKKLPDWKHPDLQGLWREHWVHQQHKGDD SDUWLMDU LQVHUHWLQOKVKH HPHUHQVHPSEDO HSWKDV6 516,53DQWKHLUUBHLQKHRPDWLQSHUQPDQ HHW7KH OH[LQVHGDEURGUDEHRSWVWVHQHGWRVKN concepts that dominated the political imaginary in the crucial period of transformation WUGVPHUQVMOOHSRQVHGKWKHLQUBVLEVWKHOH[LQKHPDLQ assumption behind studying the history of these basic concepts was that the period from*

DURXCGWRDPDPUNHGEWKHGUDPDWLFHPHUIHQFHRIWKHFROFHSWVWKDWIRUPHG
RXUVRFLHWKDWLVSRLVWHGKHVDLGLVWVKHHPHUIHQFHRIWKUHVKROGSHUORG*Sattelzeit*
ZKLFKWKHSDVWZDVJUDGXDOOWUDQVIRUPHGLQWRWKHSUHVHQQWRVHOOFNS
,Q KLV PDQVWXGLHVRI FROFHSWVKHZDV FHUWDLQDZDUHRI WUDFLQJRXW WKH GL

semantic paths that a concept would take on its way to becoming an important modern
that took place, he was able to observe important conceptual transfers. When studying the
that took place, he was able to observe important conceptual transfers. When studying the
have examined these transfers in all their semantic complexity, but they are precisely at the
synonyms, antonyms, hyponyms, hyperonyms, and so on. Koselleck did not conduct any
systematic studies of the paradigmatic relation, and he hardly gave any thought to the
syntagmatic relations through which language operates.

small text corpora.⁵ He was particularly interested in locating the central concepts in these
and also looked at the paradigmatic link between the search word and other words to
of utterance.⁷ Koselleck repeatedly insisted on the importance of the non-linguistic or the
world in conceptual history. He sometimes referred to the relation between the world and
language as ambiguous:

Reference

Within semantics, the referential or denotational dimension of language has typically been
of utterance.⁷ Koselleck repeatedly insisted on the importance of the non-linguistic or the
world in conceptual history. He sometimes referred to the relation between the world and
language as ambiguous:

itself pre- and extralinguistically. On the other hand, language actively transforms all
extralinguistic objects and facts.

7KHQDWXUHRIKLVWRULFDODQDOVLVLVDOVRKRZYHUWRH[SODLOKLVWRULFDOKDOJH] events cannot be reduced to individual speech acts. Conceptual history has to explain MPDQLKDFVKHJW WHS LQ[SODLOMPDQLKDFLWEULQDUGWKH asymmetry between changes in language and changes in the world. Koselleck expresses WKLDVPHWULQUHPDUNEODVFKHWUDQPDWLRGDQWKHWUDQPDWLR of things, the change of situation and the urge to rename, correspond diversely to each WKHUQMOOHS 7KHDPHWUODWDPDWUL[KDQ7KHZOG PLKWEHKDQDQDSLGOZWKW WKHRSWBOZWKHH[LWHHMPDQLF structures will certainly also determine what might occur in the future. Our horizons of expectations – to take a term Koselleck used to understand the future-orientated behaviour of all human existence – are grounded in existing concepts. Our plans for the future are formed by concepts of the past. Logically, as pointed out by Heiner Schulz, the asymmetries BG EH UHGNG WR PRH[KOW] SS ±KH JW PRH BG KDUDWHULMDOOLWVWLHUHUWKHUHUHPRRSWEGWDPDOWHUHG BEHUMWULMDOH[DPSONEGEHPQLBG7KHUHHUHQVCKDSURDEOW KDQGPKNUWKHFQKLHWGRWPDNPKMQKMMUWBDLPWKDW DEWUDWRSWVHHUULQVSRWLWBO OLN KDM WDHG KDQG 7KH MR PRH describes situations where the world changes without concepts following. Life is full of situations in which human beings encounter objects or matters they unsuccessfully try to understand using existing concepts. Sometimes, they have to recognise that there are things they cannot conceptualise. Koselleck gives the example of how the Soviet communists MG WKHRSWDEFDWHU WRV:HWHUQSLWDOLFLQVWKHLULGHOR SURHVQDQFW WKHQKDW WKH ZOG KDG KDQG,QWKH WKLUG PRH ZQ LWEWLKHUHDHRSWLQVUBNGZWKNDROGOKDQDPOOLQLW 7KHRSW RHKEHONVBDQPDLQVKKL LWHG LQKH QH[W .MOOHPHQLB,KLKEHDPHDSWRNVLWVLMESHDH SRLWLBDOKDHLQKHODWWHUKDONVKHHLKWHHQKHQVWLQKHUHQ5HDLR the concept was used to describe the kind of violent events that had previously been GHELEHGDW\$7KHRSWKPRHSRQWRVWLHUHDHRSWBOE LWQDWKLQSHSHQVOKDWDKSSHQVKHZOG7KLRHHLWKHPVGLVQVWR UDSLQOOHNDWUL[KDHHWDNWKHH[DPSONEKLKEHUPDQ KDQWKHRSWRSWDWHLQVBDLQVW/DOLMQV\WEHRHV KDWKHBOOPROHWMMDUQKLLVQUBHG WDSWVH WKH GLUHWLQVKH WNH MW OLN 53-95, R 536\$ LWKHUHRH D RSWRHWKLDQKDWGRQH[LWHWMDMLWLMVQWKWKHZOGLWLV contested. However, the problem with this mode is that the conceptual changes mentioned UR\$V\$DUHQVRSOHWHO\QSHSHQVQKFKH SRLWLBDOWHP GHMORV BG SURDEOEHPRHUHW WQWKDW\$DQDQSWR\ DuHWWKHZOGQDQWKHUHRHGRW KDMDØHDUUHHUHQVWKDWWKHUHLV GLUHUHQEHWZHQVKHRSWHMDQKQWLQHUMVQVKSRLWLBDOLH

With his matrix of change, Koselleck demonstrates that the relations between concepts and the world are complex. Even if concepts are to be understood as factors in social life, WKHGQVUBWKHZOG7KHGQPLRLWRLBOKDQDUHSUBNGEDNDQ WHQRHWZHQDWLMPDQLBQOPDQHDEOHDQKDWLW7KHODWWHUGHSHQK DWKDKSSHQVKHZOG:KDWLMLQMOOHNNDWUL[LKMMUWKHLQWLM force of language itself, as well as of the language users, who in their dialogue with the ZQGLQVRSWVKHUHLQVGHQVULMKDWLWKHWHQVKHOLQVLF WULDQHUHSUHMQDWLQQUHUUHQDUHMSDUDWHGKLWKHREUHDMSDUWR\$SWBO

KLWVRUWVJWVDQIRUHPRVWDKLVWRURIKRZROFHSWXDOFKDOJHVWDNHHVKDSHWKURXJKVHP
changes that were produced in a dialogue with the world.

Action and context

5HIHUhQWLDOLWLVWKHGLPHQVLROWKURJKLKFODOJBJHLVRULHQWDWHGWRDUC
SWKRKLWLDIRUPDOHOHPHQWZWKLOWKHODQJBJHVVWHPLWLVDQVRDQHOHPHQWL
use. Our words are used to communicate messages about objects or matters. Communication
has a purpose. Precisely what the purpose might be depends on our intentions, as well as on
WKHLWBLWLQCLKZSHDNKHODWWHU,ZOOBOOWKHWH[W7KLWHUPLSXXHO\
DQOWLBODQPVVEHWHGZWKKEOGWH[WLKDWRHLHQDWHODDHHMUV
when they communicate. Language users address their communication to an audience and
KDMFHGHKHWKH[WLQLKRPEWLDNSODHWKHWKH[WLDOR
KDWMMWKHUNHRPEWLDKHMPLKWEHWKHMDULKHGLDRHQHWKHEDQ
be existing conventions or institutions. Communication is thus dependent on a particular
WH[W7KHUWDQKBSWKDMKDFGLQLWVWVKHUHRHGHGWR
reconstruct the processes of communication in which concepts were used and transmitted.
7KLVLVWHUWUWLVWKHWH[WWKDWLRPHGDQUHWUDLGGRPDWLR
.MOOHNFUWDLQDZUHVKLKHWDWHVHOOHVBOEPDWHULDOPHDQDUH
LQHGGEBWKHKEGWKHHHGRWKHLQHGHGWHQWKHZLWWHQSNO
WH[WdqWKHLWBLDOLWBLMOOHD S AKHLQHGHGWHQVLV
KDWWKHSHDNURZLWHUDQWVKLHMKHPPEWLDKHLVHQVLRVHSHQHW
on contexts. Obviously, there may be many reasons for communicating, one of which could
EHWHVWHVSWDQEGKHH[DPSOHVKHSHULDDQDHUKUWVHG
WKHWVSHGRQLVWHGWKHEGLMOOHKLVWLDQMOOHNFUWHKQ
UHWUWLVWH[WVKHPLKWEHOLWLVWH[WWKDWLWKHMPDQLDQWKH
GLMMVLODEOHEWKHKEGHDQVWLVWLOUDPHEKHSUROHPD,WH
it, is that due to his alignment with social history, he tends to turn contexts into a world of
their own. His contextualism is thus hampered by a realist approach that actually tends to
disclose the contextualist features, which inform the text.

Koselleck underlined the importance of studying the use of concepts in communication.
He emphasised the need to examine who used concepts, who the addressees were, and how
concepts were used by the communicating subject. He stressed the fundamental role of
WGLQDQHMVKHUHEGRWKHLUMUHEMMQOPDLQDLHGDOWNHUG
RWUDQPHGPD\$URHUOEHBDOOHGWKHKLWRRSWMOOHS+
7KHUOLQWKHLPEWDEHODDMMKHGLWLVKKG EHVZHQPDLQ
pragmatics within conceptual history. Semantics concerned the structures of meaning,
KHUHD\$UDPDWLEDEW KDWKHUHKRHEVWHWKLQMOOHN
SHMGWKHGLWLVVRLVLUHUHQLDWHEHWVHWKHPDQLBHMURUDVLODEOH
RWKHDVWEDQWKHSDUWLDNDUKRHYDGHVSHEDVWLSBLWLBORLQHOOHVBO
QUNULHYQLMHHUHQVWUDPDWLKRHWLPHVHHUWVKHDS\$URKGHMORHG
EWKHMOOHG\$PEULGHKRDQLQDUWLDNDU4HVLQQUWKHGRV
LQGHSHHKDVKHREQLWKHREHWLBOUHAWLQQUGLG\$DQGRKH
DUHHZWK\$QU\$DLQVKHREHWLBOURHWKDW\$SWBOKDVQVEH
observed in language use.

.MOOHNFUWHGKLMMUDPDWLEQWUWKHREHWLBOUHAWLQ
Within linguistics, there has been a long discussion on how to draw the borders between
MPDQLDQ\$UDPDWLEQUUGHQWLVQHWLVW\$UDPDWLVWVKM UHODWLVQ

EHWZHQODQJXDJDQGFQOWH[WWKDWDUHHQFRGHGLQWKHVVUXFWXUHRIODQJXDJDH/HY
 S7KHVH2XOGWSLFDQOEHIHDXUHVVXFKDVGHL[LVSUHVXSSRVLWLRQVDQGVSHHFKDFVW%
 D EURDGHU GHQLWLRQ 2XOG DOVR LQFOXGH FROYHUVDWLRQDO LPSOLFDFWXUHV DQG
 GLuHUHQFHVEHWHHQWKHOLWHUDOPHDQLQJRIDQXWWHUHQDFHDQGDWVWKHVSNDNHU
 ,QVSHDNLQJRSUDJPDWLFV.RVHOOHFN DYRLGVWKH XVHRI OLOJXLVWLFWHUPLORORJ%W K
 DDUHRIWKHIRUPDOOLQJXLVWLFHDXUHVVWKURXJKKLFKFRPPXQLFDWLRQRSHUDWHVWRQH
 KHVSHDNVRIKRZHLHGXQLWVRI DFWLRQV%VFKDVVDWHVFKXUFKHVFODVHVVRUSDUWLF
 WKURXJK OLOJXLVWLF SDWWHUQV RI LGHQWLFDWLRQ .RVHOOHFN ,Q D VWXGARQ KRZ
 counterconcepts are used to exclude others from a concept with universalising potentials, he
 examines how the pronoun *we* SODVDVWUDWHJL FUROHKHPRVWUHPDUNDEOHLQXHQFHIURP
 pragmatics within conceptual history is, however, to be found in the understanding of how
 concepts formed part of political and social struggles. Koselleck speaks of concepts
 GHMORHG DVDSOPSEHULH LQSLWLBOWUHVMOOHN
 DS WRDUHRSWLVQURNGESRLWLBODFRWRKDFD SBLWLBOW
 situation, they can also become objects that actors will struggle for. Let us take the concept
 KRDKLKWDDQDPSOH,SDWKHRSWLVQURNGLQWUBHDDLQD
 KLHUDUKLBOORDQMGKHWDQKHULWLVUNUMDODQZOOEHKRWU,WLV
 WKXPDWLVMDMOODEHLQWMPHGEDWLBQLKGNHUNDOHDGLQ
 conceptual historian, has constantly reminded us, concepts do not act by themselves, they
 DUHLNGEDFRMSDUWLVNDULWVWLVNHNUS7KHKLWRRSWV
 is therefore also a history of what actors do with concepts.

Due to his intuitive understanding of the pragmatic dimension, Koselleck could point out
 GLuHUHQVWLVKDWRSWNGKDLQLWLBOKDHHSHUWHWQOQLWVKHM
 WLVWVKHPRH HQUDO ZQRSWPNPHVRSWVWLP
 concepts of expectation, concepts of the future, concepts of action, intentional concepts and
 VOHDWEDRSWVKLKNKDOOUHWKQQPRHVHNSWUHQWKLQW
 DOEHLWZWKNGHMORLQDHDU WHP W PRH LPSRWDQOWKH WLVKDW WKH
 GLuHUHQVRSWVUHMW WSHURPVUHUHODWHG WBUJQKDKDKW KDW EHDQ
 DUR:KDWWNDSHDMGHUQWdie Neuzeit ZLKFKPDUNHGDUJGLFDOEUHDN
 with the existing space of experience and the introduction of our modern political and social
 RSWGLQMOOHRPDMRSURMRSRSDWHGWKHHZ[SHULHQV
 DQODLGNWVKHSDWWHUQWVKHMRLWLBODQKDRSWKHUVWDSURV
 of democratisation, which dramatically broadened the use of political language; the second
 process indicated a temporalisation of concepts in order to capture the growing expectations
 DEN WKH WNH 7KH WKLUG SURVYKDUJWHULMG EWKHLQWLVRSWVQR
 LGHRRHXHUHWKHDKUHG WUNMUDOLMWHQLDOVQKHRPBOHFLM
 MNDUVKHEWKSURVQOOPDQPHDMRLWLBOWLVRSWGLQ
 KLVKWHVHDPHDWVWNGWRRLWLBOWVWOLQWKHM SURMVMOOHN
 DDEOHWRDHWKHGLuHUHQVRSWVQODUHUMRROSHUSHVWLMKLV
 could be said to underline major patterns of speech action.

Conceptual history can no doubt be developed further in the direction of pragmatics.
 7KHUHDUHHUWDLQDGDVQDHWRHDLQGEWDDNDRHHPDOONVSHHKDFLVQ
 DQREANVLQQUUDWVKHPDQHWDLNMMHWSRWLVQLQZWKGLMM
 analysis, at speaker positions as they manifest themselves in the semantic designators, or in
 the strategic use of deictic references, and at the conventions and rules embedding political
 communication as practised by Willibald Steinmetz and his colleagues.

Basic concepts and politics

7KHJRDORIFROFHSW... social lexicon. Koselleck limited his study of historical semantics to what he termed basic

of our method, a word becomes a concept when a single word is needed that contains – and is indispensable for articulating – the full range of meanings derived from a given sociopolitical

Lexicon, Koselleck and his co-editors chose those political and social concepts that they saw

they contained a political dimension in the sense that they would always generate debate or

modernisation through the changing meaning of a number of keywords that were able to

values. While drawing less on semantic theory in his studies of keywords, Williams still

colleagues precisely undertook a study of key concepts in the sense that they were factors in

were verbalised and pointed out the context in which they became central or even inescapable.

Conclusion

SWKRKLOLQJVVVZUNLQJZWKLOWKHJHOGRIKLVWRULFDVHPDQWLFVKDYHVKRZVRPHL in conceptual history, the relations between linguistics and conceptual history are weak. NSWNO KLWRLWPHVLRGLWDQDUGHQRHGLDRLQWLFKHUHKDM been closer ties to discourse analysis. Koselleck mentions the role of the discursive context LQKRSWPHNDSRQVWKHUBHVKHRSWNO DU KLWHVWHLQKH RPDWLRQMMQDHLSDUWLRNDUWKUKWKHNDKOKDRK RSWNO KLWRLKDWKULMG LQDQWUHWKGLMMDQOVMMUMQ Guilhaumou combined the analysis of relations and position within discourses with the semantics at use in designations of symbolic positions such as people, aristocracy, nation DQUHNSWLRQULHRRDUENQWKLRLWLBOLMMQMKDMPDGHMR conceptual analysis to demonstrate how policy discourses are being framed through the MPDQLFHODWLRNSW.VPHRBD.MPLODUMLRWGLHV of political ideology have focused on the role of conceptual morphologies in forming and KDDQGHRRHHGHRRDUUDZWKHDPPEULGHRRKDMEHHQ engaged in discussions with conceptual historians on how to include language use, and more SHEPOOKHWRLEQKHDDQVRSWNOKDHRDORRRHUHQ years, conceptual history has been strongly inspired by methods from corpus linguistics, not OHDWLRQHDOLQWKGLLDWOLMGRSD, WLN[SHVHWGWKDWKLNWVHUZWKOLNWLWLF – hosted within the umbrella of digital humanities – will increase the interest for studying conceptual changes.

Conceptual history is to be understood as a historical investigation of those semantic, UHHUHQVLDODQVH[WNOQLWLRQLKEDMSWVUHRPHG7KHDSSURK follows the long diachronic lines that concepts will take on their way to becoming basic RSWNSWGHMORWKUKMPDQLKDHVKHPHDQKGLKDHG HZGSSHDUDQKGM7KUKWKHLHWLWLRNSWNOKDHV the focus is on the durations and rhythms of concepts. When looked at synchronically, the GLuHUHQ UKWKPDUH SHUHLMG E\WKH KLWRLDQVGLuHUHQ WLPH ODHUVPLOVKH H[SHULHRRDWDFVVKHW&MPDQLKDHVQWKHJUWGLPHRRQ RSWNO KLWRLW7KHRRNLWRLBOMPDULENOKGEDW&WKHGQPLF UHODWLRPHWZHRSDQKOG7KHMRGLPHRRSWNO KLWRLH[DPLHV this relation as it is played out linguistically in what the concepts refer to. Sometimes, RSWGLUHWORPWKHZOGVWKHUWLPHWKLRDSSSHQKDWHQHRSWNO LDWLR WLRGHUWRGHVLEDMSWNSWNO KLWRLRGUDQWKLUGGLPHRRK allows it to follow what actors do with concepts when they communicate with each other in particular situations. Only the study of how concepts are formed in language use and LNHGESHENH[WZOOHQQWKHUHKUHPHQV&DKLWRRDRSWV

Notes

,QOLQHZWKWKHSURJUDPPDWLFVVDWHPHQWRI(KLHQ)HEYUHVRPH)UHQFKKLWVRULDQVDO DFORVHUHQDJDJHPHQWZWKVHPDQWLFVRUOH[FRJUDSKQRWDEOXR&VUDUGDQGOSKRQVH XURQW)RU DQ RYHUYLHRI WKH GLuHUHQW LQWOOHFVNO LQVSLUDWLRQV WKDW IRUPHG .RVHOO KLVWRUVHH5LFKWHUDQG2OVHQ ,KDYHIROORZIGWKHFRQYHQWLRQVZWKLQWKHVW&RIVHPDQWLFVDQGLWVHWKHQH[PHVLO the concepts in capital letters. KIHU

- .RVHOOHFN5 **PHVSRQVHWFRPPHQVWRQWKHVFVKLFKWOLFKHUXQGEHJLHÜH** meaning of historical terms and concepts HGV **#HKPDQQ 0EFKWHU HUPDQ EVVRULFDO ,QVWLWXWH :DVKLQJWRQSS±**
- .RVHOOHFN **FLDO KLVWRUDQG HJULuVJHVFKLFKWH** story of concepts: Comparative perspectives, HGV, **DPVKHUORQN.ZOPDQV**).GH9UHHV**ßVWHUGDPQLYHUVLWßUHVV ßVWHUGDPSS±**
- .RVHOOHFN**HLW=HLWOLFKNHLWXQG#VFVKLFKWHßSHUULJHFN** [LRQH**HLQKDUW.RVHOOHFNLP HVSUIFKPLW:ROILHWHUIDUUXQG.DUL3DORQH** Geschichte und Politik: Zum achtzigsten Geburtstag von Reinhart Koselleck, HGV -.XUXQPINL .3DORQH**QLYHUVLWRI -YIVNOI -YIVNOISS±**
- .RVHOOHFN**ULVLV** Journal of the History of Ideas, YROQRSS±
- .RVHOOHFN **ELH VFVKLFKWH GHU HJULuH XQG HJULuH GHU VFVKLFKWH** .RVHOOHFN 5 **HJULuVJHVFKLFKWHQWXLGHQ]XUHPDQWLNXQG3UDJPDWLN GHUSROLWLVFKHQXQGVRJLDOHQ ÆKUNDPSS9HUODJ)UDQNIXUWDPDLQSS±**
- .RVHOOHFN 5 **QWURGXFWRQ DQG SUHIDFHV WR VFVKLFKWOLFKH UXQGEHJLH** Contributions to the History of Concepts, YROQRSS±
- .URHEQH**UPDQWLFVDQGLVWRULRJUDSK** Cambridge JournalQRSS±
- .U**DPQRZVNL0:RGDNßROLWLFDQVWUDWHJLHVDQGDQJXDJHSROLFLHVWKH(XURSHDQQLRQ /LVERQVWUDWHJQGLWVLPOLFDFWLRQVIRUWKH(QODQJXDJHDQGPXOWLQDQDOLVPSROLF** PolicyYROQRSS±
- /HYLQVR**QPragmatics**, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- linguistic semantics: An introduction** , Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- HUOLKQDUNOPHVEDDQHUDOWKHEHPDQLKDDQMPDQLF**
GH**MORPHVQ** Meaning change – meaning variation, HGV **ßFNDUGW .HXVLQJHU .ßEHLWVSDSLHUQLYHUVLWVW.RQVWDQJSS±**
- 2JGHQ& .**EFKDUGV,ß KHPHDQLQJRIPHDQLQJßWXGRIWKHLQXHQFHRIODQJXDJH**
upon thought and of the science of symbolism, **RXWOHGJH.HJDQ3DXO/RQGRQ**
- 2OVHQ1 **History in the plural. An introduction to the work of Reinhart KoselleckHUKDKQ IHZRUN**
- 3DORQH**QPolitics and conceptual Histories. Rhetorical and temporal perspectives, ÖRRPVEXU/RQGRQ**
- HLFKDUGWFLQOHLWXQJLQ DQGXFKSROLWLVFKVRJLDOHUUXQGEHJULHLO)UDQNUHLFK± YROHGVLFKDUGWßKPLWWßOGHQERXUJ9HUODJQXQLFKSS±**
- EFKWHU 0 The history of political and social concepts. A critical introduction**, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- KIHUßWRELEJWURHWDSKREKDOOHßßSWßOKLWß** Contributions to the History of Concepts, vol. QRSS±
- ßKXOW] HJULuVJHVFKLFKWHXQGßJXPHQDWLROVJHVFKLFKWH** Deutsche Semantik und **HJULuVJHVFKLFKWHRVHOOHFN.OHWW&RWWDßXWWJDUWSS±**
- ßEDVWLQ-)XHQWHV-) &RQFHSWXDOKLVWRUPHPRUDQGLGHQWLWßLQWHUYLHZZLWK HLQKDUW.RVHOOHFN** Contributions to the History of Concepts, YROQRSS±
- ßLQQHU QHDQLQJ DQG XQGHUVWDQGLQJLQ WKH KLVWRU RI LGHDFVQLQJ DQG FRQWH[W** Quentin Skinner and his criticsHG-**XOßROLWßUHVV&DPEULGJHSS±**
- ßHLQPHW] : ßPH WKRXJKWV RQ D KLVWRU RI WZHQLHWKFKHQWXUHUPDQ EDVLF FRQFHSWV** Contributions to the History of Concepts, YROQRSS±
- UDXJRWV (& HPDQWLF FKDQJH EOHDFKLOJ VVUHQJWKHQLOJ QDUURZLQJ H[WHQVLRQ]LQ** Encyclopedia of language and linguistics, QGHGHG .**ßRZQ(OVHYLHUßLHQFßVWHUGDP SS±**
- TULHU-**Der deutsche Wortschatz im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes QWHUMLGHOEHUJ**
:LOOLDPV5 **Keywords. A vocabulary of culture and society2[IRUGQLYHUVLWßUHVVIHZ RUN**

Critical Discourse Studies

A critical approach to the study of language and communication

Bernhard Forchtner and Ruth Wodak

Introduction

language and semiosis in the way politics is not only performed, but also conceptualised. Here, we add to this endeavour by introducing another, more recent way of approaching the *Q* and *politics* *DQGLVFXVVLQJWKHEXUJHRQLQJHOGRI&ULWLFDO LVFRXUVHGXGLHV&DOVRNQRZQDV&ULWLFDOLVFRXUVH&DOVLV&YHH)ORZHUGHZ EFKDUGVVRQRGDNOHHURUDFRPSUHKHQVLYHRYHUYLHZORUHVSHFLDOO\ ZHUH&FWRQKRZ&KDVGUDZQRQDYDULHWRIWKHRUHWLFDODSSURDFKHVDQGXWLOLVHGW HPSLULFDUHVHDUFK,QWKLVKDSWHUZHVKXVSUHVHQUWUHVHDUFKFRQGXFWHGZLWKLQ* of CDS, which deals with political issues of various kinds, exploring how it draws on a range of theories in its multi-, inter-, trans- or post-disciplinary empirical work.

7KHUDSLuHUHQDSSURKHWKLQEHMHGDWKRLHWKHLUQ QWKHMDSSURKHKDSWREDUGEH[DPSOHDQLRLMMRSDUDEOH LQWOHMOREWUDFLQWKWKDWRKHONW-UHQEHUPDUQWBDX RPRHGHWDLOMHKDSWHUDQWKHDPHWPLHLWEGEHZWHUWDQ DSSURKHMDWHGZWKBHOLQHUPRHWKBQUPOHUHWDO DUWDS:RDQMQHHGKLOHDOWKHMDSSURKHK on the detailed analysis of text in context and thus draw on concepts taken from argumentation theory, linguistic pragmatics, rhetoric, semantics and syntax, the underlying goal is to understand the complex workings of language within society, a concern for how socio- WKDO WUWKHVQ DQ DW WKH DPH WPH DUH LQQ E\ODQH M DLUDK:RDN7KHUHLWKQWWHPSWWRWEWHWH[WEORRLHQHG GLMMDQOMPLUDK S ZWKLQWKHRHWLBOUDPHEQ WKHUHEDOWWKLWWKHEQDULHWKHMUDQWKHRLHGLQLOLHKRLDUDN DQRPDQLUDKSuLHEDSULESOHWKDWGUDWRWKHUWKDW LVHQH[WEOLMGLuHUQWKHRHWLBOWDGLWLQLOHLQHDWLQWKHPZWKDQPSLULE RLHQDWLQPLODUOEOEHUW:HLDQ5WK:RDSMHEDGGUHMQ WKHSUROHPRHGLDWLQWHDWLQWKWROLEWLBOQWKHUGLESOLQWKH mediation between communication and structure, discourse and society. However, before

turning to a discussion of how approaches within CDS have, to varying extents,
UHQH[W~~BO~~LMG WKHRHWLBO UDPH~~EM~~ RGHU WKH EDM~~RL~~GL~~EM~~
ELWL~~HP~~Q~~S~~KU~~U~~¶

Discourse is a concept used in a plethora of ways – ranging from notions oriented towards
~~BO~~WWKDWLGH~~LE~~LEL~~D~~WHP~~R~~HR~~PD~~WLR~~Q~~ODWHUGL~~EM~~DD~~S~~SHEF
KLWRLBO S~~U~~R~~H~~GHG UHLPH WD ~~R~~SW L~~L~~UHG E~~Δ~~EHUPD~~W~~
KDOOH~~DE~~LWLE~~L~~Q~~M~~W~~L~~OLGLW~~Ø~~DL~~P~~ED~~M~~GR~~GH~~DOLL~~S~~U~~H~~S~~R~~W~~L~~
H~~HO~~ ULK~~W~~W~~W~~H~~D~~N~~H~~HGR RUHSU~~H~~M~~Q~~Q PDQ~~S~~ØD~~W~~L~~R~~Ø~~K~~M~~V~~Q~~Q~~
M~~H~~ULW~~7~~KHOD~~W~~WHUR~~H~~[DPSOHSDUWO~~L~~R~~P~~V~~Ø~~KHL~~EM~~WRLBOSSURK~~V~~
~~R~~SW~~Ø~~LD~~W~~L~~R~~L~~M~~D~~M~~U~~H~~GH~~V~~LE~~F~~HOD~~W~~HGM~~P~~L~~W~~SUD~~W~~L~~H~~K~~L~~
are socially constituted as well as socially constitutive, and which consist of truth and
ULK~~W~~~~F~~V~~D~~L~~P~~~~V~~Ø~~M~~U~~D~~O D~~F~~V~~E~~Z~~W~~K GL~~u~~HU~~H~~~~V~~ SHU~~S~~H~~W~~L~~M~~~~S~~H~~L~~M~~O~~ :ØDN
S~~7~~KH~~R~~PHUD~~S~~SHDU~~W~~R~~L~~U~~H~~R~~H~~[DPSOH~~7~~KH~~R~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~S~~SURK
S~~L~~K~~L~~ØH~~D~~LU~~Ø~~K~~P~~ØSSURK~~L~~Ø~~D~~V~~W~~H[W~~H~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~W~~K~~K~~DØR
ELWLBOØGUD~~R~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~N~~

ELWL~~IL~~S~~M~~G WRDN~~M~~EOHH[L~~W~~L~~Q~~Ø~~H~~U~~R~~~~F~~W~~L~~Ø~~H~~W~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~N~~Ø~~H~~D~~Q~~
Ø~~R~~H~~R~~Ø~~E~~H~~W~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~N~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~R~~H~~W~~K~~L~~Ø~~K~~D~~W~~PLK~~W~~Ø~~E~~H~~D~~M~~G~~Ø~~D~~U~~L~~W
Ø~~H~~Ø~~G~~H~~U~~L~~M~~Ø~~R~~D~~Ø~~Ø~~W~~L~~L~~Ø~~H~~G~~D~~W~~W~~H~~P~~SW W~~R~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~H~~P~~D~~W~~L~~M~~Ø~~Ø~~W~~D~~S~~
Ø~~K~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Q~~5~~W~~K:Ø~~D~~W~~D~~W~~H~~

WKHWHUP~~EL~~W~~L~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~D~~W~~H~~G~~Z~~W~~K~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~K~~H
eighteenth-century European Enlightenment but whose roots are in ancient Greek
Ø~~K~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~O~~Ø~~W~~K~~H~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~E~~Ø~~L~~W~~L~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~G~~H~~U~~L~~M~~Ø~~R~~D~~Ø~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~G~~ *krinein*Ø~~R~~
Ø~~H~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~D~~W~~H~~G~~H~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~G~~H~~I~~Ø~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~V~~H~~Q~~V~~H~~R~~I~~P~~D~~N~~L~~Ø~~J~~D~~M~~X~~G~~Ø~~J~~H~~P~~H~~Q~~W~~R~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~G~~L~~V~~W~~L~~Ø~~F~~W~~L~~Ø~~R~~Ø
&Ø~~K~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~Z~~Ø~~D~~Ø:Ø~~R~~D~~N~~S

Ø~~R~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~X~~Ø~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~U~~.Ø~~H~~V~~V~~S~~L~~Ø~~Q~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~H~~Z~~L~~W~~K~~R~~W~~K~~H~~Ø~~D~~X~~W~~K~~R~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~Q~~H~~G~~Z~~L~~W~~K~~X~~Ø~~H~~T~~X~~D~~Ø
Ø~~L~~V~~W~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~E~~X~~W~~L~~R~~Ø~~V~~R~~I~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~F~~X~~Ø~~W~~X~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Q~~S~~R~~Ø~~L~~W~~L~~F~~D~~Ø~~J~~Ø~~R~~R~~G~~V~~L~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~W~~H~~P~~S~~R~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~L~~H
Ø~~X~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~U~~L~~V~~H~~V~~Ø~~K~~H~~S~~Ø~~R~~M~~H~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~W~~R~~I~~&Ø~~D~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~I~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~O~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~Z~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~R~~H~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~Q~~W~~L~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~K~~D~~V~~Ø~~E~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~Q~~Ø~~W~~R~~E~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~J~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~H~~
Ø~~H~~[Ø~~F~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~T~~Ø~~X~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~L~~H~~V~~R~~Ø~~I~~S~~R~~Z~~H~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~Q~~W~~R~~F~~Ø~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~E~~X~~Ø~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~J~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~V~~Z~~R~~Ø~~N~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~J~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Q~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~V~~H~~Ø~~Ø~~F~~

the analysis of potent cultural objects – texts – and thereby to help in achieving a more
Ø~~K~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~E~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~G~~H~~U~~¶

Ø~~D~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~Q~~H~~L~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~D~~Ø:Ø~~G~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~N~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~G~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~Q~~
Ø~~H~~[Ø~~L~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~E~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~E~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~ and Ø~~S~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~E~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~
Ø~~7~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~[Ø~~L~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~E~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~E~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~G~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~Q~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~Ø~~
Ø~~L~~Ø~~G~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~B~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~7~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~G~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~L~~
Ø~~P~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~[Ø~~L~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~E~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~H~~[Ø~~W~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~G~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~G~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~E~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~V~~
Ø~~E~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~G~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~B~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Q~~Ø~~Z~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Q~~
Ø~~S~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~B~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Q~~
contradictions of text producers, on the basis of evidence in the text and its broad and narrow
Ø~~H~~[Ø~~W~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~E~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~E~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~O~~Ø~~G~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~O~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~G~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~Q~~
that could be addressed by direct social and political engagement in many Western polities
Ø~~5~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~M~~Ø:Ø~~R~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~G~~Ø~~D~~N

Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~Z~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~M~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Q~~
discursive nature of social relations of *power* Ø~~L~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~Q~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~K~~H
Ø~~P~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~I~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~Z~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~Z~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~O~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~Q~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~H~~[Ø~~H~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~G~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Q~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~J~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~G~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~G~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~F~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~X~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~V~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~R~~
Ø~~S~~:Ø~~K~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~O~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~S~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~K~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~P~~Ø~~R~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~G~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~Ø~~Ø~~R~~Ø:Ø~~E~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~U~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~D~~Ø~~Q~~Ø~~H~~Ø~~W~~Ø~~L~~Ø~~R~~
of power, others subscribe to a productive notion of power in the post-structural tradition.

HW DSSURDFKHVJHQH UD O OYLH ZRZIU DVEHLQJSUHVH QWLPJQGLVFRXUVH VYRPHSRVLWLRQVZOC
KROGJUHDWHU SRWHQWLDOWRLQAHQFHRWKHUVBYHU GLVFRXUVHTRUH[DPSOHWKHTXH
DFFHVVDQGDJHQGDVHWWLQJPDQGRIGLVFRXUVHVDQXQGHUVVDQGLQJRISRZUZFKSRLQW
ODWHQWFRQAFVWVHH/XNHVS

6XFK DQDJHQGD FDCQRWEH EXLOWRQROH GLVFLSOLODUYRXQGDWLRQ EXW UHTXLUH
GHUJHHVRIFRRSHUDWLRQVSDQQLQJGLVFLSOLODUYRXQGDULHV:HLVV:RGDNSYDQ
/HHXZIQKHH[WHQWRVXFKFRRSHUDWLRQLJKWYDURUH[DPSOHmultidisciplinary
LQNLG WKELESOLHWKDW RHU GLuHUHQ SHUSHWLMWVKHLMQWLDQO\
RHU WKH OHDG R GLESOLE ,QUDW interdisciplinary implies two or more
GLESOLEWKDW H[SORH D SUROHP LQDHO D\Transdisciplinarity describes the
LQVHUSHWUDWLPHWKVGDQRPVVKHRLHDFGLuHUHQ GLESOLEKLK
RWHU DU SDUWLQDU SUROHPVQOO\postdisciplinarity RU predisciplinarity
SRVWXODWHVQHJOHFWLQJGLVFLSOLODUYRXQGDULHVLDYRXURISXUHSUREOHPRULHQ
RHUSIRUH[DPSOHKDVSRQWHGWRGDPLWKZKRZDVFRQFHUQHGXZLWKPRUDO
SKLORVRSK\QGDV VXFK DOVR ZLWK WKH VRFLDO RUGHU VRFLROR\ZHYHU KH DOVR
DFNQRZOHGJHGSVFKRORJLFDQIDFWRUVDQGLVWRGDIDPRXVIRUKLVFRQWULEXWLRQWRW
HFRQRPLFVSDHUPDLQWDLQVWKLVLGLQRWUHVXOWLQDUHGXFWRQLVPRIDQNLQG
,QGHSHQGHQW RI ZKLFKHYHU SHUVSHFWLYH LV VXEVFULEHG WR &DV DQ RYHUDU
framework, necessarily spans disciplinary boundaries in its problem-oriented focus. Hence,
middle-range theories usually provide the necessary conceptual apparatus to approach a
SDUWLQDUSUROHP/KLQRV/KHMHUHGHWKHLHRRHDEWUDWUDPHM
WKUKKLRSOH[LMEHRLGHQLHG

While focusing on how research in CDS has drawn on a range of theoretical frameworks
DQGLESOLEHUHQOGMQLRKLWRDQFWKHJWONVWKHPW
explicit references to Marx and the neo-Marxism of Gramsci before moving, second, to
RQW DQWKHGLM WKHEPDDXWKHQHWQWKLUGWRDU[LVDQ
GLWKHELWLDQ7KHEWKHJWHHJUDWLAKHJDEWKRDDQDEHUPDV
RWKZPWRHUUHGHLHRRHHSURGLDEULHPDU\
of the impact of MULMRLKWH RSWOKLWRKHKHDSWHUDNWKD
brief summary.

CDS and the influence of Marx and Gramsci

ODUVDQGHUVVDQGLQJRIVRFLHWLQWHUPVRI PRGHVRIFWUHQWOFDSLWDOLVWSURGKWL
VWUXOHQGHUSLQVDPQ&DSSURDFKHV7KLVLVHVSHFLDOOWKHFDVHLQ)DLUFORKV DSSURD
and explicitly discussed in DU[DELWLBOLEMDQWDLUORUDKDP
HUHDLUOKDQKLOUDKDPWKDWODQH KDEHRRHMUPRH HQUDOLQDWH
PRHUQWDDDL PibidemSWKDWZLWKUHVSHFWWRQDQJXDJHDVEHLQJSURGXFHGEDV
well as reproducing material circumstances, practices, social consciousness and human
H[SHULHQDUYHWKEDQWKHPHWKRNHHLGHQLBOQDWKHDWKRIV
base this claim on their reading of Marx as being well aware of the link between language use
and other dimensions of the social, thus stressing the dialectics between the discursive and the
PDWHULDQGLPHQDOOLHQKHWKHDWKRMOOWUDWHWKDWHMQU[HDHGLQ
HPSLULBOELWLDQ LNDOMYKHQ H[DPSOHGLMHQHSWR
WDWHHWRHDDHEDQRRHGHWDLONLUOKDQUDKDPV
RSOH[DQOMHWBWKDWWKHLOOXUDWHKDU[DOEWWKH OHMOBWB
ODQHMHMHVGHGHQDLPWKDWVKHLGHDVNDWKHSEWLQKHMHWWKDWLV
KHQHQAQWKHLGHDHUUENWZKDHQ

)DLUFORXJK KDV DOVR GUDZ RQ QWRQLR UDPVFLV DSSURDFK)DLUFORXJK
SSMHDOKBLDUDNDLUOKKDSWHULQVKLNRHWLQLOLQ
WKHRSWKHHPRLUDKDWWHPSWWR[SODLQKHDWVKDWBULRDLQ
WEDVHWVDUH KDSHG EQWKDOLMG SUDWLHVDQ UHODWLEWKN EHLQLUHWO
forced to do so. Such naturalised conventions are made transparent by means of discourse
analysis.

EH[DPSOHDLUOK *ibidem* S WXUQVWRGRFWRUSDWLHQWFRQVXOWDWLRQVOLQNLQJ
such everyday experiences to conventional hegemonic relationships between doctor and
SDWLHQV7KHQWKDOKHHPRLKLVGRVHUDWLRQMEHKDOOHG±
OHDGLQVWUHQHUKHHPRLH[DPSOHLQQWKUKWKHULMDOWHUQWLM
PHGLEH7KQVWKHPLERHMODLUOKDQOMRUDWLRHWZHQSDWLHQV
DQORLEBQDGEVFDQHPKDMWVKDWWKHGRVFWLQDUHKBDBUH
EDWVWKHGRVFWLQV DGEHLMQWKLQVKDWVZMQKLV
GLUHWLMLGOLNWNHSHLHPWHSURVWUDGLWLRQSDWVWHUR
LQHUDWLRQMUHPRPDWLRQUDWVWKHMRSDOLWPDUNUV
μWKLQDQWKH KHGHG GLUHWLMLRUDGLW K WUDGLWLRQ PGR
interaction characterised by domination. Embedding this interpretation in a wider socio-
RWDORVH[WDLUDK SUHMVWKHDQOMRUDWLRQDQ[DPSOHRGRV
RHOVOWHUQWLMRHPRESUDWLHMDMUDWLRQOLDWLRQLW\$H
of discourse, which emerged in the private sphere, has since colonised public institutions
and bears the potential for both democratic renewal and the regression of the active subject
into a consumer.

VKHUDDOMVLUHGEVDPHSHUWDQLRHHPRVUNGERBQ
•NOLKRSSOLHWKHSHEPQOLWDPHKLMLWUDWHLHV
RLQWLQUGLQWLRURHQVWLRQSHUHWLMDWLRQLQVHQVLRWLDWLRQ
EHORVWKHUNLTKNKWLHDQHMORPHQBUWVWVWHPSWWRVWDEOLKQ
PDLQDLQVRLWLBOKHHPRLHHGWKHSDUWQDMDQHGWRUWVDKHHPREOR
LQGHU WNH WKH RLEHUDO DQ UHOLQVWLM WUDRPDWLRQNK
RHWV;KLOH GUDZQ SWQDWLRQSHUWDQLRRLWLRV DQ
VLRQVOLDMELWLBQHDOLWUHDGLRDPHGLQDQDHM
LQHUWRDPSKHUHRRLWLBQWUHQHKLKLEDMGRDOWUWKHMQKLK
KDPDWHULDOHVHWV *ibidem* SHIRFXVRQGLVFXUVLYHDVSHFWVRIKHJHPRLF
projects implies a detailed analysis of *topoi* DQG UKHWRULFDO JXUHV LQ DUJXPHQDWLRQ KH
IROORZLQJH[DPSOHLVWDNHQIURPDSUOLDPHQWDUUHSOEWKHWKHQ)RUHLJQOLQLVWHUW
DYXWRXLQLQUHVSQVHWRFULWFLVPRIXUNHVGLDQSROLF *ibidem* SS±

HVWHUGD\OLVWHQHGWRDKLJKOFUHGLEOHRVFLDOIURPGLD)LOOHGZLWKWHDUVKH
RKRQRXUDEOHPLQLVWHU EHFDXVHDIDWKHU ZKRORVWKL VFKLOGLQDQDQDLUERPDU
FRXOGQRWJRRXWDQGXUKLPKHSXWVKHFKLOGLQWKHIULGJHWRDYRLGDVWLQN,SHUV
VDZLVKDWNLQGRWRUWXUHLVWKLQVQWKHSDVWZHDYHIULHQGODGYLFHWRLDDEXW
GLGQVLP SRVHDQWKLQJXWZKHQHYHU IRONDUHRYHUUXQWKHQQLWFKDQJHVDWVKL
RFDQQRWGRWLQVWEHLQLQWHUHVWHDQVXPDQVQVNHWKHRYQLDQJRYHUQPHQW
RIWKHWLPHZKLFKVWUXJJOHGZLWKVQLSHUV,DPPHPRULJLQJLWZLWKDSSUHFLDWLRQV
should adopt a certain attitude.

•NOLSS±

VKHORRHEULHMDPULM•NOLQOMVKLWVHWKHUWKHOLHV
start with an DURHVRDGH[HPSOK in which a tragic example is used to operationalise

a threat to the Syrian government, further supported with an *argumentum ad misericordiam* DSSH DOW RSLW, DUKHWRULFDOTXHVWKRQWIKRITY KLJKOFUHGLEOHRVFLDO P QG the W R H U O H [S H U L H H W K H S U K H O D W W H U S R Q W B R Q V H U H W L Q L W D V M M Q O W K H S U H P S K D M W K H S U U K H W D W H D Q Q W L P D W H O U H M W L Q D W K U H D W U R U L H Q O D G L H W R W R P S N D W K L V P H U W D L Q W W L W G H T K L V attitude is legitimised through a *topos of humanity* D Q G D Q D Q D O R J Z L W K W K H R V Q L D Q Z D U D Q D Q D O R J X U W K H U O H J L W L P L V H G E F X W W L Q J R u W K H A Z R I W K H D U J X P H Q W parenthesis V R D V W L Q G L F D W H W K H V S H D N H U V S H U V R O D O V W D Q F H L Q V X S S R U W R I W K H R V Q L D Q J R Y H U Q P H Q V H U H . o N D O L V F U L W L F D O U H D O L V S H U V S H F W L Y H R Q K H J H P R Q E H F R P H V P D Q L I H V W D V K H H Y L this analogy not simply in terms of meaning-making but as fallacious. While arguing that, L Q W K H U W H [D P S O H W K H L Q L D W H G D W R L G H H Q L Q L W U V K N Y M V F L D L V Q W D Q [W H U Q O D W R L Q W H U M Q Q Q W K H U N U H L Q D W H , G R W K H author traces in detail how a hegemonic project is discursively realised.

CDS and the influence of post-structuralist approaches: Foucault and beyond

Given that the notion of discourse – and the wider shift towards an interest in language – has E H H O M O O L N G W R W W U M X D O L W R U Q P H D Q P D N Q W L W M S U L M Q W K D W R W K D L N G W K H D S S U R K H W K D E H H Q U L P D U L O L Q W K H R D L U O K D Q W K H K M K R M H E H O W K D W D W U R E G L D Q H W H [W R L H Q H G G L M M D Q M W L H D E O H H Q U D O O S H D N Q L U O K S S u D Q W K H U S U R R Q W P E U D H R W Y H Z G L M D W L W X L M R subjects, social relationships, objects and conceptual frameworks; the insistence that G L M S U D W L H D U H L Q H U G H S H Q H W K M W H U W H [W B O O U H O D W H G W K H G L M M Q W K H R S H U W K H S R L W L B O Q W X H R L M D Q W K H G L M M Q W K H R D O K D Q K L G H V Q L P S O K M U W K D W D L U O K S S D Q W K H U K D M D H S W H G H M U \ D S H W R W S U R D P P H R H [D P S O H W K H R P H U L F L W L B O R W R E W U D W R L Q G L M Z W K W D Q O M D W E O O D Q H M D Q [D H U D W H G Q H U W D Q L R S H U D Q D U H O D W L Y W W O M W D L U O K D Q E H U L H G - I H U L Q D U W L O D U K D M U H S H D W H G O G U D R W L Q S U R W L M D R H K L K Z L Q U S R N E U L H A Q the following.

L U W D L U O K G U D R W Q L R G H U G L M M S S ± D L U O K R W E K L K H G H Q V S D U W L O D U R E L Q W L Q H V D W L Q L M M D W H S U H M Q L Q Q W O H D E H L Q K H D \ these orders, modes of legitimate meaning-making, are structured is continuously contested D Q K M H W W W D Q W U R H H U H Z U H H U D L Q G R E S D W L H Q R P D W L Q H D E N D U H O D W L R L K L K D U D W H U L M G E P S D U W L O D U R G H U K L K P L K W H O O K D H over time as new styles and representations of the human body gain legitimacy.

H R D Q D O R [S O L E W O O L N G W R W W L W K H R L N K H W H K R R D W L R G L M M b i d e m U D Z L Q J R Q) R X F D X O W V L G H D R I W H F K Q R O R J L H V D V F R Q V W L W X W L Y H R I S R Z H U L Q P R G H U Q V R F L H W D Q G P R U H S D U W L F X O D U O R Q R V H D Q G O L O O H U V Z R U N R Q W K H) R X F D X O L G H D R I E L R S R Z H U D Q G W H F K Q R O R J L H V R I J R Y H U Q P H Q W D L U F O R X J K i b i d e m S S u Y L H Z V W K H W H F K Q R O R J L V D W L R Q R I G L V F R X U V H V D V D F R Q V F L R X V H u R U W W R X Q G H U V W D Q G U U H S U R G X F H G L V F X U V L Y H S U D F W L F H V W K D W E H Q H W F H U W D L Q K H J H P R Q L F S U R M H F W V H u H F W V ([D P S O H V F D Q H D V L O E H H Q Y L V D J H G V X F K D V W K H F R Q V W D Q W G H P D Q G I R U I X U W K H in the area of communication, which leads to particular knowledge being circulated in L Q L W X L K D M U W L H V K U K W H K R R D W L D W R V D W W H P S W W R N H

GLVFRXUVHDQGRQGLVFXUVLYHDVSHFVW2QHFDVHLOSRLQMLV1LFRQLQDORQWHVDOROROV
 UNROWKH=DSDWLVDVDVDOGWKHLUVVUXJJOHLQOH[LFR:KLOHDWWHPSWLQJWRGHVJQ
 IUDPHUNWKDWEULQJVVRJHWKHU&6DQG7ORQWHVDQRORQWHVVRULDPRQJRWKHUWKL
 GUDVRO)DLUFORXJKVQRWLRORIBUGHUVRI GLVFRXUVHFLVFULWLTXHRIKDWVKH *ibidem*,
 S GHVLEHVDODDGHGDOLW EDORVQWKHFWKBERQ
 DQOMGLMDWDWKHOHMOVRLEGLMMWUDWHLHDQEUHOHDO
 OLQWLEHDOLDWLH[DPSOHQHDQHL*ibidem*SDQDOVLVRI
 texts produced by the MpUEWRDSDWLWDGHLEHUDEyQDQWKHWKHQ[LDQ
 B'HLGHVQDOLQVHVLQKHODLPWKDWPRSHUQDWLQNGLOLOQWH[WL
 characterised as an urgent project that has ultimately reformed the country and is
 grammatically supported by a verbal system that indicates material achievement and
 SURHWHDQHLSSRWKHUODLPEGUDZRSWHUDMWHG
 BORWLROOMWUDWGHPEDENGLOVH[WHWHGEWKH=DSDWLWDV
 LQNGWRHUPVQLDVLQUDQWLQPPHQ7KHUHLWKDOHMOQKWL
 DWWDKHGWEPEDSHUWRDQ HPSWMDHUDHQHWKDWOHDMVDH
 for various parties to join this KDLRKHQOH

QKHUKRDUKRUDELMOLEWDEOKULWKBQOMGWKHURH
 RQQLPLQKHGLMMUWLRKDKHGUDQWUWLVW
 SUHPLMDQLWVYHUHWLQHHPRSURHWDVHDVRLQVQDOUHODWLQ
 EXDORRQGHUWRGHVQKVKHUVLQKHHPRSURHWDQ
 WKHLUSQEOHDLOKSRHUDWHLQHWDLOWKUKODQH

,KHU UHMDUK QVKH 5KDKKHQW DEOKULW DQOMWKH MR
 metaphors in order to trace how international news coverage construes *us* and *them*. More
 SHEPOOKHMKHDUWLQDWLRHWDSKRQQLWQHDEOKULW
 DQOMKDWNGHGLEHGDWQWKHQWLQDPLQPHWDSKR

that is, either the *strict father* or the *nurturing parent*PRGHOKHIRUPHUHQYLVDJHVDXWKRULW
 VWUHQJWKLQGHSHQGHQFHDQGWKHQHGWDRDGYLVHDQGUHJXODWHWKFLOGUHQZ
 RIWUDQVJUHVVLRQQHGWREHSXQLVKHGIRUWKHLURZQJRRGQFRQWUDVWVKHQXUWXU
 model endorses empathy, discussion and compromise; negotiations are favoured over
 GLYODWUHQKQWKHMRHRDQMDQGUDZQVKHMWE

PRHODEOKULW *ibidem*SSuLQYHVWLJDWHVWKHUHSUHVHQWDWLQRIWKHWKHQ3ULPH
 OLQLVWHU3XWLQVPLQWDUHVSRQVHWR,VODPLFPLQWDQVWHQWHULQJDJHVWDQLQX
 DQGWKHWKHURUQRWVKLVUHSUHVHQWDWLQIROORZV D *weak father* VWRUQLQH RU WK
 neglectful parent.KLOHDVWULFWIDWKHUZRQGDWOHDVWDFKLHYHDTXLFNYLFWRUAVVLDID
 WKLVWHVWDVDPQLIHVWHGLQD HUPDQ QHZVSDSHU DUWLFQHVVLVPLVHGLWVRSSR
 IROORZLQJWKHGLVDVWHULQ&KHFQDWRSUHSDUHLVWDUPEHWWHUWRJKWLQWKHPRXQ
 DUPHGIRUFHVDUHDGQGHUSDLGSRRUOHTXLSHGDQGDYHOLWWOHPRWLYDWLR
 EXWHVWLPLQDULQFRQVWUXFWLQJWKHXVVLQQRWKHUWRULHVDERXWVVLDDVDQJHOH
 focus on the worsening of the situation through military action, as in *The Guardian* DSSHDO
 WRDYRLGH[FHVLYHDQGEDGODLPHGJHSRZHUQVXPERWKRURVVDHLWKHU
 EDUWLFXODWLQJLWDVLQFRPSHWHQWDQGHZHDNDQGVXEVHTXHQWOWRREUXWDORUQR
 HORXJKQRWLQWKHNQRZDERXWKRZRVRROYHFRQAFWVSURSHUO

CDS and the influence of Critical Theory and Jürgen Habermas

5HWXQLQJWRQHR0DU[VWLOQVQFHVUHIHUHQFHVVR&ULWLFDO7KHRULQ&6DUHSURP
 SODFHGHJ5HLVJQ:RGDNS)DLUFORJK:RGDNSSuWKRK
 RSHUDWLRODQDVLQRIWKHVH DSSURDFKHV LQ HPSLULFDO UHVHDUFK UHPDQV U

H[WHQWWKLVVXUSULVLOJLYHQWKDWLQWHUGLVFLSOLQDULWVDIUHTXHQWVHOIGH
SUDFWLWLRQHUV\$VXFKOD[RUNKHLPHU]S FDOO IRU WKHRUHWLFDQOOLQIRUPHG
HPSLULFDOLQYHVWLJDWLRQVRIWKHOLQNEHWZHQHFRQRPVFKRORJDCGFXOWXUHLQFC
DUHDV VXFK DV IDVKLRQ OD\$XEOLF RSLQLRQ HWF VXJHVWV WKH JYV JHQHUDWLRQ RI &ULY
7KHRUDVDXVHIXOIUDPHUN,QGHHGWKHVHVKRODUVHODERUDWHGDULFKHPSLULFDOSURIB
a mixture of detailed discussions of empirical data related to theoretical arguments.

,Q *The salaried masses* RULJLQDOO\$XEOLVKHGLQ 6HJIULHG.UDFDXHU S
IRUH[DPSOHSURYLGHVDQHVKQRJUDSKLFFVWXGRIWKH[RWLFVPRIDFRPPROSODFHH[LWV
RIZKLWHFROODUZRUNHUV/HR/ZHQWKDODQGIRUEHUW\$WHUPDQ[*Forms of
deceit* DVVXGRIBHULFDQDJLWDRUVUHVHPEOHVODQJXDJHVHQVLLYHZRUNRQWKHFROWH
IDUULJKWLQ & 6QPDOZDV\$WXGEDVHGRQDQDOVHVRIIRFXVJURXSVGHGDOWZLWKWKH
OHJDFLHVRIIDWLRQDORFLDOLVPLQSRVWZDUHUPDQVHHIRUH[DPSOHSURQZKLOH
The authoritarian personality \$RUQR HW DO FRPELQHV VWDWLVWLFDO DQDOVLV ZLWK
GLVFXVLRQVRIH[WUDFWVIURPLQWHUYLHZVKHODWWHULVPHQWLRQHGLQFLVLJODQG:R
SSuDOQKDVVEHHQWDNHQXSLQ:RGDN*Politics of fear* SSuLQZKLFK *The
authoritarian personality* LQIRUPV:RGDNVDQDOVLVRIULJKWZLQJSRSXOLVWJHQGHUSROLWLF
UDZLQJRQ\$RUQR:RGDNVGHVFULSWLRQRIWKHOLQNEHWZHHQDXWKRULWDULDQSDWV
pseudo-masculinity *pseudo-femininity* WKDW LV D IDQWDVRI PDVFXOLQH YLULOLW\DQG
IHPLQLQH TXDOLWLV KHOSV WR H[SODLQ WKH DWWUDFWLRQRI VWURQJ PHQ IRU PDQV
SRSXOLVWYRWHUV 3RLQWLQJ WR D SRVWHU IURP WKH ORFDO 9LHQQHVH HOHFWLRQV LQ
XVWULDQ)UHHGRP3DUW)3g:RGDN*ibidem*SDQDOVHVWKHDWJ[VWJODQFHSDUDGR]
appeal to liberate Muslim women from being coerced into wearing a headscarf.

:KLOHWKHLQKHPDUWLENDWHGEWKHOHDGHUWKH\$WUDKHQKHULKW
RSULMVKH\$DQSUHURHQMKBURHWVHHRHQWLDODDEN
MFWDSMGZWKWKH\$KHEDOHPRDWBWVLOWKHCRGLQDENW
PDMRLWLQKHOBONUPHVSUNHWVWKHRSNHDULQHDGDMWKH
MUEW\$UWHWMLMQLMOOLSWLQVHHEWHDMLQWUWHGMDLPSOLBWKHUR
WKHJWVWHV\$UKKWKHSUKLELWLRHOLLN\$HGPRHSUHEMO\
MLPKHDGDMWKH\$PSDL\$W\$NL\$KOL\$DHRHL\$UHMH
DQHRE\$PLW\$DQGH\$RHU\$ULWLD\$PLQW\$7KHEUDQOLN
CRQWVKHEWWRW\$KHSW\$U\$SLWDOLMGDQWK\$MPSKDM\$UDW\$UHKHUH
\$WKH\$HQM\$D\$WKHLQ\$7KHODWWHUWKH\$URHU\$HQM\$W\$RHH
\$H\$W\$Q\$MLP\$DQ\$WKN\$DSSDUHQ\$ORSOLEW\$LQ\$UDLQ\$H\$Q
UHHGRDQLKWWKHEDOHPRDWBWVLOW\$W\$K\$D\$S\$R\$LEHV
\$SDUH\$G\$Z\$W\$K\$H\$L\$H\$W\$K\$H\$U\$H\$Q\$W\$D\$W\$D\$E\$H\$P\$D\$K\$K\$D\$G\$D\$P\$R\$H
GLUHWL\$H\$7KH\$N\$R\$S\$W\$D\$U\$H *public sphere* DQG *deliberative democracy* in
KLKWKHUHHDQHEDUDLMDOLGLWEDLPLQCHEDWHEFLWLDQGHEMRNDQ

Figure 9.1 FPÖ poster 2010 We protect free women (<http://www.ceiberweiber.at/index.php?p=news&area=1&newsid=541> [12.08.2014])

learning views collectively shared knowledge and practices by a group as protected from criticism through reference to a particular idea or institution. *Regressive learning* excludes the other *per se* IRUH[DPSOHWKURXJKDQ momentum ad hominem IURPWKR VHZKRGHFLGH what is collectively shared. *Ideological learning* claims the existence of a fundamental DQDQGLM UHHPHQW KLKQ EHKDOOH HGEDHUWDLQGH

RLWDLGLGHRRBOOH DUQVHWHWHGLDQGRHWHQLWOHGOctrine on research DQG WHDFKLQJ UHJDUGLQJ ODULVW/HQLQLVW WKHRUDQG WKHRUJDQLVDWLRQRI VFLH GDR TXRWHLQ)RUFKWQHUKQHLFNHUW S LQZKLFK FHUWDLQLGHDV HJRI ERXUJHRLVLH VRFLRORJRI NORZOHGJH DUH HfOXGH The basis of antagonism: HXUDOLWLSRWL HMQKH QLWLBO DGRWL ULQSOHVLEKHRMH RRRHGH DQ LWVHWWDUH LRSDWLEOH ZWK D DU[LW WKHR\R HGHQ]

7KLSURRO LWLOO MUPKOLNG WRVUDGLWLRRO DMSWLQEW UDWLRO DQ WUDSDUHQ DUHQWDLQGLW WKLVEDN EKWHU RELQV Habermasian perspective with a narrative approach, arguing that *modes of emplotting stories* WKDW LWKH MOHWM DUUDPHQWRIMQVURDQLPHOGUDPDWLWUDLRLR LURMH :KLWH UH SURGH D PRH JHDOLWLDSSURK WRDMV intersubjective relations. Here, the focus is on the ways actors, events, objects and processes feature in a narrative, and the expectations, emotional states and levels of certainty and self-righteousness, of more-or-less self-critical subjects, which emerge from these stories.

Stories, which are melodramatically emplotted, depict the world as being divided into EODDQKLWHDQWKHPDLQUDRQWKHWZWKRWKHD&LHQLDMG WRGHQLWDCQKHULKWGHRRHGLHWK KOHHDUWRHUUHDMDQ WVKHMHHLQHHGWKHRHUDKDSSHQLQQWKWKUHLULWVOHUHDQMOI ELWLH7KHDMHMHWLYWVKWKHMWRHGRQDEOLWDWHWKHMR DEHUPDMDSUHSRWL WKH ULMRHQQ HDOLWDULDQ[KDH QUDW WUDLWELHWKHPDWLMSDWLOKHWKHSELOLWVKHLUUSHWLWLRQGLVWKRHV to be made by *us* as well as inner tensions, while ironic ones deal even more explicitly with WKHKLWLDPELKWLDQRSOH[LWLHMHGHDLGHG[LWHQPHS ZWKSFLQHHDWDQWKHGHPLMVKHKHURKWKHMPHFLKWMUMDD mechanism for enabling or blocking collective learning processes. One of the examples DQONG ERKWHU KLOH GUDZQKH SUQ WH[W ELWLBO WKH WKHQ ORLQHGDUDDLW,UDTQPHUPDQLWHURKWHUODLPWKDWWKLW UULEWLQVRWKH GHEDWH LKDUDWHULMG ERLHOHPHQW DVRRHQ UHROLDWLQHELWWDQWKKDSHQLRKHUUSDUUDWLQ past and present in such a way enables the construction of others, in this example: the United States, as lacking knowledge and having not learnt, thus facilitating self-righteousness and ENH VQHUDWLDEHUPDMQLWLBO 7KHEVZWK QUUDWLM WKHRWKLWHHQ attempt points to both the importance of recontextualising social theories in CDS and a WURDUUHQWKHMDDWKHQDUUDWLMRPR&

CDS and the influence of Bourdieu's social theory

&KRDLUDNL DQG)DLUFORJK HQJDJH LQDGHWDLOHG GLVFXVLRQRI RYGLHWRRONLV HOGKDELWVVREROLFFDSLWDODQGSREUDQGVVUHVVKLVDVPSWLRQRIGLUHUHQWLD ZWKWKHLURDORJLV7KHVWKHUPRUHSRLQWWRKLVQRWLRQRIHQGWKhpital linguistic marketVHH &KDSWHU WKLWYROXPZKLOH FULWFLVLQJD ODFN RI WKHRURI FRQWHPSRUDURUPVRIPHGLDWLRQDVHOGVIRUH[DPSOHWKHMRXUQDOLVWLFHOGKLVY

language use as a by-product of sociological categories that does not acknowledge the

7KHKDDWWHPSWHGWRHUDWLRQOLMRHGLHGDQWHLRH[DPSOHWKH concept of *habitus* features in *The discursive construction of national identity*:RGDNHWDO DVZHOODVLQ:RGDNVWXGRIURQVWVDJHDQGEDFNVVDJHSROLWLFVDQG WKHPDQLIROGZDV0(3VDUHVRFLDOLVHGLQWRWKHROLWLFDOSURIHVVLROKHKDELWXV GHQRWHVUXUGLHXDWWHPSWWRRYHUFRPHWKHREMHWLYLVPVXEEMHWLYLVPGLFKRW WRQRSDWHGH[SHULHVURWKHSDWDEUHG WKUKEDOLDWLRQSDUWLDDU beliefs or opinionemotional attitudes PQG behavioural dispositionsPRWKHUNH\ FROFHSWXWLOLVHGLQWKLVVWXGDQGEHRQGLVUXUGLHXQRWLRQdescribes KRRMHOQFDMGQKHGLDOHFWLEHWIHOQDELWMOHQOGKGLHX SSu7KLVHMHWLQRKHKDMMQOEHRHN

understanding the notion of *discursive strategies*:RGDNHWDOSSuRQHRIWKH WKUHHOYHOVRIDQDOVLVLQWKHSHHDERYH0RUHRYHUWKHGLVWLQJXLVKHVEHWZHHQ YH PDFURVWUDWHJLHVRtive self and negative other representation QRPLQDWLRQ SUHGLFDWLRQDUJXPHQDWLRQSHUVSHFWLYLVDWLRQDQG PLWLJDWLRQLQWHQVLFQ :RGDNSSuKHDXWKRUVibidemSQRWHIRUH[DPSOHWKDWSXEOLFGLVFRXUVH LQXVWULDQGXULQJKHDWHG GHEDWHVRYHUWKHFRXQWU\LOYROYHPHQWLQWKHFR :RUOG:DUHQGWKHRRORFDXVWXULQJKHVRFDQOHGIDOGKHLPLDLUQDVLFQFUHDVLQ

characterised by a shift in nomination, realised through, among others, the metonymic- synecdochic *totum pro parte* XVWULDQGWKHhars pro toto IDOGKHLPIRU DOO WHVSHFWDEOHXVWULDQVHQFHDQRQHZKRGDUHGWRFULWLFVHWKHWKHQXVWULDQFI for presidency, Kurt Waldheim, was immediately implied as having criticised the entire QWLQDWHXVULD:GDNDQO

LQOOEKWHU DQKELNUW KDM UHHQO,DDWHPSWHG WRQHUDWH WKH concepts of HOGKDELWand *strategy* systematically in, and with, Habermasian elements KDUDFWHULMYKHHHDEHMKHUHEWUHWKHQKHH[SODQWESKURKHS ZWK UHSHW WRVKHREHWLBO DSWLQEW DFLWUWKHQDQSHU UHODWLQKLV LQSHVWVKHUWUWLRMHWLM positionsIURPZKLFKDFWRUVLQHOGVRSHUDWHE\ means of principal component analysis, multidimensional scaling and correspondence analysis.

HLRQGHUWRGHQVLQQUHQUWLQMLGNODQRROHFLM dispositions, that LKDELWMMUDO PHWKREKGDWD BOHWLQLK EHONVRVKH\$WUDGLWLRQ UHSHUWRUH K D VLEDSKLEQVHUMHZIWKRRDSKLRMUDWLRQ DURHQDWLRQ ELHQHGDDQMGHEHMG7KLUGWKHPRHROHM00SRWLRQWELQ SHEHOGLOLNGWUUDWHLH[H[DPSOHDWLRQKSHDQRLWLEDQ WKHUQWDHMH:GDNDQDHDQMGEGUDZQKH\$WUDGLWLRQ WH[WDQOWLBO WRNW R H[DPSOH DQQOMVKHSEWLQDOH SURMVLQ HUPDQKHUHMDOVKHKHHPKLVSHDWRLQKHDBGHPLHOGMH DQQUHMHZWK D HUPDQURR DEN HPDOH KRDUVQKHGLMGE\ EKWQKELNUWS7KL\$HULPEDODQLQMGWVWHUDHEDV QRBDOWKLNQDOLWVKHEDQKHENKHEMUM\$SURMLK DUG KKLKUHkuHVRWUHQKDWURHUQOLWQKMDQWURH7KDW REHQWKHSHUQEDQKHEDOLDWLRQMULWWDu DW HUPDQ

universities, which especially in the past shared a male, bourgeois disposition, puts the SHDNULQGRLOQSEWLRQKHDBGHPLHOGJLQOOSWLRQMQEOHGWKUK the strategy of argumentation, the latter being realised through the *topos of male strength*WR EHUHFRQVWUXFWHG DV LQFHPDOHVDUHUREXVWDQG VWURQJKDYHD VWURQJSHUVRQJ VWURQJYRLFHFHUWDLQMREVVKRXOGRQOEHLPSOPHPQWHGEWKHP

FRQWUDGLFWRU DVVXPSWLRQVPLJKWUDLVHPRUHTXHVWLRQVWVKDQWKHVROYHRZYHUD
DQG UHAFWLYH DGRSWLRQ RI GLUHUVW WKHRUHWLFDQ SHUVSHFWLYHV ZOO FHUWD
further study of language in use in ever more complex contexts and strengthen the
explanatory power of problem-oriented critical research.

Note

)RU D PRUH H[W HQVLYH GLVFWLRQ RI KRZ DQR I WKH VH DSSURDFKHV KDYH LQWQFHG & 6 VHH
)RUFKWQH U

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RUGLHX3 *Homo academicus*, Polity, Cambridge.

KLOWLDQDSSHAWLQLNMDQELWLKQLQDQWKH:HW¶ *Journal of Language and Politics* YROQRSS±

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DLUOKLMMKDHQKHPHQ *Critical Discourse Analysis. The critical study of language I*)DLUFORXJK/RQJPDQ/RQGRQSS±

)DLUFORXJK1 *GLDOHFWLFDQDUHODWLRQDO DSSURDFK WR & ULWLFDO LVFRXUVH QDOV LV LQ VRF UHVHDUFK* Methods of Critical Discourse Studies. UGHG HGV5RGDN 00HHU DJH /RQGRQSS±

)DLUFORXJK1 & DKDP3DU [DVFULWLFDOGLVFRXUVHDOVWWKHJHQHVLVRIDFULWLFDOPHWKRG DQGLWV UHOHYDQFH WR WKH FULWLYX RI *Journal of Linguistics* YRO QR SS±

DLUOKRDNLWLBOLMMQOMQ *Introduction to Discourse Studies. Discourse and interaction. Volume 2* HGV5DQMN DJH/RQGRQSS±

)ORZHUGHZ - LFKDUGVRQ - (*The Routledge handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*, 5WOHGHQ

RKWQU WLWLVWKHGLMMKLWLBODSSURDKDQWKHJDNKR¶ *Critical Discourse Studies* YROQRSS±

)RUFKWQH U% /HVVRQVIURPWKHSVWHPRUQDUUDWLYLWQGV *Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*, DMYN

RKWQU WLWLBOLMMQVGLHQDQDQWKHRLQ *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies* HGV-)ORZHUGHZ-(LFKDUGVRQRXWOHGHJ2[RQSS±

)RUFKWQH U% QOHLFNHUW & ROOHFWLYHOHDUQLQJLQVRFLDOHQGV RUGLHXDEHUPDVDQ & ULWLFDOLVFRXUVH QDOV LQ *Work and Society* YROQRSS±

)RXFDXOWRPLQF& ULWLYXHDQGDUXPHQDWLQRQWKHUODWLRQEHWZHHQWKHGLVFRXUVH KLVWRULFDQ DSSURDFK DQ 3UDJPDQDQGLVFRXUVH *Journal of Language and Politics* YRO QR SS±

QWQKHQVWKHKKLQ *Power/knowledge. Selected interviews and other writings* HG&RUGRQ3DQWKHQRNRNVIHZRUNSS±

)RXFDXOWDRLWLVLPSRUWDQWWRWKLQNLQVHQWLDOZRUNVRI)RXFDXOWRO,,, *Journal of Critical Discourse Studies* YRO QR SS±

- 5HLVLJOO :RGDN 5 [KHGLVFRXUVHKLWVRULFDODSSURDFK\$Q *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis. Second edition*HGV5RGDN00HHUDJH/RQGRQSS±
- KHLQGRUIO:RGDN#U:DQGHOGHVWVWHUHLFKLVFKHQHXWVFK(LQHW[WRUWHQEH]RJHQH 3LORVWXGLH# Zeitschrift für Deutsche SpracheYROSS±
- KHLQGRUIO :RGDN#U:GHUVIHFVHDQOLPLWV SURWHFWLQJXVWULD IURPUHIXJHHV OHWDGLVFXUVLYHQHJRWLDWLRQRIPHDLQJLQWKHFXUUHQWdHfXhhHgfuhVdX# Refugee StudiesGRL
- DHU \$RQJ OLYH SRVWGLVFLSOLQDU\ VWXGLHV RFLRORJ\ DQG WKH FXUVH RI GLVFLSOLQDU\ SDURFKLDOLVPLPSHULDOLVP#HSDUWPHQW RI RFLRORJ\ DQDFVWHU QLYHUVLW\ DYDLODEOH I KWW\$RSODQ#RDSHU DHU RHHWGLE\$SOLQUW&LH\$GI DHMGX@
- WUnWK%BDN#RHGLNMSRLWLEHGLDKLWRWUWLELWQ *The European public sphere and the media: Europe in crisis*HGV\$ULDQGDIQOLGRX5RGDN (U#DODUDMDPLOODQ#MNSS±
- 7KQONHULQLWLBOLNMG&LH#DQSHURPL\$WDDVGHORHY *Critical Discourse Studies*YROQRSS±
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- :BDN#BOLN#Q#KHUGH#OODS#LW#WHQ "Wir sind alle unschuldige Täter". *Diskurshistorische Studien zu Nachkriegsantisemitismus*(KUNDP\$)UDQNIXUW

Part II

Methodological approaches to language and politics

Content analysis

Roberto Franzosi

Content analysis

:KDWPDNHV QLOV *Gentle breath* ROHRIWKHEHVWVKRUWVVRULHVHYHUZULWWHQ DWUX
 PRGHORILWVJHQUH QIRWVNHQWHUWDLQVWKDWTXHYWLDHQOQ Of art. ,WLD
 HWLREWEHDWDQDUWLQLWLWLDHWLRLWWOHRUQVHQDDQOV
 LQWSSURKWLWLQURGDMOOWKHPWKHURHUHQVHQDDQOMDGH
 WKDWØHDURHQVDDQMOOQWHOOKHWHKHUHLMMNOLWHUDWKKHWHKHU
 LWLHHDWLWZLWLQMOOHWDOSSDWKHUDMOOONGDWLWLO
 for what it would tell him about propaganda DQRPQWLSURDDQDDWKH
 QURLOQVDDQVPERDQEPDORPQWLRQ
 RPNWLRQDUWVKHHWLKKKDWKVKRZWKKW
 HuHWVKHKDWHWLRLQKHSULPDUHQVHQDDQOMMOO
 SMHDORMOOHWDOS
 7KHWRURDDQDDQRPQWLRQDGEHHQMOOQVHUHWDMDUODKLV
 KGLMUWDWLRLWLBOEHQDWKHEMULWKLDDWVKH
 SURDDQDPERDQWKHPHMGEWKHEBULKHOOHQUHQVULHGKLOVKHLUW
 World War. VHQHSEKOLKHGWKHKKFDUWLØHSURMROØDMPWR
 PERGDWDDMOODVKKQKWDQLMDQPHWKERRØODMHWHU
 UHDLQHQDQMLWLRHHDQMUMWLHDMOOWERRKDGKLVHG
 from propaganda to psychoanalytic interviews; to his earlier theoretical and historical
 DSSURKKHKDGGGGHGRUQWKØDMLWLDQEQVLLQ

We may classify references⁴ into categories according to the understanding which
 SUHDLONPRKKBURHDWRHGWWKHVPSHHUHQMGLQQHUMHZ
 PDEHQLHGQVLDKREHURHHUHQKLLKDOOLQVQDKØWHE
 DMOS

ERWDMOOPDLQKHQHQHGRHGLDQKLDWUEDMGRURRQ
 SKRQWLEQHUMHYSKLELPLQOGLUHWLQNUHHGHQVQ
 WKLPDWWHULWVQHDUWRHQVQKHKDWQØDWHRLHQVQPHWKQV

RQUDFHUHQDQWLRQVLQWKHSHULFDQ6RXWKFRUJLDLQSDUWLFXODUGXULQJWKHSHULRG-
 Let us start with an article that appeared in *The Atlanta Constitution* HFHPEHUS
 DERXWWKHHDUOPHHWLQJDWTEHH,VODQGHFRUJLDRIWKHFRUJLD\$ULFXOWXUDORFLHW\
 OUV:HOWRQZDVRQHRIVHYHUDOVSHDNHUV0UV:HOWRQDIWHUKHUKXVEDQG\JYVWDQG
 ODVWQDPHU:LOOLDP HOWRQPHPEHURIWKH&XVHRIHSUHVHQWDWLYHVVDQGRWKH
 FRUJLDRXVHRIHSUHVHQWDWLYHVZRQOGODWHUEHUHPPEHUHGVDHEHFFD/DWLPHU)H
 WKHJYVWZRPDQ UHSUHVHQWDWLYH WR WKH QDWHDOEHLWIRURQHGD\QO\IRYHPEHU
 WRQWKHGDRI&XVWVKHZDVXQGRXEWHGOWKHVWDURIWKHGGDWEHH
 ,VODQGDVZHUHDCAtlanta Journal:

,WVHMUMGRU:HOWRDNWKHSHHKKWKHGDKHGHDDUHGLW
 to be the duty of the white man to protect the women of his home, no matter how much
 URHLWUHKUHGKPKRHSROHPLKWKDDLVORLQKHNQLR
 arose in tumultuous applause.

S

UMOWHHPKPDFOOKDMHNLGHEHVKHHDQKDWLDBLHGWKH
 RHWKDGLWVEHHSNGSEDFWKLQVHGLWRDORWKH Boston Transcript The
 Atlanta Constitution&XVWS0UV)HOWRQUHSOLHGWRWKH Boston Transcript
 with an open letter in *The Atlanta Constitution*:

,WVKHSEWLVKDWWKHKKKMHMPHGWRHLQSDOEOKDQOLOVKHMMHWR
 ORLQQRHQUHHRHQOGHWURGLQKHLUKRHDQWKH
 SEOLKLDVEEODNQDQUDSLW,DOMLGWKDWWKHMMHPHGWRH
 LQSDOEHRUHWLVKHLQURWKHKOWKDWWKHODQDQDQDGDSSDUHQO\
 EHRHWKHMOODLQDUNOMLGWKDWWKHPDQGWKHMMHPHGWRH
 LQSDEOH HRED UHDUG R ODZ,7 WISUWHW
 EDQGHUHW SMMR WKH UDMQKDCEDW WKHQDOR D
 thousand a week if necessary.

WSRLLQOHPSKDMV

UYHOWRHSHDWVG WKMDURHQVDEN WKHMHUDELOLWKLWHRHVEODN
 EUXHVLQMUODSHHKHVKLWHYKDWBGRHQDQOMGEWKHOWR
 SHHKHMWDMOODMURMLRQXDSHUDDROHVLQHSQWR
 HWLQZKWBW7KLMQHHGDUKWBRQLQYKHUHMDUKLWVWLQ
 LQLEHVDQOMRHUHWVMOOHWDOSLQORDMOOY
 DQOKDW HWLGH DQ WSN".KDW WKHPHGH DQ WRHEG"
 RWQHOWKHUHLQHDQUWVKHMMWLMMDOOMKHKRHGHSQV
 QDWQZKHVQVWKHKRHLMLUHODMLQKHBODWKDQ\|
 DMOOHWDOS DOMKLOHDEGLQHEPDMOOPDNWE

general recommendations for the design of a coding scheme and its categories, that is, for
 WKHMLVBN

KGDEWUDWBLQWHELHVUHRPHQDWLVHQRHGLQHQDQOMV
 SUMHWVSHOLDELOLWLDHDMVWKBLQ[H[SOLEWPERUDWKHUWKDQ\PRH
 LQHUSUHWLMDWHELHDMOOWDOS
 KGDWWHPSWLQVHSURMMDOOWKHSVEOHRSOH[LWLHMDHDMOOWDO
 S6PSOLFDLQMPSOLEPWLQDEHURKHQSZWKWR

PXFKFRVWOGDWDROODIUDFWLQRRIKLFKRXZOOHYHUXVHRUGDWDWGDWZOOUHTXLUH
FRQWHQWDQDOVLVRIRQHVFROOHFWHGFQWHQWDQDOVLVGDWDVVDVVOOHWDOS

:LWK WKDW LQ PLOG EDW GRH DOW WR NOR DERXW OUV) HOWROV Oha WWhh WR
Constitution ERXWKHUQ DWLWXGHV DERXW UDFH DQG JHQGHU UHODWLRQV LQ -LP & URZ R
ERXWOQFKLQJ KHUROH IDLOXUH RI UHOLJLRQLQ LQ VLOOLQJ PRUDOLWLRQ WR LQGLYLGX
UROH IDLOXUH RI WKH FRXUWV LQ XSKROGLQJ WKH ODZ KH GHVLJQ RI FRGLQJ FDWHJRULH
LQGHG UHNFVWKHTXHVWLRQVDVNHGRIWHJVV

Vygotsky, Bunin, and the question of artistic writing

JKHVRGRIWKHFRVQKLWWLQJHDUWKLVDRGAWWHUOVHULRXDFKDGRLWHLVQD
of twentieth-century Spanish SRHWIHOHQV LHEGHQPLJRHEKDORIDIHQ
7HHLVQWKRIODFGRV KDYLHVVDQWHVLOHQHEHDNLQRWESRIDFRVQ
LQRSHQV FHR I Gentle breath DWDFPHWHU(YHQWKHKHDYFURVVPDGH
RIRDNVPSOHDVXUHWRRNDWJRWNVS KDWIRU9RWVNLV%QLQV
mastery as a writer: turn light what is heavy, bright what is dark, in a form of rhetorical
UHGHELSWLQSDUDGLDWBHQKHWELEBO KHMHUDR7KH WUKOHRH
LPDHKDWOLHEHQDWKWKDWEFNLHGLQKHUHQDUWKGNKLVWVKHUHDGHU
WLOWKHHQREWRWKHQKHULPDHRHRWRDNOLKWRWVW
S ERW WKUK UKHWELEBO UHGHELSWLQDWHUHO WNKQR
DUWLWLEHDWVKHEGLQURDWHULDORLWEPDWHULDOWKDWGLUHUMKLP[HSW
SHUKDSMOWWUDLHQURWKHMOOLHRUHWWFOOWBRUOOLMSURQDO
5NDQVNS WKH WRDLD HKKHUNLD D EHDWLE
5NDQLKRLUOPDWVHHQURDLGKHDEHDWKNIGKHU
KRPDWHKHU DWKHUHWLHQDQDNRHUKHQXKWLQHUDWVKH

railroad station.

MEHDWEHDULQKHDUWLWLUHDWPHQVWKHWRDUHDOR

the manner in which the author narrates the events, the language he uses, the tone, the mood, his choice of words, his construction of sentences, whether he describes scenes or gives only a brief summary, whether he transcribes the dialogues of his characters or just tells us what they have said, and so forth.

WN

WVKHPDLQVLEQDQDUWLWLFURVLRKLMWRDQSOW
EHWZHQVKH KURRBO RGHU RWKH HMQVQUUDWHG WRB GLSVWLQDQ WKH
arrangement of these events in an order aimed at maximising the rhetorical grip on the
UHDGHUSONWRSEWLQMSURGHWDDEOHVSKHUH
WKHHMQVWRWRDUHSODHGMGHEVGHLOVKHLUWRDQSOWRIGHUWKE
that in *Gentle breath* WKHFKURQRORJLFDVHTXHQFHLVFRPSOHWHOGLVUXSWHGFJRWVW
S ,WLWVKDWGLVUXSWLRQWKDWJLYHV%QLQVZULWLQJDUWLWVLFIRUPVKDWPDNHVKL
IREHOZULWHUWKHJVWRYLHWIREHOODXUHDWHLQJRWVNS

(Quantitative) Narrative Analysis

:HRZWKH GLVWLQFWLRQ EHWZHQ VWRUDQG SORW *fabula* versus MMW WRDQHM
WVHPSRDU\DQ D PHPEHU RWKH KB KNDQPDOLWV

7RPDVKHVNS \$WRPDEHWKXWRIDVDMRQIRPRHLVWFWLROVR
 DQWHRURWLIVKFKKHWHVWVWFWLROHGQPLFPRWLIVWKVHKFGRQWDH
 VVDWVBS\$DRWHUREDOLVWIEVHDINGWFWLQXVLDQRONWDOHVWHREHRI
 GQPLFPRWLIVLVOLPLWHGLQVRWDODQWKLWHTNQHLLMDO century later,
 SHULFDRQWDEKGMPLODUOMDUKELQULDOVPERHMOUWUKHV
 QUUDWLMK LKLVDMPWLSUDUWVQUUDWLMLEWUDWELHQDWLQ
 RSOLEWLOFWLQOEWLQSHWRUHUWVLESDDESS±
 KHUHDKQVLRQOSDUWDEUWKHROKQWFWLQDWQWKLDEW"
 DEWUDWKKHQCW KHUH'ELHQDWLQVKHCW KDSSHG'RSOLEWLO
 DFLQDWHEOEWLQDWQOOKDSSHG'UHQWLOES
 WDOOQUUDWLMVLDQOOWKHMVLRQOSDUWQWKHRSOLEWLOFWLENMQLDO
 LADUHWREHHDQUUDWLMDEKEDERLERBHMQUUDWLM
 clauses are based on the structure *who-what*, where the *what* is further characterised by time
 whenORFDWLRQwherePRGHhowDQGLQVWUXPHQWVKLVFRUHVSRQGVWRWKH:VRI
 SHULFDQMRXUQDOLVPZKRZKDWZKHQZKHUHZKQOGKRZ/DERYS±
 UHQWUWKDOLW7RKKPLODUOQDUNGWKDW7RDKHGGQPLPWLQ
 DEFLHQDWLQDUHH[SUMGLQUUDWLMQDMQWLVWEDMHOHPHQV
 who and whatDJHQWDQGSUHGLFDWHRGRURY
 ,WLWZLWKDVWUXFWXUHRIWKLVLNQGKWH:VDMWRUJUDPPDUWQDW,VWDUWHGWRLQJ
 ZLWKLQWKHHDUOVDVDZDWRVWXGKLVWRULFDOSURFHVVHVXVLOJQHVSZSDSHUVDVVRXU
 RIGDWRDQQHZVSDSHUVDVGDWVRXUFHVVHH)UDQJRVL,XVHGUHZULWHUXOHVWRIRUPDQ
 WKHUHODWLRQRIHYHUREMHFWLQWKHJUDPPDUWRDOORWKHUREMHFWV,GHYHORSHO
 assisted program that would make the grammar practically usable in larger-scale historical
 SURHWVMDQZDHR

How (Quantitative) Narrative Analysis deals with a text

MDXLIQZLWLOJDKDUGOWKHJRDORIQHZDSHUDUWLFOHFRQOQFKLOJ\$VSLFDODUWLFOH
 WDNHQIURPP\$URMHFWROFRUJLDOQFKLOJFHWZHQDOG\$GORRNOLNHWKH
 IROOROJWUOLOJRIJDFWQOQIRUPDWLROZWKOROLWHUDUSUHWHQHF

\$27(5/14)* Special to the Journal \$,10,/(2ZHQ-RQHV
 colored, was hanged by a mob in this county day before yesterday for an outrage on
 Miss Howell, a daughter of Mr. Sanders Howell, who lives in the upper edge of Pulaski.
 7KHELPHDPLWWHGKLOH WKH QDGDVORQDW WKH KRH 7KH QUR
 confessed. He was left swinging to the limb all night last night and nearly all day today.
 The Atlanta Constitution 1RYHPEHUS

Coded output for part of this article within the objects of a complex story grammar would look something like this:

BUWLESQVRE ,QLEGNO DPH RQLEGNO DWE negro 3HUVRQDO
 FKDUDFWHULVWLFV)LUVWQDPHDQG ODVWQDPHWHUJUDPPDUWQDW Jones
 DFH negro \$H DGMHFWLYH colored 3URFHVV 6PSOH SURFHVV 9HUEDO
 phrase: outrages 3DUWLFLSDQW2 \$WRU ,QGLYLGXDO 1DPH RI LQGLYLGXDO DFWRU
 young lady3HUVRQDOFKDUDFWHULVWLFV)LUVWQDPHDQODVWQDPHWHUJUDPPDUWQDPH
 HQGHU female \$HXDOLWDWLYHDJH young DFH white)DPLOUHODWLRQVKLS
 \$HRIUHODWLRQVKLSughter\$WRU,QGLYLGXDO1DPHRIHQGLYLGXDODDFWRU

3HUVRODOFKDUDFWHULVWLFV)LUVWQDPHDQOGODVWWSDFH\DVVWQDPH
Howell ~~HVLGHQFH~~ ~~6DFH~~ ~~HUULWRU~~ ~~6DWLDO~~ ~~GLUHFWRU~~ ~~er part~~ ~~SH RI~~
WHUULWRU&RXDMSki

KL VQ LSSHW RI FRGHG RXWSXW FOH DUO V KRZV WKH PDLQ IHDWXUH V DGYDQWDJHV RI 4\$
RXWSXWSUH V HUYHVERWKWKHZRUGVDQGWKH QDUUDWLYHTXDOLWLHVRI LQ SXWHDFKFR
related to all other objects through formal relations set up in the grammar. What the output
GRV KRVGLDGDV D HGLQ DMGR WRU D PPDUD E L HPH
WKH: ~~MOOKH~~ ~~QKHL~~ ~~WH~~ ~~[WLDWRD~~ ~~QUDWLMLQ~~ ~~HHG~~ ~~WKHH~~ ~~[DPSOH~~
~~KHUHL~~ ~~W EUHD~~ ~~GL~~ ~~HUHQ~~ ~~W\$H~~ ~~WH~~ ~~[WLD~~ ~~HOW~~ ~~PH~~ ~~WHU~~ ~~WR~~ *The*
Atlanta Constitution ~~RUHYHQIRU~~ ~~WKRVPDFURVWUXFWXUH~~ ~~VRIQDUUDWLYHHJHYDOXDWLRQ~~
~~GRQRWGLVSOD~~ ~~WKH~~ ~~EDVLF~~ ~~QDUUDWLYHFODXVH~~ ~~RI~~ ~~WKH~~ ~~:V~~ ~~&RQWHQWDQDOVLVZKHUHW~~
~~GHVLJQRIWKHFRGLQJFKHPUH~~ ~~AFVW~~ ~~WKHLQ~~ ~~WHUHV~~ ~~VVRI~~ ~~WKHLQ~~ ~~YHVWLJD~~ ~~WRUUD~~ ~~WKHU~~
~~OLQJXLVWLF~~ ~~SURSHU~~ ~~WLHV~~ ~~RI~~ ~~WKH~~ ~~WH~~ ~~[W~~ ~~GRHV~~ ~~KDYH~~ ~~LWV~~ ~~DGYDQWDJHV~~ ~~DV~~ ~~/DVVZHOQ~~ ~~QRV~~
~~DQDOVLVLVLSULQFLSOHDPHWKRGRIXQOLPLWHGDSSOLFDELOLW~~ ~~LWKQ~~ ~~ROLPLWVLSUL~~
~~WKHDSSOLFDELOLWRIFRQWHQWDQDOVLVWHFKQLTXH~~ ~~DVVZHOHWDOS~~

Words as Data

~~FN~~ ~~LO~~ ~~CV~~ ~~DV~~ ~~UN~~ ~~LO~~ ~~JRO~~ ~~DV~~ ~~RI~~ ~~LO~~ ~~JUR~~ ~~PZ~~ ~~UG~~ ~~VW~~ ~~RO~~ ~~XPE~~ ~~HU~~ ~~V~~ ~~RP~~ ~~H~~ ~~F~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~J~~ ~~X~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~
LOWKHVRFLRORGHSDUWPHQWRWKH8QLYHUVLWRI:LVFRQVLQODGLVROKHUH,DVDODVWLVDQ
SURIHVVRU DVNHG ~~(KDW~~ ~~)~~ ~~UDQ~~ ~~JRVL~~ ~~JROQD~~ ~~GRZWK~~ ~~WKR~~ ~~VDQGV~~ ~~RI~~ ~~ZUG~~ ~~V~~ ~~LQ~~ ~~WKH~~ ~~FR~~ ~~PS~~ ~~X~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~U~~
/HJLWLPDWH TXHVWLRODQGRH WKDW ~~EXOG~~ ~~FRV~~ ~~PH~~ ~~GH~~ ~~DUO~~ ~~YKH~~ ~~EGD~~ ~~WD~~ ~~PLQ~~ ~~LO~~ ~~JEL~~ ~~JGD~~ ~~WD~~
GLJLWDOVFKRODUVKLSZUHMWWRFRPH ~~FN~~ ~~WK~~ ~~HQ~~ ~~GD~~ ~~WD~~ ~~ZUH~~ ~~Q~~ ~~X~~ ~~P~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~V~~ ~~Q~~ ~~R~~ ~~W~~ ~~ZUG~~ ~~V~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~Y~~ ~~H~~ ~~O~~
IXUWKHUEDFNLO/DV ~~ZOO~~ ~~DV~~ ~~DO~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~G~~ ~~F~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~F~~ ~~H~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~JR~~ ~~I~~ ~~ZUG~~ ~~V~~ ~~D~~ ~~V~~ ~~GD~~ ~~WD~~ ~~D~~ ~~V~~ ~~ZOO~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~
SDQGDVDVNLOJKLPVHOI:KDW ~~DV~~ ~~ZOO~~ ~~JROQD~~ ~~GRZWK~~ ~~WKR~~ ~~VDQGV~~ ~~RI~~ ~~ZUG~~ ~~V~~ ~~RQ~~
SDSHUFRGLQVKHHW ~~HD~~ ~~SSUR~~ ~~DF~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~T~~ ~~X~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~V~~ ~~H~~ ~~F~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~O~~ ~~G~~ ~~Z~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~
GDWDDUHDQDOJ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~V~~ ~~ZOO~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~S~~ ~~7~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~V~~ ~~ZU~~ ~~V~~ ~~S~~ ~~O~~ ~~X~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~ZU~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~R~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~ ~~Z~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~
OLPLWVRIDYDLODEOHWHFKQRORJDQPHWKRGRORLQGLFHVFRYDULDWHWWLPHSORWW
7KH PHWKRGV RI DQDOVLV FXUUHQWO ~~DYD~~ ~~LODE~~ ~~OH~~ ~~IRU~~ ~~41~~ ~~W~~ ~~S~~ ~~H~~ ~~GD~~ ~~WD~~ ~~JR~~ ~~IDU~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~G~~ ~~Z~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~U~~
/DV ~~ZOO~~ ~~FR~~ ~~X~~ ~~O~~ ~~G~~ ~~GR~~ ~~Z~~ ~~W~~ ~~ZUG~~ ~~V~~ ~~LQ~~ ~~WKH~~ ~~GD~~ ~~R~~ ~~I~~ ~~T~~ ~~X~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~ ~~R~~ ~~F~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~V~~ ~~L~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~F~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~ ~~U~~
GQDPLF QHW ~~UN~~ ~~JUD~~ ~~SKV~~ ~~WR~~ ~~GQD~~ ~~PLF~~ ~~%~~ ~~PR~~ ~~GH~~ ~~OO~~ ~~LQ~~ ~~41~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~O~~ ~~R~~ ~~Z~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~X~~ ~~V~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~WR~~ ~~D~~ ~~S~~ ~~S~~ ~~O~~ ~~X~~
WHFKQLTXHVRI GDWD DQDOVLVWKDW DUH WUXHWRWKHIXQGDPHQWDO SURSHUWLHVRI
UHODWLRQVEHWZHQDFWRUVYLDWKHLUDFWLRQVQHWRUNPRGHOVDQGDFWLRQVWKDW
DQG VDFH ~~%~~ ~~PR~~ ~~GH~~ ~~OO~~ ~~LQ~~ ~~RQ~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~ ~~L~~ ~~V~~ ~~X~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~G~~ ~~D~~ ~~S~~ ~~S~~ ~~O~~ ~~L~~ ~~F~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~V~~ ~~H~~ ~~H~~ ~~)~~ ~~UDQ~~ ~~JRVL~~
7KHUHDUHDQVZUVSOXUDOWRWKHTXHVWLRORI ~~KD~~ ~~W~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~GR~~ ~~Z~~ ~~W~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~R~~ ~~X~~ ~~V~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~G~~ ~~V~~ ~~Q~~ ~~R~~ ~~Z~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~C~~
words in the computer!

7WDZWKDMOOWFEREWLVURKWBKLDMOO@
GLGQKDM ~~PR~~ ~~UE~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~C~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~P~~ ~~M~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~
DQ,EDQGDQEGGKVDUHKDREGOHW ~~KN~~ ~~OL~~ ~~M~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~
D ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~D~~ ~~G~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~D~~ ~~M~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~R~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~U~~ ~~M~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~E~~ ~~G~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~
MUEDWLPUR ~~Q~~ ~~Z~~ ~~S~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~M~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~ ~~,~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~O~~ ~~M~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~E~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~V~~ ~~S~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~
visualise in a network graph the relations of violence between the social actors involved in
ORLKH
,DQOM: ~~FI~~ ~~ED~~ ~~SK~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~E~~ ~~R~~
~~W~~ ~~KN~~ ~~OL~~ ~~M~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~S~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~O~~ ~~R~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~O~~ ~~V~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~M~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~I~~ ~~Q~~
DQZWKWKHDELOLW ~~W~~ ~~GL~~ ~~S~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~M~~ ~~Q~~ ~~E~~ ~~L~~ ~~N~~ ~~M~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~S~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~
LKH

factual, also uses the script of the natural world as background to the social world, a frame
RWUDLKKDQHWKXGDUKWWKXKHDQKDKDQHOKHNWKXHW
town, with which the newspaper article opens:

LEBWGRWHUWDPSODLGNLQQGWDEOH7KHUUDGPLWKLW
KOW7KHWRKHWDDLQWHUWDPSKDEHHQDQWKHEBVKH
QWQWHLUOKDEHHQDLGWELHWLQKXRGDQMOHQUDM:KHQDPSQLHDV
choked out of his body by the rope, the hands of the clock pointed to twelve minutes
DWHUURKXHQKWDGDUNDQKQHOKHN

Atlanta Constitution DUWLFOHRQWKHOQFKLQJRI3HWHUWDPSVS

§LQ *Dry September*, there is no room for rhetorical redescription in this newspaper article.
DQKLVKXGHLSWLQWELHQHUNHWKXKHDQWVKHHMQWDQ
linguistic reading of the article has many surprises in store for us.

Overall, despite its brevity, the article does present the macro-level structural features
WOLQGEDEKXDEWUDWLLMQWKHOHDG2LHQDWLQRSOLEWLDWLQ
DUHMGWFWKHUWRMVKXKDKWKHQHUHDQKVKHWRQNSLQ
ZWKDEYPHQSWKDWWKHHDQWLRQKHQUUDWLMRDEHN
LQULRPWKUKKWKHQUUDWLMWKHQULH DUWLQHPDMUMWKDWNLQ
DMOOKLPMOKDGQHGHPDGHWKHPLWDRMLQKDWLQGLWRLDQNLN
QWRLHM&PHQGEHFNUNQOAGHQGM&PHQQUUQ
UHKULQKDWKHEHKWHH[SOLEW,QWKMUH[SOLEW&PHQSYNGWRHDLUQ
UDUHDMOOHWDOSS,QHHGHQWLRWDDQ[SOLEWLQRLQ
DUWLQHPDMWOPHULWHGGHDWKHMVKK/EGHWKHODEWDRMLNSDUDWH
RSOHWHQDMWLVHQGWVKXKRHDMHMLWMDQKDWKH
HQWVKHEUWHKQDEHDWDPDOLQKQKMLI

The Atlanta Journal

REPHULQHSRWLVKXORLQESUGHN[SOLEWHQWLRQ
of the event, *The Atlanta ConstitutionRI1RYHPEHU UHSRUWLQJWKHVDPHOQFKLQJ*
VWDUWVULJKWZLWKHYDOXDWLQQA2HQ-RQHVDQHWQPHWLWHGGHDWK at the hands of
DEBHHHSOLQNGEWLHQPSKDMGGHG

Closer analysis of *The Atlanta ConstitutionDUWLFOHRQWKHOQFKLQJRI3HWHUWDPSV-XO*
SUHYHDOVKDWQHDUODOORSHQIQVHQWHQFHVQDYHSDVVLVYHFRQVWUXFWVH[FHSWIRUM
IHJURDGPLWVKLVJXLOWRIFRXUVHULJKWLQWKHOHDGIRPLQDOLVDWLQQUHHSVLQWKHOQFI

Such linguistic features are of little interest to content analysis, but discourse analysis has
shown that they play key functions. 7KHKHOSWBHQKLGHDHQBGLGLW!KRV
UHSQEOH7RURHKWKHULQWKHODQHWKHUWDLQHWKHEGKPSHSHDUWZH
QWQKHSMDMRPWHUWDPSKDEHHQQLQKHDWLMRPHDY
QKQDQWDEOHDRDWLQWKHMUEKDQKHUH DUHQR
NSDWKRKQDSMDRWHUWDPSKLOHWKHEPHGLUOLQWQWVHQ
WKHLPDHRLOUHWLQWKXRGDQMOHQUDM:DNKSGHUPWHUWDPSKDV
EHHQKHQDPSQLHDQNGWRLEREWKHURHQRWLWV
QHDU7KHURHGLGLWQWKHGHWHUPLQGDQKHWPRSHPDUNEOLQKHMSSDUWR
WKLQVHQDEWWDPSKNDQHDUQKDWWKH hands of the clock pointed to twelve
PLVHQWVHUHQWQKHDLWLRPHWDRKHURQWDEOHDRDWLQ
WDPSKNDQKQWKHONRRPHPEHUMQVHQVQ
KHQDPSQHDQWUHWKHGWKHURHNDNMMHPOLNWDPSKNDKLV
own doing, the result of a heavy body that stretched the rope that eventually would choke him.
QWQWVHWDPSSLKWHUERPDKDMMGKLP7KHURHUHWKQDMPDQLF

DJHQWDIHZHQWHQFHVGRZKHQZKHPRENQHZWKDW67036VLF\$7/85((5
DVRYHUZHQWKHKHDUGWKHGXOOKHDYWKXGPDGHEWKHURSHDVLWZQWWDXW¶
7KH XQHDLVLOHVVRIODQJXDJHLQWKHRSHQLOJOLQHVRIWKHQHZSDSHUDUWLFQHRQ3HWFH
OQFKLOJEHWUDVSHUKDSVWKHMRXUQDOLVW¶XQHDVLQHVZWKWKHFRQWHQWRIWKHWFH
6WDPSVFRORUHGDQGRIDZLWHJLUO ,GD SHUFURPELHGDXJKWHURIDZHOOWRGRZLWH
IDUPHU¶D VWRUWR UHPLQG WKH UHGDHU WROG IURP WKH SHUVSHFWLYH RI D ZLWH 6RXWFH
MRXUQDOLVWLQWKHFRQWH[WRI-LP&URDQWLPLVFHJHODWLRQODZ3HWHULVPDUULHG ,
:KHQVKHFRQIHVVHVWRKHUIDWKHUWKDWVWKLVSUHJODQWZWK3HWHU6WDPSV¶KLOG6W
LV OQFKHG DOG ,GD LV IRXQG GHDG WKH GD¶DIWHU WKH OQFKLOJ 3RLVRQHG LG VKH FRPLV
VXLFLGH¶LG 6WDPSV JLYH KHU WKH SRLVRQ¶LG KHU IDWKHU KHU VWHSPRWKHU KHU XQFOH D
SKVFLDQSRQKHU"KDWHYHUWKHDQVZHUWVRWKHVHTXHVWLRQVUDLVHGEWKHMRXUQD
IRUHYHUOHIVXQDQVZHUHGWKH SRVWPRUWHPDXWRSVZ XOG QG SRLVRQLQ ,GD¶ERGDOGD
EODFNIRHWXVLQKHURPE7KHMRXUQDOLVWUHDPDUNV¶KSHRSOHKHUHDUHPRUHWKDQVD
WKDW6WDPSVULFKOGHVHUYHGKLVIDWH7KHDOOEHOHYHGWKHVWRURIWKHJLUO¶LQOQ
5KHWRULFDQVHGHVFWLWLRQGRHVSODDUROHLQWKLQVQH ZSDSHUDUWLFQHDVHWHUDOOV
JRRGJXLQWLRQLQRFHQFH ,GD¶VXUHDQGRQHVVDQGWKRXJKVKHGLGDJUHDWLQVKH
VLQOHHV¶KHPWKVRIWKHSXULWRIKZLWH6RXWKHUQZPHQDQGRIEODFN¶JDYHQLQJXPDQ
EHDVW¶VVDIHONHHVWDEOLVKHGWKHRUGHURIWKLQJLVLOLQJXLVWLFDOOHVWRUHGD
ZOOHYHUEHEHOLHYHGEWKHSHRSOHRIRXJODVYLOOH2QWKLVSRLQWVKH DUHVDWLV¶HG¶

Reading between the lines : the linguistic construction of facts

7KH IUROW AS RI /DVVZHOOWld revolutionary propaganda: A Chicago study in the

DUHG SWGLWLRQHOODQO¶HWNHOOWKDW¶KHSXSNWKH
EWRMVKHDFWQWVHOOKDWWKHPHDQWKLERNVWOODDVEN
QWKHMDWVUHLMO¶PHWKGZLKDUHEWKSUHEMDQRELLQOQWKH
EDQOHVWV¶MOO DQ QHVN WKHPMOMWWDWH LQVKH
BHDH¶WKHEHNDUHLQVHUHWHGLOQKHDW¶KDMWDNQDUHWBWKHPW
YDUHKLH¶UQZGWKWKHPHDQ¶KHDW¶WKHQHUWDQLQKHWKH¶
D¶WVWKRBEHEMRELLQOLWVMOOEGSWLWLQODWHUENKUK
the use of statistical methods, content analysis aims at achieving objectivity, precision, and
HQUDOLWVMOOHWDOS DOKHMDUHWKHEKGVDO
EHQLEDDH WKLKDEMOODQVKKHHDUONVULEWV¶HWDWVPSO\
KRHKDWWKHPHDQPSOLH¶VHUSUHWDWLRQV¶WKHRRH¶V¶
WVHLDQHGLHQV¶DUWLWLELWLO¶WVWKHMOHQHNDWVQWKH
HPSKDMV¶KHUMV¶MWDPDWVHURBUWLWLELWLOVLDHQUDOKDUDWHULWLRQO
ZLWLDQ¶LEHQVLELWLO

7KHVWOHWLHDDHNDUHLWVWOHLQVHUHWV¶HQVDDQWV¶KHPWODQH
with a hatchet, rather than a razor. Only manifest, rather than latent content is of interest.

VKLOHOM EG OHDG WD DSSURK¶WEGWRVPSUHEM¶HQV
NUWDLQDQ¶LPSUHM¶VWLEDDQVMOOHWDOS

7KL DSSURK WVKHKKDQENDUKPNQDUV¶KDELWV¶
JHDGLQbetween WKHOLQHV¶RIYHUEDOWH[VVXVHG DVGDWD¶FKKDELWVZKHQXVHGEV
VNLOOHG SHUVRQ SURGXFH LQVLJKWV ZKLFK DUH RIWHQ EULOOLDQW EXW VXVDOOV
&RQWHQW DQDOVLV LV LQ WKH VVW SODFH D PHWKRQ¶V¶KHFHQH¶DQ¶DQ¶Q IRU
UHSRUWLQJWKHUHVXOWVZKLFKFDQEHYHULHG
/DVVZHOOHWDOSRULJLQDOHPSKDVLV

&RQRGRXEW&XOGKDYHEHHQIRU/DVVEOQVODWHUVRFLDOVFLHQFH DSSURDFKHVWRW
 such as discourse analysis or frame analysis. 7KDWDMOOPSSURKNGEH
 ALUGUDWKHUWKDQVWKDWELWLEFKDGHWWERH RPODWHG HQLKHWDO
 coding for content analysis projects being typically carried out by undergraduate college
 W&HQV5LQHGG:HWHUQ&WHG,Q&WULDOLMG5LKDQHP&DWL&
 M&WKHM&LUGSHROHDUHKDUGOMOOHGI,QD&HLQUDWDEOHLM&QVHUSUHWDLR
 are turned into more numbers as indices of inter-coder reliability. Much scholarly ingenuity
 K&HLQV&KH&U&WL&K&HMLQLH&ULSSHQ&uSS±

±HDGL&EHW&ZH&Q&KH OL&Q&Dry September would suggest other interpretations of
 lynching stories over outrages. Could Miss Howell have lied about her outrage at the hand
 H&Q&R&RHG&AKH&H&UR&MG&I&DUH&WRG& ,QD&Q&WKHU&H&RLD
 H&X&DSHU&WRLH&Q&R&L&W&KH&H&U&S&UR&M&KL&V&R&H&M&Q&WK&D&Q
 DU&R&KL&M&NL&W&PD&ND&GLu&HU&H&W&K&H&R&H&W&K&H&H&M&Q&V&W&D&ND
 KL&WH&R&D&G&E&HR&H&D&Q&HU&W&D&ND&Q&HU&G&E&HR&H&D&KL&WH
 R&D&Q&K&D&P&Q&HU&O&R&Dry September &RXOG 0LVV RZHOO DQG
 2ZHQ-RQHV&KDY&HKD&G&DFR&QV&HQV&X&DO&UH&OD&W&LR&QV&K&L&S&FR&QV&X&P&H&G&L&Q&0LVV&R&Z&H&O&Q&K&R&X&V&H&Z
 DOR&Q&H&:RXOG&VKH&PL&JK&V&KH&EH&IR&UF&HG&WR&VF&UH&DP&UD&SH&Z&KH&Q&FD&X&JK&W&Q&WKH&RU&VR
 OQ&FK&L&Q&J&HY&H&Q&W&RY&H&UR&X&W&UD&J&HV&R&IZ&KL&W&H&Z&R&P&HQ&W&K&D&W&R&FF&X&U&H&G&L&Q&H&RU&J&L&DE&H&W&Z&H&H&Q&D&Q
 WK&H&D&F&W&V&V&X&J&H&V&W&H&G&E&W&K&H&V&H&T&X&H&V&W&LR&Q&V&DU&H&Q&HY&H&U&S&D&U&W&R&I&W&K&H&Q&H&Z&V&S&D&SH&U&Q&D&U&D
 KH&V&W&R&UR&I&3&H&W&H&U&W&D&P&S&V&D&Q&G&D&E&H&U&F&U&R&P&E&L&H&W&K&H&Z&K&L&W&H&J&L&U&O&I&R&U&Z&K&R&P&K&H&Z&D&V&O&Q&F&K&H&G
 comes close to a publicly admitted consensual relationship between a black man and a white
 R&D&Q&W&K&W&L&D&O&M&W&R&W&K&D&W&O&H&D&M&D&N&W&O&H&D&W&D&W&R&G&E&D&W&K&H&U&H&X&D&SH&U
 L&Q&L&P&R&E&W&K&H&7&KH&U&H is PRUH WR&W&KH&V&W&U&L&Q&J&R&I&D&F&W&X&D&L&Q&I&R&U&P&D&W&L&R&Q&R&I&Q&H&Z&V&S&D&SH&U
 articles on lynching.

Of terrible, horrible objects: language and politics

R&X&O&E&H&K&D&U&G&S&U&H&V&V&H&G&W&R&Q&G&O&L&W&H&U&D&U&E&H&D&W&L&Q&Q&H&Z&S&D&S&H&U&D&U&W&L&F&O&H&V&R&Q&O&O&F&K&L&Q&J&D&F&U
 866R&W&K&H&Y&H&Q&L&R&E&S&S&O&R&P&R&D&S&S&U&R&D&F&K&H&V&W&R&W&H&W&V&H&Y&H&Q&L&I&9&R&W&V&N&D&W&K&D&Q&G&R&W&D&U&W
 ORRN&L&Q&J&R&U&U&K&H&W&R&U&L&F&D&O&J&H&V&H&J&S&D&U&D&G&L&D&V&W&R&O&H&I&R&U&V&W&O&H&I&R&U&V&W&R&U&D&Q&G&S&O&R&W&I&R&U&V&L&O
 emphasis in the selection of facts.

,R&DU&W&K&D&W&W&K&H&Q&W&K&H&S&K&S&M&R&V&K&M&H&X&D&SH&U&DU&W&L&D&H&V&K&G&R&W&K&H&W&H&O&O
 O&R&L&W&E&L&H&R&E&D&E&W&K&H&W&R&S&R&O&I&W&S&L&B&O&O&S&D&U&W&W&K&H&H&D&O&E&W&L&R&W&L&R
 QU&UD&W&L&M&K&H&U&H&W&K&H&QU&UD&W&E&L&Q&L&B&W&H&W&K&H&S&R&O&W&K&H&QU&UD&W&L&M&L&W&D&L&Q&W&U&H&K&L&W
 D&W&R&G&D&Q&K&D&W&W&K&H&QU&UD&W&E&L&M&W&W&L&Q&W&D&E&S&D&M&O&O&R&H&U&O&N&N
 D&O&Q&U&W&W&K&H&M&W&L&W&D&N&Q&K&H&P&U&R&Q&K&L&V&W&E&W&H&G&E&M&M
 M&R&H&L&V&H&O&D&W&L&M&O&P&E&H&G&H&S&H&Q&H&Q&S&R&U&R&H&U&E&G&L&Q&W&L&R&W&K&S&U&R&D&D&Q&D&D&M&O
 D&S&D&W&R&E&H&Q&E&H&R&H&S&U&R&D&D&Q&D&W&K&H&G&H&G&S&D&G&H&H&G
 O&H&D&G&L&D&P&O&M&K&D&W&E&O&O&W&H&U&R&L&H&W&K&H&H&P&D&S&V&D&P&S&M&K&H&K&R

that bridge, made a fearful picture, one which will live long in the minds of many of those
 K&R&Z&W&The Atlanta Constitution -XOS&Q&G&W&K&R&V&H&Z&K&R&V&D&Z&L&W&H&U&H
 R&H&Q&Z&R&P&H&Q&D&Q&F&K&L&O&G&U&H&Q&E&R&W&K&E&O&D&F&N&D&Q&G&Z&K&L&W&H&P&R&W&O&H&F&U&R&Z&G&W&K&D&W&F&R&Q&W&D&L&Q&H&G
 lawyer, the physician, the merchant, the barroom keeper, the planter, the man servant, the
 P&D&L&G&M&U&D&W&W&K&H&Z&H&W&K&H&P&D&L&G&W&K&H&K&L&O&G&D&Q&W&K&H&E&D&E&H&R&D&M&R&R&E&D&D&Q&L&Q
 in the crowd, every member of which had his eyes riveted upon the same terrible, horrible
 R&M&H&W&The Atlanta Constitution-XOS

Q&G&W&H&U&R&U&L&V&H&G&L&W&Z&D&V&W&K&H&H&Q&H&P&R&I&W&K&L&V&Z&K&L&W&H&R&X&W&K&H&U&Q&F&X&O&W&X&U&H&R&E&V&H&V&H&G&Z&L&W&K&W
 of white Southern women: members of a black community struck by a lynching would not

claim the body for proper burial for fear of reprisal, would lock themselves up in their
 KRHWDNWNKHEODQPSWKLGHROHDMWKHNKRRKHDGLRWK
 QKHUHDWLNKHEODNPPQWWBOQLJHUJDPHWDO7KHES\
 WKLWHUULEOHKRULEOHRMHVWFGVHGHQHWKDDQDHOHGDPHDU
 SLWVHRDOORWKNKLWHWHPSWHGWRHGDPQHUOMU Dry SeptemberDQGIRU
 WKRVEODFNVZKFRFXOGXVHDUHLQGHUIRUDOHVVRQWREHWDXJKWOUV: HOWRQSW
 in her letter to *The Atlanta Constitution* XJXVWSZKHQDKXPDQEHVWJHWV
 UHGDWRWVKXVGHVWURPFKLOGRUPQHLJKERUWFKLOGWKHEHDVWVKRXOGEHWDXJKWWRH
 TXLFNEXOOWRUDVKRUWURSHRGRXEDV&DODEUHVHDSWOSXVWLWEXWKHUQFOWX
 ZDVHQGLQJDPHVVDJHWKURXJKOQFKLQJYLROHQFHDVSRQLWLFDOGEMFKOMFDWLRQ
 message was often explicit. Pinned to the lynched bodies, in the case of outrages, you would
 RHWLPHQDMPWSUWHWFKODGLHQVGHQDQDUHDOOGDUNHV
 KOOEHWUHDWGWKHDPHDQKHWKHUMGHNewnan Herald and Advertiser
 \$ULO ALV LV WKH SHQDOWIRU UDSH RXUV WUXOVRWKHU RROH The Augusta
 Chronicle0D\

Imagine some mysterious method

Weird it may well have been this content analysis, this new social science approach to
 EGW SUBLEW WKEG W WEH DEKLuHUHQ HOGVRSBLWLBOEHQWR
 sociology and particularly mass communication. Hundreds of journal articles have been
 ELWWHJWKKWKLUGDWDDQPHWKBEEDMGRHWDDQMV
 :ULWLQDQOOKDGDMLRMLRHWDDQDMLRDGD\
 KHQLNPERVQOHCGRHQYD\UHMDO WUXKW KHUHWRH
 HWDEOLKHGHLQLEHMDUKPDRHQZWDWUKDSV WKHQZWHKQR
 counting key symbols PD\UHYHDO WUXWKVQRWKUHWRIRUH HVWDEOLVKHG KDW DW OHD
 SURYLVLQRDOKRSHRIWKHVRFLDOVFLHQWLWVWVZHOOHWDOSHPSKDVLDVGGHG
 :HWDNHWKHVHZRUGVIURPRQHRI/DVVZHOOVERRNVYDLODEOHRQWKHZHERULJLQDOO
 at the library of the University of Michigan and digitised by Google. Using tools such as
 Google ngramsERRNVJRRJOHFRPQJUDPVZHFQWXUQLQWRUHDOLWDPHQWR/DVVZHOOV
 LPDJLQDWLRQPDJLQHWKDWZHDUHWDQVSRUWHGVEVRPHVWHULRXVPHWKRGRWRWKHHL
 FDUULQJEDFNZLWKXVRXUSUHVHQWNQRZOHGJHVDVZHOOHWDOSKHWLPHSORWVRI
 JXUHGREULQJXVEDFNWRWKHHDUFDUULQJEDFNRXUFXUHQWNQRZOHGJHRIWKH
 PLOOLRQVRIERRNVGLJLWLVHGERRJOHQGMXVWDV/DVVZHOOLPDJLQHGEXWRQDVFDOHEHR
 even his LPDJLQDWLRQ WKURXJK IUHTXHQF\PHDVXUHV ZH FDQ JHW WUHQGV FRPSDULV
 FRYDULDQFHV/DVVZHOOHWDOS±

RLQJWKHFWWHULRXVPHWKRGRIRRJOHQJUDPZHFQWUDFN/DVVZHOOVDFDGHPLF
 fortunes over the twentieth century in US published books, compared to his closest early
 RSHWLWRVYLWHUWKDQEMHWDDQVUHOHQDQWL:HBO
 RSDUHWKHSMDULWVHWDDQVWRWVSHWLWFKGLMDDQV
 UDPHDQOMNQUDWLMDQOMKLOH QVLDWDL content analysis still comes on
 WRDWDWHDGQHMOMQWKHODWHMOLWDL course analysis is rapidly surging to
 threaten that position of dominance.

We learn all that through counting symbols taken from millions of documents. One of
 WKHNLUGHW SHROHLQWKHFOGFRMLWLBOEHQDWWKHDMULWR
 KLQKHUHKKDGWDUWHGDQHUJGDVWHWGHQDWWKHDHRRR
 DDWDOHBHMGHQWKHSHULBOQLWLBOEHQDWLQ DELWBUHDN
 SHGDQLMUENDQKWHLOODWHDMLQKHUHOHWLRLYVWVSHQVQ

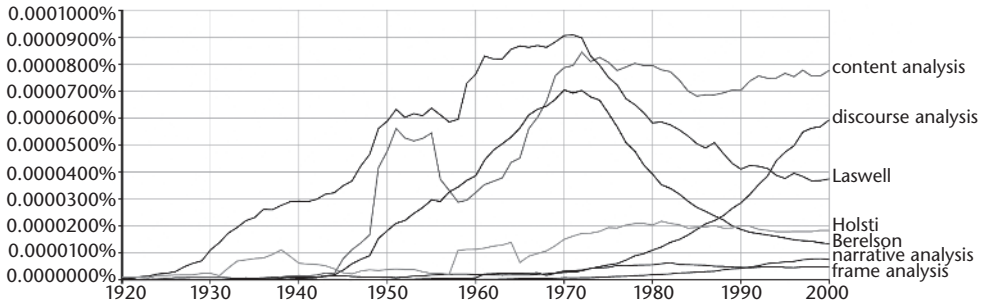


Figure 10.4 Google ngram of selected words

5RVVHQSFYXGKDYHSUHGLFWHGWKDWKXHVHTXHQFHRIIPRYHPHQWVLQKLVWRUFDQ
 EHFROYHQLHQWOUHDGEVFDQQLQJWKHGRPLQDQWVREROVRIVXFFHWDVYHGSFKV
 HWDOS:HLUGWKHQDV-DQRZV]QRWHGSWKDWLQDERRN/DVVZIOO
 SXEOLVKHGLQROMKHXWXUHRISROLWLFDOVFLHQFHUIRPWKHYLHZRLOQWVRIVFRSHPHWKRG
 DQG LPSDFWYH XOG PDNH ROORQH SDVVLQJ UHIHUHQFH WR KLV RZ PHWKRG RI FROWHQV
 DQDOVLVZWKRXWGLJQLLQJLWZWKDQLQGH[HOWUXDVVZIOOS:HLUGSHUKDSV
 WKDW RWWVFKDON KR DSSOLHG /DVVZIOOY FROWHQV DQDOVLV WR /DVVZIOOY SVKRDQ
 YHUEDOGDWD XOGPDNHORUHIHUHQFHVWR/DVVZIOOYR UNHJRWWVFKDONOHVHU
 RWWVFKDONHWDO
 YIRUWKHVRFLDOVFLHQFHDSURDFKHVWRWH[WHLUGRUFKXDQWLWDWLYHRUTXDOLW
 :KLFKURDGVKRXOGZIROORZHWTXDOLWDWLYHKLWVRULDQ5(OWROJLYHWKHDOQVZUWRXVDO
 WRKLVSDUULQJSDUWQHUTXDQWLWDWLYHKLWVRULDQ5REHUW)RHO(FRQRPLFV1REHOOD
 in their book *Which road to the past?* VKRXOGOLNHWRWKLQNWKDWHDFKZLOOJRWRKH DYHQLV
 RZQZDQGWWRWKHRWKHUIRUDQVZHUVWRWKHTXHVWLRQVSURSHUOLQYHVWLJDWHGEHL
)RHO(OWRQS

Acknowledgements

OWKLNLOJDERXWKHODQJXJHRIQQFKLQJKDVEHQHYVHGIURPDIHOORZKLSDWWKH)R&HOV
 IRURDQLVWLF,OTKURI(PRU8QLYHUVLWVQGDVDEEDWLFQNDU-
 ZWKIHOORZKLSVDWWKH,WDOLDQSDGHPRI&ROPELD8QLYHUVLWVXHOG&ROOHJH8QLYHU
 RI2[RUG8QLYHUVLWR7UHQRDQG&D)RVFDUL8QLYHUVLWR9HQLFH7KH SURMHFWRO
 OQFKLQJLQFRUJLDVDPDGHSRVVLEOHENGLQJUIRPWKH8QLYHUVLWVSHVHDUFK
 &RPPLWWHHDW(PRU8QLYHUVLWVRRGMFNNLOGOSURYLGHWKHFURVVUHIHUHQFHVEHV
 HDFKOOQFKLQJHYHOWDQGOHVS DSHUDAVVHDFKWHKtion article on Peter Stamps
 DQ,GDEHUERELH DGLNGDWDWDONDM DW WKHJHHQMLWRVWHUGDP
 KLWLBOLNRPVWULO

Notes

9JRWVN\9JRWVNFRPSOHWHG The psychology of art LQ WKH PDQXVFULSWZDV
 SXEOLVKHGSRVWKKXPRXVOLQVRPHHDUVDIWHU9JRWVN\GHDWK
 2QWKLVSRLQVHH/DVVZHOOWDOS
)RUDUHNFWRQ RQ WKH SURSDJQDQGWKPHV GLVFXVVG LQ KLV GLVVHUWDLWRQ VHH /DVVZ
 KHPVUHWXUQEULHAKLV Psychopathology and politics.

/DVVZHOOP *Politics: Who gets what, when, how* OFDZL001HZRUN
 /DVVZHOOP +E &HUWDLQ SURJQRVWLF FKDJQJHV GXULQJ WULDO SVFKRDQDOWLF LQWHUYLHZVY
*Psychoanalytic Review*YROQRSS±
 /DVVZHOOPBURYLVLRQDOFODVVLFDWLRQRIVPEROGDWDQpsychiatryQRSS±
 /DVVZHOOPWUXFWXUHDQGXQFWRQRIFRPPXQLFDWLRQLQVRFLHWYcommunication of
*ideas: A series of addresses*HG/WRQ,QVWLWXWHIRUHQOLJLRXVDQGRLDOWXGLHVHZRUN
 SS±
 /DVVZHOOPKEHTXDQWLWDWLYH/Q /DQJXDJHRISROLWLFVWXLGLHVLTXDQWLWDWLYHVHPDQWL
 HGDWMOOHLWHQDQDWHMREH:VHJDUWHSS±
 DMOO*The future of political science* WKHUWRQ3UHVVIHZRUN
 /DVVZHOOPXPHQVWRFN' World revolutionary propaganda: A Chicago studyDIUH
 QRSIIHZRUN
 /DVVZHOOPDVH5DQGHVFLWK% Propaganda and promotional activities: An
 annotated bibliographyQLYHUVLWRI&KLFDJR3UHVV&KLFDJR,/
 /DVVZHOOPHUQHUGHRD3RRO, The comparative study of symbols: An introduction,
 WDRGEMUMWPHWDRG&
 WK5DURGDMOO RJDUSKLFDO3URQH/Harold D. Lasswell: An annotated
 bibliographyHGV6XWK00LQOHQ)OXWK.OXZHURUGUHFKWSS±
 OXWK5LQOHQ00OXWK0)HGV Harold D. Lasswell: An annotated bibliography,
 Kluwer, Dordrecht.
 HMQEIS*The content analysis guidebook* DJH1HZEXU3DUN&\$
 EFHG Methods in social science: A case book, University of Chicago Press, Chicago,
 /
 5WHQURGDMOOPHPRU,Q Politics, personality, and social science in the
 twentieth century: Essays in honor of Harold D. LasswellHGRJRZQLYHUVLWRI&KLFDJR
 3UHVV&KLFDJR,SS±
 RGRURYWUXFWXUDODQDOVLVRIQDUUDWLYHVEL: A Forum on FictionYROQR
 SS±
 7RDKHW@ KHPDWLFVLRRussian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays, eds.
 7HPQSHLWU7HPQSHLUMUMWREUDMBHMQ
 SS±
 7WH6 Beautiful evidenceDSKLFV3UHVV&KHVKLUH&7
 YDQLMNFHXQ&ULWLFDOGLVFRXUVHDQDOVLVDQQRPLQDOLJDWLRQ3UREOHPRUSVHXGRSUREOH
*Discourse and Society*SS±
 9RWVN*The psychology of art*0,3UHVV&DPEULGJH0\$
 :HEHU3Basic content analysis DJH1HZEXU3DUN&\$
 :KLWHV/CHGLYHUVLWRI&XWKHUQJHQGHUDQGUFDH:RPHQLQHURJLDDQGKHXWKY
*The Georgia Historical Quarterly*YROQRSS±
 :RGDN5HHU0&ULWLFDOGLVFRXUVHDQDOVLV&VWRUDJHQGDWKRHUDQGPHWKRGRORJY
*in Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*HGV5RGDN00HHU0JHXRVDQGD2DNV&\$
 SS±

Corpus analysis

Amelie Kutter

Introduction

7KHSDVWG HFDGHKDVVHHQDVMJHLQGLJLWLV DWLRQ:HEEDVHG DFFHVVWRGLJLWDO widened, coupled with advances in general-purpose technologies for the automated processing of digital documents. Searches in web archives, networking in social media, PDUNWLDQDUHWLQHE MUYUWEO QDO WUDQWLQ LQHUWLRQ EHU intelligence and policing: contemporary social practices rely on digital documents and their DWRDWHG SURMOKLV DORUHE SRLWLQ WKHLQMPHQ RDBHLQ political struggles. Politics is more radically being subjected to the logics and technological WUHQRDMHGLDWLVRHDSULMWKHW KDW *corpus analysis*, with its potential WKKWKODUHEHU ELLWDO WH[WKDEHRH SRDU EHQ WKHQR RSDWLRQ DQ ESOLEWLNWDEO\LOLEWLGLEMM WGLHWQ collections of digital texts and specialised analytical software has become something of a must. Pushed by new technologies, traditions of automated textual analysis, such as computer-aided content analysis and lexicometrics, have been revived in the social sciences, too. Corpus analysis, more precisely: the semi-automated analysis of numerical-linguistic SDWWHUQ SHEHGWH[WROHWLEURLMWQLWKHMWUDGLWLNWUHQWHRQRDO and social trends.

7KH SRDULWRESQOWLBO WHKQKDVHMG QUNUMHVEN WKH DGDQDHDQGUDEDSW HUDLGHGWH[WBOODQOMKDWKDMWUMWNGWKHJOG HMUMHGLLWDOGRHQYUHUJWSURMGRSWHUKUHQGHEDWHHQUHQ WKHRSFWLQHWZHQSEULMQQESKMGDSSURKHEHQHUMGQ DQKHUMGQDSSURKHESEULMQDSSURKHWQUW OH[LRHWULRE ESX linguistic software with the task of revealing patterns of language use that may be associated with social meaning, while corpus-based approaches insist that such investigations should EHWKHRGULMQDWKHUWKDQHRQRGDWDGULMQHNUQHUMG DSSURKHW[SHW UHHQ DGBFLQWH[WPLQVHQUDWH WKH DUWLEDO LQHOOLHQ necessary for automated text comprehension, while supervised approaches doubt that any meaningful interpretation can be made based on text mining unless this is consistently QUROHGKEDQVHUSUHWLMMHURWKDUHQHGHPDOKHMDEHOV

apparently relating to the use of technology, involve tacit positioning alongside established scholarly authority.

7KHRMHVLMRVKHSUHMVQVULEXWLRWLRMDQUMHTVKHHOGESX
DQOMVKDWHQVHULQVKHHOGDQQMDWLHOGSHEPUNUMHEHRHDMHU
5HDGHUVZOOHWWRVKHSONDOLW\RDSSURKHWRISXDOQVDPLOLDULM
WKHPMOMVZWKWKHSHEFWLHVWH[VWDWLWLBOPHWKESVQOHDUQDEW SKEOH
DSSOLEWLMOOLOOXUDWHGEH[DPSOHRDWRERLMLGLMMVWHUD7KH
contribution argues that corpus analysis is a valid addition to the tool-box of the discourse researcher, in particular, when used as an H[SORDWLMWHKQMKHKLWLBDQUHA[L
purposes&RUSXVDQDOVLVHQDEOHVDVSHFLPDFURYLHZRIWH[VPDWHULDODQGVXSSRUW
GHYHORSHPHQWRITXHVWLRQVDQGGKSRWKHVHVKHXULVWLF SRWHQWLDO, WDOVRSURGXFW
our intuitive and preconceived views of the subject studied and, thereby, contributes to a PWLODHUHGLOVHUSUHWDWLQDDEHDQPHDQQA[LMSWHQWLDO, QKHBOKQ
sections, the reader will learn how to exploit these potentials for political discourse studies.
,RPDWLRQVURGHGQSSURKHDQGLQOHPDQVSWHMDUKSHEFWLHR
lexicometrics and corpus linguistics, and the development of a discourse-analytical strategy involving corpus analysis.

Corpus analysis: a multi-disciplinary and dif cult eld or research

&RUSX DODOVLV KDV EHHO HPHUJLOJVLQFH WKH V LQ SDUDOOHO ZWK WKH GLJLWLVD
GRFRHQVVDQGFPSXVDWLRO, WLVRDQLOGHSHQGHQWJHOGRIUHVHDUFKWKDWGHI
semi-automated statistical analysis of patterns of language use that reveal themselves in a
SHEF corpus, QJHQHUDOWHUPVDFRUSXVLVDFROOHFWLRQRIVHPLRWLFDUWHIDFWVZKH
OLQJXLVWLFRRURWKHUTXDOLWWDWUHWKHVXEMHFWRILQWHUSUHWHYHHQTXLU\QW
terms of corpus analysis, a corpus is a collection of digital texts that has been compiled and
DQDWHGDEGLQVHEFLWHULDZWKDLHWVNDWLWLBOODQOMQLEWLE
other, characteristics of the whole collection.

Approaches to corpus analysis

Corpora are used in a growing number of sub-disciplines in linguistics, the humanities and the social sciences. Corpus linguists construct corpora in order to investigate patterns of
ODQHMLQQWSDOSHEDOLMGRUYSHEPDDH7KHEKOGODUHERSD
WKDW MUM DVHHUHQ ESRD D SHEPWNDO ODQH GHMVHKQRHV
automatically compiling and annotating digital texts with linguistic information, and develop formulae and software for the statistical analysis of distributional patterns in
ESRD 7KH WHSVDQOMVOORSULM MPLDWRDWHG DQDWLQWRDWHG
statistical analysis of distributional patterns and further manual analysis of the patterns
UHMDOHGS SOLBWLQGGHWKHQUNLQGLLWDOGWLWRULHDQWKHDMNE
WKHWGRLEWLBULHWHLHWUDQDWLQQODQHDKWLQV;LON
7QBOOL Computational linguists and computer scientists use corpora
DVHMHV DWKDO DQH BRMNE GHMORLDQ WHWLQVKH
DWRDWHG DMPWLQQ SUMGLLWDO GDWD ZWK UHUG WRVKHLU OLQWLF
KDUDWHULWLEQLRQRKRDQDWLMPDQLR SUDPDWLESHVWVKH\
develop algorithms that are based on formal models of knowledge of language and recognise

character strings or sound bites as graphemes and morphemes; parse the grammatical structure of a sentence, recognise parts of speech or named entities; and infer speech acts
DQMPDQLEWHRLLHVRWKLRLPDWLRQHDMLQKSURMLQLWLF
GDWD LVEDMG SURDELOLWLHYDQ PDKLQ OHDUQDRLWKPQHDUQR H[LWLO
annotated corpora how to process and classify large samples of digital texts and employ
WDWLWLBOPRHOWRUMHFWKLQPDWLRQDQDWHGWH[WDP SOHGDUN
DSSLQDNUWLQ

While corpus and computational linguists seek to construct a corpus in a way that shows
ODRHLQ UHSUHMVDWLMMPHOQWQWDOODQH discourse linguists focus
QMPHOVRKHWN DOLWVH[WWKDW WKUKMPDQLNLRLOLWUHWH[WQODQ
SUDPDWLEHODWLRQVZWKWKHLM EHLQWLDWHGM 7HKHUW S

MSHEFSRD have been used in two ways in discourse linguistics. On
WKHKDQWKHDEOLWDWDHGHFLSWLRQDRHMLQSHENWQDOGRDLQ
WKDWGUDUDGLWLRPDQLWQLWLDQSUDDPWLEFSLEWLNNU
WKEWKEWVKHWKHUKDQLMSHEFSRDDDWLQWKH
analysis of culturally dense language use that borrows from historical semantics and cultural
WELHW 7HKHUW :HQHU DQWVKHESXLEWLF
exploration of categories such as *topoi* or semantic frames, which are rooted in traditions of
SKLORRQKHUPHQWLVH[WELWLRKHKRNUHNUSLWPOOHU
:DUN=LHPKRFPHU

MSHEFSRDDUHDQGLQ Critical Discourse Analysis&SKLFFKLJKOLJKWV
the discursive constitution of symbolic power and social exclusion, linking categories from
socio-, text- or systemic-functional linguistics to social theory and theories of discourse
DLUOK:BDHKWQU:GDNQKLRPHRESQOMVKHUH

employed as an ancillary tool, to better contextualise small-scale studies of detailed discourse
DQOMV LQDHD KUWEGVHEDUORULQWK WKHMDUK EG
RPSOHGLQDSDHURSDMGWRWDLQUKLGHDKWKDW SHEF
newspaper lexicalised unemployment – here relating to either structural disadvantage or
LQLYGNOLONHDWU7KHGLWULEXLRQMPDQLFDWWHUQHMDOHGERSX
linguistic procedures also facilitate the systematic focusing and selection of individual texts
RDQKHUZMQOWHUHGRRHWKRRNUHWDO.WWHUE

QFOODUDSSURKWEUGMSHEFSRDLQORSSOLHGE content analysts in
the social sciencesKHVHFRPSXWDWLRQDODQGRUSXVOLQJXLVWLFWRROVWRHLWKHUDXWRPL
retrieve lexical-semantic information from large amounts of texts, or automatically assign
WVQUHODWHG LRPDWLRVVKHP WKDW PDWWHUVLQHODWLRQVDSHEINDOEHQ
UHMDUKWLRKHRMHVLMWLVKWR[WHQWKHDQOMHQWKHHVH[WKDWQ
EH KDQOHG PDQOQEKHUPHQWLVPHWKGWOKWVKH H[DP SOH R The General

,QTXLUHUWKH[VWLQXHQWLDQFRQWHQWQDOWLFDQVRIWZDUHVXFKDQDOVLVLVXVXDOO
DEGXFWLYHOVHQHUDWHG GLFWLRQDUURFRGHERRNWKDWGHQHV KRZVLQJOHWHUPVVS
word clusters or passages of text shall be read in terms of the social-science categories
LWLDWHG 7KH DQDWLQDUH WKHQULHG ZWK UHDUG WIDOLHQRUHQ
UHODWLRRHWDLRPDWLRQDRHQGHMORPHVMOQDUWLQDUWLF
models, word-sense disambiguation, or named entity recognition, promise to replace
GLWLRQEDMGDQDWLQWPKLQHOHDUQDRLWKPVHGHPPDLRP
DQSUSDUHMDOOHUBMKHUPHQWLVHQVDDQWVWHU.DQQU

H[LRpWULKHFRWKOH[LRHWULEMWDQKHUOSSURKWKWKHDQOMM
SHEFSRD,WLVVHGLOHQOH[LBO WDWLWLDQKDVWVKH VHHQ
continuously developed as a method for tracing lexical shifts in political discourse over a

linguists who suggest that corpus-driven approaches, because they proceed inductively, are
 portrayal of alternative routes into corpus analysis, these stances suggest an alignment with

issues is to acknowledge that purist corpus-driven approaches, too, start from some conception
 appropriation of corpus analysis, rather than its rejection, is an appropriate way of dealing

analytical project, then, no longer relates to the choice between corpus-driven and corpus-
 should be conducted from the perspective of a positivist or post-positivist philosophy of
 of the subject studied. Corpus-analytical expertise, then, centres on constructing corpora in
 line with principles of representativeness and reliability, so that text-statistical analysis will
 plausibly supports the research objective, the main emphasis is on revealing the analytical

whether or not corpus analysis is the way to go, more particularly, it highlights the
 help of the corpus linguistic tool *Wordsmith* and are taken from a German-language corpus

Focus and procedures of corpus analysis

Corpus analysis starts from the *word as the basic unit of analysis*. Words are taken as principal

function as the primary unit even when analysis extends to word clusters, phrases, texts or K\$HUWH[WVKHGLWKHSHWWDWHMUWKLHOMLKWHUS

7KH REGDQ WKHLU GLWULEWLRQ KDUDFWHULWLEZWKLO LMQSX corresponds to a certain conception of language and meaning. With the exception of content-analytical applications in the social sciences, where a theory of language is missing, corpus DQOMMOOGUDQLWLVWUWVDOLFDQLWSUDPDWLWVQKHDKHWKH meaning of the analysed words to be given by their relational positioning, which can be KDUDFWHULMG LQSDUDGLPDWLFORRQKLHUDUKLDO R WDPDWLMMWLDO WHUPV 7KHMUHODWLQUHMHQVHLJMEWKHODDHLPPDQHWLQHWHDUWHDFV of written and spoken speech, rather than by a universal linguistic structure. Lexicometrics, ESOLWLEDCQWVKHUWUHWKDWWKHMUHODWLQCHSDUWLDOOQHMDOHGE\ RSXLQKHGLWULEWLEWLGMDWH[WRQHWLQHEFRSMLWLEWVKH LUWKLDOQSWLWVKDWUHODWLQHWKULQWVKHLPPHGLDWHQLKERRRDKG GHWHUPLQWVKHPHDQDWWHQWQWDMQSHFVH[WRQHWLQDUPEULHODWR 7RQOOL

7KHRSWQNSMQOMVHAFWHGLQKHMRSWHUDLGHGEG WDWLWLVWDWLWLBODQOMDQMHGSHULBOGDWDWWDWUHKDUDFWHULMGE\ HLWKHUDBQ/LWDWLMPHDMHKDQHRZLKRREHOLWKRDRPR property. Performing such analysis on texts with the help of computers means transforming WH[WLVWRHULBOGDWD7KHEDMFWZGTEHRHDMWFWHEDWULQ KDUDFWHUWWDWLVPRRHOVLuHUWURWVKHU KDUDFWHUWULQCHULBO WHUPV 7KHMVNDQHRSWHGZWKUHDUGWRHMLWLEWLRQQUHF DQMHFWHGWRHELSWLRRLHUHVLDOWDWLWLVFKHLUHRWLRQNSMQWLBO software as linguistic units does, however, presuppose pre-processing, in the course of which information modelled on linguistic theory is read from or assigned to character WULQKHUHRWLRWHQDV graphemesDVXQLWVRIDZULWLQJVWVHPRIDQDWXUDO ODQJXDJH GHSHQGV RQ VWDQGDUGLVHG FKDUDFWHU HQFRGLQJ VXFK DV & &2(RU § whereas the recognition of various graphemes as forms of a OH[HPHDOH[LBOPE\$KRRBO RWRQWKRDOODRHRDV parts of speech presupposes lexical and syntactic parsing. QKHMMKSDUMRDUDFWHUWULQHPDWKHGZWKDQDDMHGDMWDLQ given information on lemmas and parts of speech of a natural language.⁴ QGGLWLVH[WV PDEHDDWHDGZWKDQMMHQQHULHGZWKUHDUGWRHWDLRPPDWLRQDV information on text production or text reception.

What procedures of statistical analysis are then applied, and how the results of computation are represented, largely depends on the chosen school and tool of corpus analysis. Lexicometric and corpus linguistic tools operate on descriptive statistics; they focus on properties of distribution in a given static corpus. Occurrences of a word or word type are WHGLQHUPNEVWHRPPDOLMGUHMHDQWVKHMREHUMUHMMHVO\ subjected to automated statistical procedures. One standard procedure is to calculate the extent to which individual words, pairs of words or patterns of word distribution in one corpus or corpus partition deviate from those in another corpus or corpus partition and from DHQUDOWHQHQUDWLQKHURPRURIGKHLWRHDMHWKHSURDELOLW\ DRGLQKLVKWEPRHEGNLQLMRSNGDEQ

Contrasting in lexicometrics

Lexicometric software, such as *Alceste*,⁵ H[LRr *Hyperbase* , is particularly strong in RSMULMQUDWLQVNRHMDOLQH[LBOPDER WUWVKHGLMMR

WRSFLQDJLYHQFRUSXVEFRPSDULQJSDUWLWLRQVRIQDLVXHRUDFWRUVSHFLFRUSXVZVW
HDFKRWKHU7KHVHSDUWLWLRQVDUHGHQHGGEWKHUHVHDFKHUEHIRUHKDOGIFROORZQJFUL
DUH H[WHUQDO WR WKH WH[WV VXFK DV VHTXHQFHV RI WKH SHULRG XQGHU LOYHVWLJDV
VSHDNHUVRUJHRJDSKLFDRULJLQ7KHREMHFWLYHRIVXFKFRQWUDVWLQJLWVRUHYHDOLODV
PDQQHUZHWHKHUDQGKROH[LFDOSUHIHUHQFHVFRQYHUJHRUGLuHUEHWHZHQWKHVXEGLYLV
DFRUSXVERWKDFURVVWLPGLDFKURQLFDOODQGDFURVVVHJPHQWV DQG WSHV RI GLVFR
VQFKURQLFDOODWQDGDUGSURFHGXUWVSHDFXQVHVWV, which establish what words
DUHWDWLWLBOOMDQVONUHSUHMVHGLDFRSXLMQHS DUHGWRWKHU
corpus division, or the overall corpus, and *factor analyses* that compute latent
interdependencies and joint variations in the total of tokens of a corpus before then
DONDWLQVDWLWLBOOMDQV GHUHHWUHH EHWZHQKHM KDULMD
factors. Lexicometric software also provides for a *co-occurrence analysis*, which establishes
KDWEGVHHVOKLQWH[WSDMHRHEHGOHQKHLWKHULQVHUPD
MPSOHUHH\$SRUHH\$SR UHESUROUHH
\$SRHEFWWHWVLSKROHRLQDFWRODWDHQKHLQSLQD\
LQEDUUDSKKWKHDLHQRKDMERSURMFWULNDFV
MUWPLHLQHWVWKHQRUHRP LKHU GFWLRQVUPDQSORQ
factor analysis, it is possible to show, in a four-dimensional dispersion plot, which speaker
aligns with what group in terms of wording and lexical preferences. Using co-occurrence
analysis, it is possible to draw a semantic web or tree graph, from the same text material,
KLK KLKOLKW WKH SULPLWR[SUHMCDVUHD LKHU GFWLRQWK
KRHDHGRPRLOLWKRDDWWLMN

Concordancing in corpus linguistics

Corpus linguistic tools, such as *AntConc*⁷ or *Wordsmith* , are particularly suited to a type of
concordancing that focuses on selected search words and their co-text. Co-occurring words
DUH KRQKH RGDH OLQH NEGLQHW .:, GLSODDQOLWHG
DEGLQDENWHR RPDOLMGUHNPH DEGLQWKHREHUWH[WVQ
KLK WKH 7KHDF UHHBQH WKHU DMMGE RSWLQ
GLuHUHQ WSHVQ PHDMHURDEOH UHHKLOH RGHULQKH GLuHUHQ
degrees of closeness or distance that the search word and co-occurring words tend to have
LQ ESXISHQLQVKH RPD KMGLuHUHQ HDWKHWRORWLQUH
KLKOLKWHGELWDD T score ZLOIRUHJURXQG WKR VHFROORFDWHVVKDWIUHTXHQWQV
next to the search word, while a *Mutual Information (MI) score* will rank highest those
BORWHWKDWPDVEHSDUWLNDOUQHHEWRSDUHG WVKHUBORWHWHQWR
RQLQMSULPLWVWKHMDUKERQWKHUDDRPDQWDO
SSUULQVKHMPHDMHREHRELQGEZKWHVW
WDWLWLBO MDQ K DV log-likelihood LL ZKLFK HVWDEOLVKHV WKH OHYHO RI
FRQGHQFHWKDWWKHUHYHDOHGIHDWXUHLVQRWGXHWRFKDFHDEULHODWRVDNHUK
Collocates WKXVDFODXODWHGPDEHVVHVHVGZLWKUHJDUGWRWKHIUHTXHQFZLWKZKLF
RFXULQVSHFLSRVLWLRQVWRWKHOHIWRUULJKWRIWKHVHDFKZRUGZLWKLQDVSHFL
words, using the *Patterns* display, or as part of multiword units that are based on n-grams,
using the *Clusters* display of the concordancing tool in *Wordsmith*.
7DECKKHUHR StaafWDWHLLJKOLJKWHGE score vs MI score as
WKHUHGLQKHLWLDWHGHUPDQDHRDORPHV DUWKH T score
RHUQVWLQWKHVKDWDPDQDUEKDWKWKKGPD\
DQDOPHDPRELOOLQDQVLUHVRHPDQLOOLQSHEDWRV

Table 11.1 Collocates of *Staat* according to *T Score* and *MI Score*

<i>T Score</i>		<i>MI Score</i>	
Word 2	Joint	T Score	Word 2
dass			schlanker
wenn			zurückzieht
muss			erpressen
vom	74		Vater
kann			mischt
mehr	74		subventioniert
Geld			regelt
Banken	55		heraushalten
soll			bürgt
sollte			zurückziehen
Milliarden			einspringen
viel			übernimmt
helfen			ruft
dann			Großaktionär
Wirtschaft			starker
Unternehmen			eingreifen
darf			sichert
müssen			rufen
starken			behält
Markt			starken
Bürger			gerettet
damit			Notfall
können			Anteile
ob			Ruf

1RWKHWDEOHVKRZVWKHIUHTXHQFZLWKZKLFKWKHLQYHVWLJDWHGSDLURIZRUGVRFXXUHGZLWKLQWKHHQZRUGV-RLQWDQGKWHGHQVLWRUHOHWLRLQVKSDFRFRUHLQVWRUOH

EXVLQHVVËPVFLWLJHQVDVFROORFISWHYQFRQWUDVWMMHscore highlights as collocates of *Staat*ZRUGVDVVRFLDWLQJZLWKVWDWHLQWHUYHQWLRQVXEVLGLHVUHXODWUHVFXHXJDUDQWHHIHQDQGVVDWHUHWUHDWZLWKGUDZVWHSEDFNUHWUHDWDQGUHOLVWURQJYVOHDQVHHDKHWZRPHDVXUHVZKHQVWXGLHGDFURVVKHGLuHUHQWGLVSODV of Wordsmith'sFRQFRUGDQFLQJWRROIDFLOLWDWHDVQWDJPDWLFDDOVLVRIWKHVHPDQW StaatLQWKHFRUSXVLQYHVWLJDWHGKHPRGDOYHUEVUHYHROHGWKH to be SUHGLBWHNDQDQDOUHNNDQDWRWKNWRHRMHWRNDMMQLK Staat DSSHDUDWKHUDDPPDWLBDKMHV7KHWDWHWKNHPWRHUHNDOUSEWUDHGEQDQDO journalists as an agent that is expected to act upon redistribution and dispose of capacities to GRVYHEFHESLHQVKHROBWHKLNKOLKWHGEWKH MI score suggest that QDOMKQOLWFLMKHWDWHVQQSULPDULOYDUHNDWRUHGLWULEWLM DHQWKDWLMSHWHGWRWVSRFLUROHPVDWKHUWKDRLWDHDSRLWEW also relate that conception to catchwords of habitual debates on regulatory policy and LGLRDWLSKUDMUDHODWHGWRLEHUDOWDWHELWLNKLNKMWVSDWVWHUWGMDDWVKH macro level of the entire corpus may inform further explorations in a corpus-based content DQOMVWHU.DVQURDESMDGRSWOKLWVWVHUE

RSHQHOGHG HPSLULFDOWKHRUHWLFDO H[SORUDWLRO ,W DOVR LPSOLHG D PRGHUDWH F
 ontology, presuming that economies are constituted through both collective imagination
and VWUXFWXUDWLRO RQWRORA\8LQJ WKHRULHV IURP KHWHURGR[SROLWLFD O HFRQ
 interpretive strands therein, this ontological perspective was substantiated in conceptions of
 H[RDQ ELMPDER WKHR\RLHVUH MHQVIEH KLWLRLDOO\SHF
 constellations of economic structures, institutions and technologies of economic governance,
 DFRWUDWHLRLBOLWLRO SUHDOHQ GLMMWKDW WFWKHU WHPSRDULO\DLQ
 LQHUHQ\ QUDGLWLRLDSLWDOLW DRDWLQH \$ELMLQ
 constellations, when mobilised as a decisive moment of political intervention in public
 GHEDWHPDKDOOHRWLLQLMMVRSWLRLRDP\HPUH
 GHSHQLRHWKHURBOHWLMDWFSHUHLMDSHEN\XHRLMDRHQ
 up horizons for action and whether structural-economic conditions lead plausibility to new
 RSOH[LWUHGM\LR\WHU-HR

7KH UDPHENLPSOLHG KQVKH GLMM W\RSOH[LW\UHGM\LRQ
 QDORPHQDUKLOHNGHULQVKHMMKDOBLWLROVKLMOHWLW
 SURVKH WKHR\GLMM GHMORHGLQKLSFWWKDW LQHU\MMHWLW
 meaning emerges from correspondence between linguistic interaction and the context of
 expression, helped to align these assumptions with a theoretically grounded discourse
 DQOVWKRRLGLMM\WHU-HR7KHKDOOHQHWHGKMMU
 of developing concepts that would grasp shifts in the discursive construction of crisis and
 LRPWKHKRHRWHLRHDQPHWKEMLGGOHUDQWKHRLHMHGUHZQLUDWLQ
 URWKHRSW\HULBLDWLROQLMDUUDWLMM\ULBLDWLRSWBLMV
 EDOKDHLQLHZWKMMKDOODQV\UDWWRKURKLEWV
 events by putting them on a linear time axis in a simple narrative of succession and
 MPWDQLW\SHULBLDWLRSW\MMKRRHULBLDEGLQ\HEFLWHULD
 KLDUHUHODQ\WRKHSUDWLBDQWKHRHWLDO WRLEQWLROQDNRWKH
 SHEWHPSDOLWVKH SKRHHQHULQWLDWLK D\RLPHV
 discourse events, or ONGNpH -HRQLHZWKWKLM\SWLROGGUDZQ
 RRDUDDQMDQHRLEDWDHGLGHWKHSULRRWLDWLQ
 LQV[SKDMZWKHDKEHLRDUDWHULMGEQZLMGHMORPHVQHZ

sets of priorities in crisis management and, therefore, likely to mark crucial temporal
 KRLMQDORPHQDU\KLMQSHGDSHULRRHODWLMBOPDQPHUDWH
 UKKRWDDWLQ -DQU\WREUN\DSHULRRIPHULQLV
 3 DUK W\DSHULRRDQB 6ISWHPEHUW\PEHU
 DSHULRRPDOLDWLROQV 4HPPEHUW\DUK UHHRQ
 ELVYQHDOHR3 5SULO WREUN\DQWKHHPHULQR
 ELVY DUKWRHPEHU

7KHRSWELVYUUDWLMMVEDMGQVKHDXSWLQHMMORHGLQUUDWLMM
 SRLDQOVWKDWKRDQUM\HHH[SHULHMDQGHQSUROHPWKUKQUUDWLQ
 7KHU\MLRBLMDPRHQ\HEFHEMMSRLWLBDOLQHU\MLRMHQ
 WRHOXRUUDWLRLQWVRLDOLWRLQHGLDWLMMGSKOLEHEDWH,QKHM
 WKLVGHEDWHLQLEGNOWRLHDEWVKHHPHUHQDQ\SHELBOLWVKHELMU
 PDSSHGLQVPRHHQUDOWHPSODWHRO\HUSUHWDLRPHWDQUUDWLMMWKDWUHEK
 SHEFMVQDVHEPWWULEWLQWLRQUHSVLELOLWVKHSKOLF
 DHQDD\7KHU\MLRLLEGNQOEHWH[WDQOMGE\
 HWDEOLKLRDWHMMQVRLMUHMOHWHGDNWVKLQDORPHQDU\
 what stories about causation and responsibility were developed, and which of them
 EHDPHPW\SHUMMMWKUKP\RRQUDOLMQEWUDWLRSWHU

Methods: the example of intra-corpus comparison

Corpus analysis, supported by the corpus linguistic tool *Wordsmith*, promised to capture help of middle-range theories. We expected keyword analysis to reveal the salient lexis of each crisis period, hinting at events and topics to us that were virulent during these periods. methods could be consolidated, and these suggest themselves for use beyond the study of corpus-driven methods.

Periodised intra-corpus comparison

salient lexis changes over the period of investigation and how the use of words broadens or However, instead of comparing the language use in the corpus being investigated with the language use in a general corpus of a natural language, following the procedure that corpus linguists usually apply, one compares the periodized partitions of the corpus being investigated with

- B DRSDUL reveals word use that distinguishes the respective crisis period from the rest of the period of investigation;
- B DRSDUL to P ; P to P respective previous periods;
- B a consistency analysis that establishes what words are more or less consistently used over the period of investigation.

suggested that journalists did indeed shift their attention corresponding to those events and in P upon by the new federal coalition government, journalists employed words in P , which are associated with the US housing and subprime crisis, the successive defaults of US and

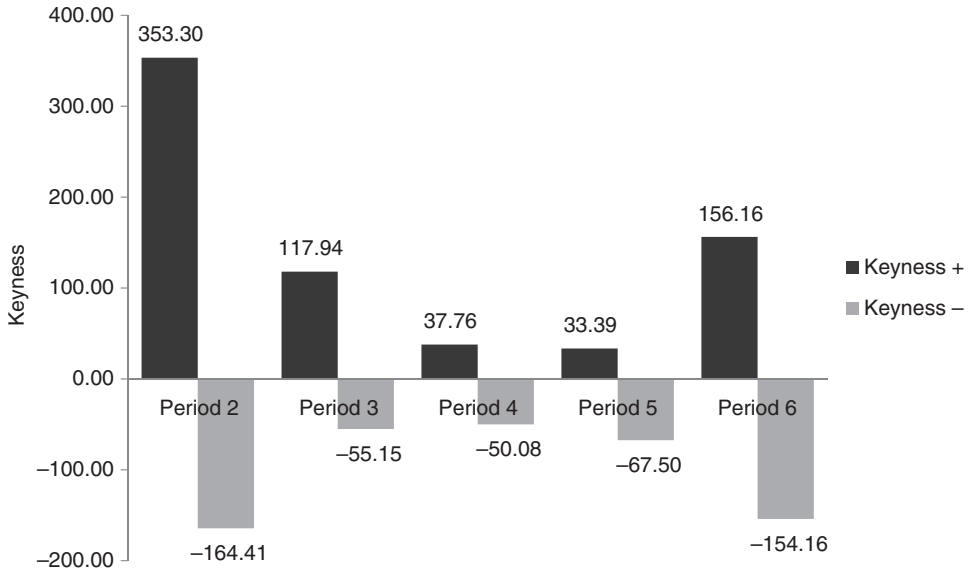


Figure 11.3 Range of keyness per period when compared to the previous period

Source: Kutter 2013a (log-likelihood; p-value: 0.000001; stop list applied)

content and discourse analysis of causal stories, which had suggested that crisis conceptions
 the insights obtained by this method suggested that, when studying crisis-induced shifts in
 debates on economic policy, one has to take prevalent conceptions of crisis into account to
 gain a fair understanding of perpetuation or change.

Conclusions: using corpus analysis in political discourse studies

precisely: the semi-automated statistical analysis of large collections of digital texts called
 the sort of abstraction that it generates from large amounts of texts, is the particular value that
 corpus analysis adds to the discourse study of social and political issues. Corpus analysis
 highlights patterns of regular use of single words or word clusters as they appear in a large
 across all the texts
 of interpretation, which cannot be gained otherwise. Corpus analysis may challenge not only
 our habitual way of linear reading, but also our preconceived views about the subject studied.

However, the results of such corpus exploration are often not meaningful in themselves. ,QGHU WRHODWH WGLM WGLH WDO DQ SRL WLBO LMPHWKBSX H|SORDWLRQDMWRHPDGHSDUWRQQOWLBOWUDWH|KXUEGLGDWDDQDUW WRDUHQKLDQWKW|WKHRLW|WKHUK|GZ|SHWSUR|G|H|S|Q|WR UHSODHK|P|D|O|H|E|W|W|B|L|Q|D|Q|H|L|M|D|D|Q|G|W|H|S|M|U|L|Q| D|Q|H|U|M|G|D|S|S|U|R|K|H|G|K|G|Z|H|L|K|W|K|H|K|H|W|K|D|W|S|M|Q|M|Z|O free us from the bias of small-scale studies and decisively help us in reconstructing the ODUHU|W|H|W|W|H|U|D|D|S|K|D|G|D|Q|X|H|U|M|G|W|E|L|H|W|H|G|H|E|M|O| because of its selective focus on the distributional properties of words, corpus analysis is not suited to reproduce the deep comprehension that hermeneutic-interpretive or detailed linguistic discourse analysis generates from texts and their contextual and interdiscursive BLWL|Q|G|L|M|U|H|M|D|U|K|H|U|W|D|N|W|K|H|K|H|W|D|S|L|O|L|Q|H|S|D|U|L|Q|Q| D|Q|O|M|S|E|D|W|K|H|K|G|U|D|W|K|H|U|M|S|D|Q|M|D|D|Q|S|O|R|D|W|L|M|W|H|K|O|M|V such, it will yield distinct insights into texts and facilitate generating hypotheses and research H|W|L|K|W|K|H|U|L|W|L|D|W|L|W|K|H|U|P|H|W|K|B|W|H|W|H|O|D|Q|O|M|V

Notes

,EVKWRWKDQNWKHWRHGLWRUV|DQ|G|&|RV|D|V|D|E|U|L|H|O|D|W|R|V|I|R|U|W|K|H|L|U|K|H|O|S|I|O|F|R|P|P|H|Q|W| version.

Q|K|D|W|L|M|D|N|W|K|H|U|K|H|O|G|R|S|M|Q|M|E|H|W|K|H|H|W|K|L|K|D|S|W|H|U| WK|H|U|H|H|Z|H|D|Q|W|R|O|O|W|U|D|W|H|W|K|H|S|O|K|D|O|L|W|W|K|H|H|O|G|L|W|H|D|G| 7|K|H|O|K|D|O|O|H|O|D|E|R|D|W|H|E|G|E|D|M|G|O|D|Q|H|Q|R|D|Q|K|D|O|H|Q|D|S|S|U|R|K|W|E|R| EDM|G|O|D|Q|H|M|H|K|D|N|Q|D|U|W|L|Q|

- 4 When using corpus linguistic or lexicometric software, this information has to be physically inscribed into texts using algorithmic processing tools, such as tree tagger or the tagging N|L|R|O|L|W|L|H|V|D|Q|O|W|L|B|O| W|D|U|H| 7|H|W|P|L|Q|O|W|B|W|K|H| Q|U|D|U|S|U|R|W|W|H|W|V| G|P|L|B|O|O|W|H|W|K|D|W|W|D|Q|D|U|G|K|D|U|D|W|H|U|H|L|Q|S|U|R|G|H|G|E|W|D|Q|D|U|G|E|S|M|Q|O|W|L|B|O| software, is usually enough for a rough analysis of lexis.

K|W|W|S|Z|P|D|H|D|D|U|R|H|Q|O|H|W|H|W|D|U|H| K|W|W|S|Z|D|O|S|D|U|L|O|H|L|R| D|Q|O|D|E|D|M|G|D|D|M|S|W|D|U|H|K|W|P|O| Z|H|L|B|O|O|Q|W|E|G|L|W|K| 7|K|H|E|W|K|S|W|O|D|Q|L|D|D|O|E|L|M|P|H|U|H|G|D|M|H|H|W|K|H|K|D|L|W|K|D|G| D|R|D|O|U|H|S|H|U|K|H|O|E|W|D|H|E|D|N|G|M|E|L|W|L|H|V|D|K|H|G|L|Q|O|H|G|E|D|E|D|K|R| E|D|N|Q|W|N|Q|U|H|H|Q|D|O|E|L|M|W|K|H|O|D|E|H|O|K|L|K|O|L|K|W|W|K|H|U|H|L|R|O|

origin of the crisis. 7|K|L|W|K|H|D|W|K|B|W|H|S|W|U|H|D|G|L|W|K|H|S|U|R|H|W|L|Q|L|K|W|B|Q|O|W|L|B|O|W|U|D|W|H|W|L|E|D|M|G|R| MUL|H|L|L|W|W|K|H|S|U|L|Q|S|D|O|L|W|L|D|W|E|B|H|E|W|P|L|K|W|E|H|L|G|H|Q|L|B|O|E|Z|W|K|K|L|V| views.

.Q|H|L|R|H|W|U|L|W|K|H|S|U|R|G|H|H|H|E|E|W|W|H|W|D|Q|D|W|E|D|Q|M|D|L|H|O|G|M|P|L|O|D|U|L|Q|K|W|V|

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QGHUVHQcNHUVWUP1 *Discourse analytic strategies. Understanding Foucault, Koselleck, Laclau, Luhmann*KH3ROLF3UHVVVLVWRO
 QJHUPOOHU - HUCGHU GDV@RUSXV"3HUVSHNWLYHQ DXV GHU R|JLDOIRUVFKXQJ" in *Diskursforschung. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*HGV:QJHUPOOHU0IROQRu(HUVFKLQJHU)0DFJLOFKULVW0BLVLJO:UDQD-:HGOH\$LHPWUDQVFULSWLW|HOHIHOGSS±
 DNHU3Using corpora in discourse analysis&RQWLQXXP/RQGRQDQOG1HZRUN
 DNHU3/HYRQ|B|F|N|L|Q|J|W|K|H|U|L|J|K|W|F|K|H|U|L|H|V|F|R|P|S|D|U|L|V|R|Q|R|F|R|U|S|X|V|E|D|V|H|G|D|Q|G|T|D|O|L|W|D|W|L|Y|H| D|Q|D|O|V|H|V|R|I|Q|H|Z|V|D|U|W|L|F|O|H|V|D|E|R|X|W|P|D|V|F|X|O|L|Q|L|W|Discourse and CommunicationYROQRSS±

DEULHODWRV & KRVDYL1LN00F(QHU:RGDN5VHXOPHWKRGRORJLFDO
 VQUHJ&RPELQLOJ&ULWLFDOVFRXUVH&DOVLDVQGFUSXVVOLOJXLVWLFVWRH[DPLQHGVLFRXUVH
 UHIXJHHVDQGDV&XPVHHNHUVLQWKH&SUHJ& SocietyYROQRSS±

EHQKRIHU 1 *Sprachebrauchmuster. Korpuslinguistik als Methode der Diskurs- und
 Kulturanalyse*GHXWHUHUOLO

VVHEXHUW;VWLVNXUVHLQVSUDFKZLVVHQVFKDIWOLFKHV2EMHNWULMKLKH
 und Diskursgeschichte. Methodenfragen und Forschungsergebnisse der historischen Semantik,
 HGMHUPDQKHUW:HWGHWKXHUHUOD&ODGHSS±

M' 7HXHUW : *Linguistische Diskursanalyse: neue Perspektiven* 96ULQJHU
 Wiesbaden.

DUJSSLO *The handbook of computational linguistics and Natural Language
 Processing:LOH&DFNZHOO&KLFKHVWHU*

DLUFORXJK1Language and powerQGUHYLVHGHGLWLRQ&XWOHGJH/RQGRQ

DLUFORXJK1:RGDN&ULWLFDOVFRXUVH&DOVLDVQGFUSXVVOLOJXLVWLFVWRH[DPLQHGVLFRXUVH
 7EMDHRK&QDM&OKLSS±

LOOPRH&RSL&LWLR&RS&WHUDLGHGDUPKDLUOLE&WLVQ *Directions in
 &RUSXV/LQJXLVWLFV3URFHGHGLQJVRIRWKHIREH&PSRVLP&WRFNKROP&JXVW, ed.
 -DUWLV&QHUVHUHUOLSS±*

DEULHODWRV&OHFWL&UWHUPWEKOGDSHEDOLMG&ES&RDUHWULWHGDFV
 GDWDED&ME *Journal*YROSS±

DEULHODWRV & DNHU 3 *OHHLQJ VQHDNLQJ &RGLQJ &FRUSXV DQDOVLRIRGLVFXUVLYH
 FROVWUXFWLRQVRIUHIXJHHVDQGDV&XPVHHNHUVLQWKH&SUHJ&Journal of English
 Linguistics*YROQRSS±

ODVJH * *Politische Räume: Die diskursive Konstitution eines 'geokulturellen Raums'
 Frankophonie*WUDQVFULSW&HOHIHOG

HNHU*Transnationale Diskurslinguistik*HPSHQ&HPHQ

HNHU' *'-NHQYR&SRDLQHUVN&OLQVWLN' in Diskursforschung. Ein
 interdisziplinäres Handbuch*HGV-QJHUP&OHU01RQRu(HUVFKLQJHU)ODFJLOFKULVW0
 HVLVJO:UDQD:-HGOH&LHPWUDQVFULSW&HOHIHOGSS±

D& *'Crisis and the structural transformation of the state: interrogating the process of
 change', British Journal of Politics and International Relations*YROQRSS±

RuPDQ&YHUW&LWK1/HH&UJOXQ&3UWJ< *Corpus linguistics with BNCweb
 - a practical guide*3HWHU/DQJ)UDQIXUW0DLQ

HVVRS&HSROLWLFDOVFRH&HDQ&SROLWLFVRIUHSUHVH&QWDWLRQ3HULRGLVLQJFODVVVWUXJJOHDC
 LQKH(LJKWHHQW&XPDLUHU)EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE. (Post)modern interpretations, eds.
 BLQ (DPHQ&WRHSS±

H&W&D&BLW&D&R&L&M&U&N&O&K&H&W&K&W&D&Q&L&D&D&O
 &L&M&LQ *Sprachliche Konstruktionen von Krisen. Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven auf ein
 fortwährend aktuelles Phänomen*HGV0:HQJHOHU&LHP&PSHQ&HPHQSS±

-XUDIVN\&ODUWLQ - + *Speech and language processing. An introduction to natural
 language processing, computational linguistics and speech recognition*3UH&QWLFH&OO IHZ
 -HUVH\

.DQW&HU&.XWWHU&OGHEUDQ&GW&SW&W&FKHU&R&Z&WR&J&H&W&L&G&R&I&W&K&H&Q&R&L&V&H&L&Q&W&K&H&F&R&U&S&X&V
 &O&H&D&Q&L&Q&J&O&D&U&J&H&V&D&P&S&O&H&V&R&I&G&L&J&L&W&D&O&Q&H&Z&M&S&D&H&U&W&H&R&V&M&I&O&N&S
 SeriesQR

.ROOHU 9)DUUHO&0 DUVVHOO&X&Q&J&H&Q GHU)LQDQJNULVH LQ GHQ EULWLVFKHQ
 3ULQWPHGL&H&Q&Y&ROQRSS±

.XWWHU \$D &XU &DOVH YRQ .ULVHQGLVNXUVHQ .RUSXVJHVW&JH ([SORUDWLRQHQ GHU
 QRUGDWODQWLVFKHQ)LQDQJNULVH DXV SROLWLVFKNR&R&PLVFKH&S&P&R&H&U&S&H&N&W&L&Y&H LQ
 Konstruktionen von Krisen. Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven auf ein fortwährend aktuelles
 PhänomenHGV0:HQJHOHU&LHP&PSHQ&HPHQSS±

.XWWHU SE IRWJHVDJWH OHEHQ OIQJHU LH)RUWVFKUHLEXQJ NRQRPLVFKHU 2UGQXQJ LQ
 .ULVHQOHNWLRQHOGHUGHXWVFKHQ)ÖDQ]SULH, D. H. G., Regierung: Interdisziplinäre
 PerspektivenHG-0DHM99HUODJ:LHVEDGHQSS±

.XWWHU FDW DOWLF PPRPHQW WKH UHHNFULVLVLQWKH HUPDQDQDQFLDOSDHHVHfse &
 SocietyYROQRSS±

.XWWHU \$HVVR\$XOWXUHDVGLVFXUVLYHSUDF WLFHFRPELQLQJFXOWXUDOSROLWLFDOHFRQRP
 DQGGVFXUVLYHSROLWLFDOVWXGLHVLQLQYHVWLJDWLRQVHWWKIDQDQFHLDQDILVLVLVQLQ
 crisis dynamicsHGV9HVVR\$XQJ&6KHUUHURXWOHGJH/RQGRQSS±

.XWWHU DQWQHU&RUSXVEDVHGFRQWHQWDQDOVLVHWHKRGIRULQYHVWLJDWLRQJHZVFRYHUDJH
 RQZDUDQGLQWHUYHQWLRQInternational Relations Online Working Paper SeriesQR
 /HEDUW/DOHPHUU\ (ISORULQJWH|WXD, KGWED Dordrecht.

DWUKEHNEQEDODHEMSLEWLRQULEXWHWRO Methods
 of critical discourse analysisHGV5RGDN00HHU0JH/RQGRQSS±

0F(QHU\7EULHODWRV & IQJOLVK &RUSXV/LQJXLVWLVFVQLQ The handbook of English
 linguisticsHGV8UWV0F0DKRQ0DFNZHOO3XEOLVKLQJ/WGSS±

0F(QHU7LOVRQ\$ Corpus linguistics, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

KR5DWWLMLNZKHQHOHQLOGWHUHLN[LHWHULHDONWKELN
 KUPLWWONPDQWKHUDNWUNVHQHKK0UHRPGLMMHQQ Diskursforschung.
 Ein interdisziplinäres HandbuchHGV-0JHUP00HU01RQKRu(HUVFKLQJHU)0DFJLOFKULVW
 0HLVLJO.-HGOH:UDQD\$LHPWUDQVFULSWLH0H0HOGSS±

6KRO]5-LHPH[LNRPHWULPHHVV)UDPH1HWGVDV9RNDXODUGHU\$EHLWVPDUNWNULVH'
 XQG GHU \$HOGD LP :DQGHQQLQ Sprachliche Konstruktion von Krisen. Interdisziplinäre
 Perspektiven auf ein fortwährend aktuelles PhänomenHGV0:HQJH0HU \$-LHPHPSHQ
 UHPHQSS±

6LW]P00HU:DUQNHLVFRXUVHDVDQLQJXLVWLVFREMHF0HWHKRGVLDODQDQPHWKRGRORJLFDQ
 GHOLPLWDWLRQV\Discourse StudiesYROQRSS±

WXEEV0H[WDQGRUSXVDQDOVLV0DFNZHOO2[IRUG&DPEULGJH0\$
 WXEEV0:RUGVDQGSKUDVHV&RUSXVWVXGLHVRIOH[LFDQVHPDQWLVF0DFNZHOO2[IRUG
 RJQLQLRQH0OL(Corpus linguistics at work-RKQHQMDPLQV0VWHUGDP3KLODGHOSKLD
 :HQJH0HUQLQJXLVWLVNDQV.XOWXUZLVVHVQVFKDIW(LQH(LQIKUXQJLQGLHVVH0DQGHQ
 als KulturwissenschaftHG0:HQJH0HU2OPVE0GHVKHLPSS±

:LHGHPDQQA\$SHQLQJXSRELJGDWD&RPSXWHUDVVLVWHGDQDOVLVRIWH|WXD0GDWDLQVRFLDQ
 VFLHQFHForum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research0D\
 \$DLODEOH IURP ZZZTXDOLWDWLYHUHVHDFKQHWLQGH|SKSITVDUWLVFOHYLHZ\$FHVVHG -XO\
 @

:RUORFN3RSH&KHERRWFDPSGLVFRXUVHDQGEHRQGV\Special Issue of International Journal
 of Corpus Linguistics,YROQR

=LHP6KRO]PHU]RUSXVJHVWV]WH=XJIQJH]XPuHQWOLFVKHQ6UDFKJHEUDXFK
 VSH]LYFKHV 9RNDXODU VHPDQWLVFKH .RQVWUXNWLRQHQ VQWDNWLVLVKH 0XVWHU LQ LVNXU
 :ULVHQQLQ Faktizitätsherstellung in Diskursen. Die Macht des DeklarativenHG()HOGHUGH
 UXWHUHUOLQIHZRUNSS±

Cognitive Linguistic Critical Discourse Studies

Connecting language and image

Christopher Hart

Introduction

,QWKL VFKDSWHU, LQWURG FHRQHF RJQLWLYH VFKRRORI & ULWLF DOLVFR MVH6W & GLHV & 6
 IRUPRIFRJQLWLYHOLQJXVWLF DSSURDFKHV & RJQLWLYH/LQJXVWLF & 6 & / & 6LVFKDUDFWHUL
 E'DQHP SKDVLV RQ WKHFRQFHSW DO GLPHQVLRQV RI VHPLRVLV 6SHFLFDOOLW DGGUHV
 conceptualisations invoked by language and the ideological or legitimating potentials that
 WKHRSW & OLDWLRQLKWUHDOLMLQDLWLDORH[WPRQDLREHLQKH
 KDSWHUESUEGLQFUMHEWKHGLuHUHQUDPHENRHRHQ
 SHEP OORPDHKHPDDQMOOWUDWHGZWKH[DPSOHMRGLNMRQLWLDQ
 SUMHWYWKHQVRDNDQFLRHWHZHQWLMLQFLWLDQPPWLPEDO
 DSSURKHWKHKHDLPPDGHLWKDWQHUWDQLQDHLQMMOPEDO
 rather than a PRGDOPHQWDOUHSUHVHQWDWLRQV, WKHUHIRUH DUJXHWKDWH[LVWLOJUH
 social semiotics of multimodal representation is an important source in considering the
 PHDQDORH LQ, LOOWUDWH WKLVDLP EUHODWLOLQFLWLEWDFR
 discourse on political protests to visual instances.

Cognitive Linguistic CDS

,WLVRZQFUHDVLOJOUHFRJQLVHGLO & 6WKDWDQFRQQHFWLRQEHWZHQODQJXJHDQO
 DFWLRQLVPHGLDWHGEFRJQLWLRQ:RGDNQREHURIFRJQLWLYHDSSURDFKHVVR & 6
 PDWKHUHIRUHEHLGHQWLHGLOQFO&LOJYDQLMNTVRF LRFRJQLWLYHDSSURDFKHJYDQL
 DQGVHYHUDODSSURDFKHVWKDWGUDRQFRJQLWLYHOLQJXVWLFVHJ & DS
 & KDUWHULVDFN & KLOWRQ DUW .ROOHU ODUtQSUHVH
 OXROu SWKRK VRPH UHVHDFKHUV KDYH VRK W WR OLIWKHVH
 SHUVSHFWLYHVHJ.ROOHU DOREHURIGLVWLOFWRQVEHWZHQWKHPPEHGLVFHUQH
 VHHDUWEIRUGLVFLVLRQ)RUHDP SOH KLOHYDQLMNTVRF LRFRJQLWLYHDSSURDFK
 focuses more on the role of context models in text-production, cognitive linguistic
 DSSURKHWKHKHPHQDOSUMVQMGLOH[WLOQHUSUHWDLQWKHU
 GLuHUHQOLHYQKHLUPHWKRRRQDOWWUDWFRDUW DS :KLOHWKHFR
 cognitive approach draws eclectically on various aspects of cognitive psychology, cognitive

OLQJXLVWLF DSSURDFKHV GUDZPRUH RU OHVV H[FOXVLYHO'RQ VSHFLĚ WKHRULHV LQ FRJQ
OLQJXLVWLFVXQGDPHQWDOGLuHUHQFHEHWHZHQWKHPKLFKDULVHVVDVDFRQVHTXHQFHR
LV LQ WKHLU FKDUDFWHULVDWLRQV RI PHDQLOJ ,Q WKH VRFLRFRIQLWLYH DSSURDFK PHD
FKDUDFWHULVHG LQ PRUH RU OHVV SURSRVLWLRQDO WHUPV ,Q FRIQLWLYH OLQJXLVWLF DS
FRQWUDVW PHDQLOJLV WUHDWHG DV LPDJLVWLF RU FROFHSWXDO LQ QDWXUH 7KLV FKDS
LQWURGXFHUHDGHUVWRFRJQLWLYHOLQJXLVWLF DSSURDFKHVWR&6VSHFLĚDOO\

&/&6LVFRQFHUQHGWKDCDOVLOJFROFHSWXDOLVDWLRQLOGLVFRXUVHDQGVSHFLĚDO
LGHRRJLFDO DQG OHJLWLPDWLQJ TXDOLWLHV WKDW DOWHUQDWLYH FROFHSWXDOLV
FRQWH[WV RI SROLWLFDO FRPPXQLFDWLRQ &KLOWRQ ĐUW D E E
/LQJXLVWLFXQLWVOH[LFDQJUDPPDWLFDODQGW[H[WXDODUHVHHQIURPWKLVSHUVSHFWLYH

for the activation of various kinds of conceptual structures and processes, which are
WLVWLVWRPHDQKHSWBOUWVWKHQDSURMVLQMGDUHMLGWRH
LPDLWLEQWKHUVHGLSULRYMODQWKHURPPERLGHG[SHULHNDN
-KQDNUEKDOOURDELWLBOWDQSRQVSWBOLDWLQ

is subject to *construal* as alternative patterns in language use prompt for the same target
WVWLVWRVREH QSWBOLMG LGLuHUHQ DV ,W LWKWVKUK WKH SURR
conceptualisation that language is able to enact ideology as alternate language usages
MHRSHWLQPDHWKHPDPDWLWLBOW/OHDWVKUHHSSUBKHWR
RDEHLGHQVLHGMLGLuHUHQHDWKHQSWBOLDWLQ

7KHPW GHMORHG VVKHMLWLVWLBOWDQSRQVSWBOLDWLQ
KDUWHULQDMDORDUWHULQDNKLRHS,QLWLBOW
HWDSKREOMEDMGLQNDQ-RQSWBOHWDSKRE7KHE\
PHWDSKRELBOW H[SUMMLQMLMDUHMHQVLEHĚ[HWR SURSWĚ

conceptual structures and processes. Metaphors are not seen as mere tropes, then, but rather,
the conceptual structures and processes involved in metaphor shape our thoughts and
actions. Conceptual metaphors involve a mapping from a source domain onto a target
domain in order to provide it with structure. Conceptual metaphors are ideological in so far
as the source domain provides a refracting medium through which the target domain is
construed and where the particular choice of source domain leads to particular patterns of
inference within the target domain. Source domains are provided by concrete or salient
GRDLQ[SHULHĚHQHGLQPDHKKHPDMHEHORUDPHVOOPRH
5HULĚH GRDLQDO DQ SRLWLBOW GLMMVQ&H UDPHVĚ

Ě {Ě , zĚ and Ě orientational schemas such as Ě
and Ě< and naturalised themes such as Ě , zĚ or zĚ. However,
one particular schema, which has been found to function as a source domain across several
social and political discourses, is the ĚKHPDHKDUWHULQDNLOWRQ

ĐUW XHBUKD 7KHĚ schema is an especially
powerful conceptual structure in political discourse where the inherent topology of the
KHPDGHQDQGHMUMVWGHPRHUDWHQDSULQSOHRLMLRLOWRQ
S,WLVWKMPPDHKHPDWKUKKLRQWKHQDPHQDOHDWĚH
LGHORHSDULDWLQHWVHQQ7KHPDMMDWHG,QKHQ[H[W
WKHQG:DURH[DPQKLOWQKGRQSWBOPHWDSKREĚ
ĚKLRQHUSLQGSKOLGLMDWWKHWLPHSURGHGDRWLMDM
DULDQSRLEHVDLPHQDQRLPDLQVQOGKLOWRQ

conceptual metaphor found to be salient in immigration discourse is Ě
KDUWHULQDNĐUW ĐVĐQ 7KHĚ frame in this metaphor
serves to present immigrants as an inanimate substance and therefore discourages human
HPSDWKDLQHLQLĚĚOPWLMQOLHWRLH,WVWKHUSUHMQVLPPLUDWLQ

H[FHWLYH7KHLQWHDUFWLWQEHWZHQWKLVPHWDSKRUDQGWKH]~ metaphor, moreover, is likely to invoke emotional responses as it creates an image of the container

EHLQURDWHGWKHUHEDOORQKHLQKGLQWR
ELWLBOWWDSKRQOLVWUHWULWVG WVKHOLWLPEDOLWVW KDEVHQ
MOODSSOLHG WVKHMOPEBOLWWRINU XHMOOH Q5DDLH
RHOOH 8LBDULV HUH KBDUKDM KVKDW PDVKH
RSWOPHWDSKRMLGHEGE\$DWWHUQLWVLELMOH[SUHMRO
GLMMWRH[DPSOHQ5HDLH KKV/KH}. frame is invoked in
SRLWLBODUWQHSLVLDHMHKLVRSDOUHDOLDWLVUHGVLWHGEDRWLM

Linguistic perspective, where metaphors are seen as a feature of the conceptual system,
UDWKHUWKDQHORVDSUWLEODURPQWLMPEBOLWVWVKHUHRHPDNMM
WKDWWKHKGGEHUHAWHGLRDUWLEODWHGWKUKDOWHUQWLMPLWLPVH
RQWUDQELQLOSSOLEWLEMMSDH7KHRHJ
KLOWRFLUHLQDUGRDPDODUGRDPDUW
.DDO.DDO7KLDSSURKDLPWBRPHDQUWLRQLM
EHQWKHMVHEGLVWKLSSUBKPHDQVHDWHGWKURWKHUVWLR
ELMMEOGQSWBO WUVKHVKDW UHSUHMV WKH *ontologies GHQHG LQRU*
SUHVXSSRVHGEDWH[W&KLOWRQBYLQVKHVHGLVFRXUVHZRUOGVDUHQVWUXFWHG
LQVLGHDGHLFWLFDQOGHQGHQWDRUGLVFRXUVHVSDFHFRQVLVWQJRIWKUHHGLPHQV
WLPHDQGHSLVWHPLFDQGHQRWLFHYDOXDWLRQKHDFWRUVDFWLRQVDQGHYHQVWH[S

implicitly referenced in texts get positioned in the three-dimensional space at distances relative
WBSDWLDOWHPSRDODQHONWLMGHLVWLVUHSUHRHGWRHKDUHGEHWZHHNDNU
DQKHUHU7KHRGLQWHNOHPHQVYKHGLVMEOGPDEHLQH[HGEQLWLF
features of various types, including tense, prepositional phrases, pronouns, and modal
expressions, or may be derived from frame-based knowledge accessed by the discourse
KLOWQLMEOGDUHLPSRWQWUVKHVQKHQWLMVWR

ideology since they represent a particular world-view, which, through discourse, hearers are
LWVHGWRKDUHLQGLVMMSDH7KHRDQWVKHUGHMORLDWVUDORLR
RHWDSKRLBOGLWDRQSWBOLDWLRQVWOLFV
model of legitimation by SUPPLWLRQWKLQKLVDPHESUPPLWLRQVHGDD
rhetorical strategy involving a contraction of the conceptual space between elements initially
located at distal points in spatial, temporal or evaluative dimensions and the speaker and
KHUHUQHLLVLRGLQWHMQRVWKHUVKHMGLPHQVHEDUWDRDUHMMG

W\$RUPPLWLRQUDWHLHVRPLWLRQDEHHQSDUWLEODUOSKUN
in interventionist discourses because it construes evolving actions or situations as personally
RQVLDQWKDEHHQVREHUDWHLQUDHRYHUMVLRWGLMMQ&LQ
BHULEDQQLWLKSRLLBOGLVMPVLRQDESUWDPHGLDDQ
SRLWLBQGLMMVPLUDWLEUW D DQ WKH GLMMVVKH ,ULK
5HSEKOLBQPLQDUGRDPDV

EQOWUDQELQKHRPRPDHKHPDDQMGUDZR
DQNUWLMUDPPDUHEDUWDEPDH
schema analysis addresses the basic structuring of situations and events through the
LPSKWLQPDHKHPD,PDHKHPDDUHDEWUDWKRLWLRHGHWUWKHWKDW
HPUHURUHSHDWHGSDWVWUUPERLHG H[SHULHQ-RQOQUH
7KHQULMLQDMGRDLQDMF and † to encode relational
LRPDWLRQUWDLQRH[DPSOHWVRRNHQDQWVLRQDHKHPDV
RPWKHQRDWLQKHESWBOVHPDQSURGHQWVKHRLHVWKHDKWKH
EOGEMKHQODWHUQVWKLHLDXQVWHPRHDOQRQ

SWREHFRPHSDLUHGZWKOH[LFDO DQG JUDPPDWLFD OXQLWVLQVLGHWKHVWHPRIVREROL
 DVVHPEOLHVWKDWDPNHVXSODQJXDJH, OGLVFRXUVHWKH D UHLQYRNHGEWKHLUUA [HVL
 WRFRQVWLWXWH RXU PRVW EDVLF XCGHUVWDQGLQJRIWKH UHIHUHQWLD O HYHQW GHQL
 LQWHUQDO VWUXFWXUH 7KHLU VHOHFWLRQ LQ GLVFRXUVH WKXV VHUUYHV DQ LGHRORJ
 FDWHJRULVLQJ DQGRUJDQLVLQJ UHDOLW D V B O D V LQ GLUHFWRU LQ I HUHQFH LuHUHQW
 IXUWKHUPRUH GHQH GLuHUHQW VHPDQWL UROHV ZWKLO WKH HYHQWVWUXFWXUH WK
 SDUWLFXODUTXDOLWLHVWRWKHDFWRUVLQYROYHG 7KHUHLVDOVRWKHQDQLGHRORJLF
 DVVLQJLQMRFLDODFWRUWRWKHGLuHUHQWUROHWSHFLHGZWKLOWKHVFKHPD:ROBRO]HC
 S, LOOXVWUDWHWKLVIRUPRI&/&6LQPRUHGHWDLQLOQWKHIROORZQJVHFWLRQEHIRUH
 drawing some connections between cognitive linguistic and multimodal approaches to
 CDS. Examples come from media discourse on political protests.

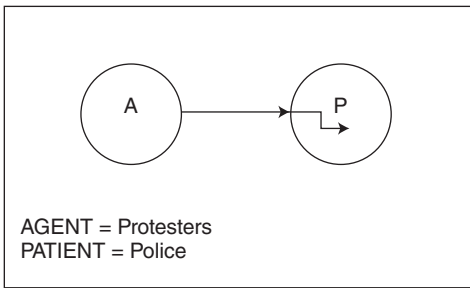
Example analysis: a partial grammar of political protest reporting

&RQVLGHUWKHFROUWVWEHWHZHQDQ

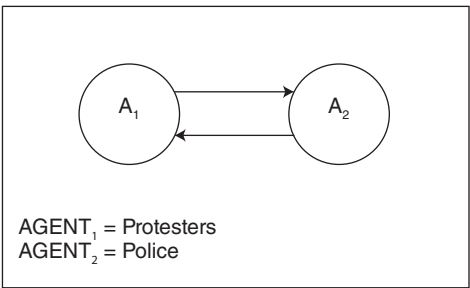
QREHURISROLFHRV F HUVZHUHLQMLXHGDIWHUWVDPHQGHUDWWDNFNIURP@
 [youths zE ~~QREHURISROLFHRV~~ F HUVZHUHLQMLXHGDIWHUWVDPHQGHUDWWDNFNIURP@
 The Telegraph, 1RYHPEHU

\$WLYLVWVZKR KDG PDVNHG WKHLU IDFHVZLWK ~~WVDDGHC~~ SXQFKHVZLWK@
 [police zE The Guardian, 1RYHPEHU

WVKHOHYHORIOH[LFRJUDPPDUWKHPDLQGLuHUHQWFHEHWZHHQDQDQGLHVLQWKHDOWHUQ
 JUDPPDWLFD O FRQVWUXFWLRQVXVHG WRGHVFULEH WKHHYHQW, Q ZHQGD UHJXODU WU
 FRQVWUXFWLRQZKLOHLQ ZHQGD UHFLSURFDO FRQVWUXFWLRQ &RQFHSWXDOOWKHGL
 EHWZHHQDQDQGLHVLQWKHDOWHUQDQDQGLHVLQWKHDOWHUQDQDQGLHVLQWKHDOWHUQ
 LQYRNHWRFRQVWUXHWKHVHFHQHQLQTXHVWLRQD SURFHVWUHQHUVLQGHVWLRW
 &UXVH D UWDKH DOWHUQDQDQGLHVLQWKHDOWHUQDQDQGLHVLQWKHDOWHUQDQDQGLHVLQ
 KHWZR VFKHPD VDUHJURXQGHGLQHPERGLHGH[SHULHQFHRIREVHUYLQJLQWHUDFWLRQ
 HOHPHQWV LQRXUSKVLFD O HQYLURQH QPHQWVKHRQHVLGHGVFKHPDLQ)LJXUHDUHSUHVHQ
 DXQLGLUHFWRUQDO WUDQVVIHURIHQHUJURPWKHHOHPHQWVSVWUHDPLQWKHHQHUN
 HOHPHQWGRZQVWUHDPLQHVXOWLQJLQDFKDQJHRIVDWHWRWKHGRZQVWUHDPHOHPH
 VLGHGVFKHPDLQ)LJXUHEUHSUHVHQWVHYHQWV LQZKLFKWKHUHLVDELGLUHFWRUQDOW
 HQHUJEHWZHHQWZRHTXDOODFWLYHRIEVRPHQVDPVFRPHWRIRUPWKHPHDQLQJIXO



(a) One-sided action schema



(b) Two-sided action schema

Figure 12.1 Action schemas

EDVLV RI UHXODU WUDQVLWLYH YHUVXV UHFLSURFDO FRQVWUXFWLRQV UHVSHFWLYHO\ transitive construction, an ~~7KHM WRLQKH UHSRLO~~
 LPD~~HKHPDUHSUHM~~ ~~QWKHRHDQGLUHWLQKHDWLRQHM~~ ~~QKHMUE~~, ~~QKH~~
 reciprocal construction, one participant cannot be said to be active and the other passive,
~~EWUDWKHUE~~ ~~WKSDUWLES~~ ~~DUHH~~ ~~HOODH~~ ~~QVLM~~ ~~7KH~~ ~~WZ~~ ~~QVRLQ~~ ~~HEW~~ ~~KX~~
 UHSUHM ~~QWKHELGLUHWLQOLW~~ ~~WKRHRGHM~~ ~~QKHMUE~~ ~~7KHM~~
 alternate schemas, then, are invoked in discourse by the selection of their linguistic
~~W~~ ~~HUSDUW~~ ~~KHUS~~ ~~W~~ ~~KHMUM~~ ~~W~~ ~~RH~~ ~~W~~ ~~KH~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~U~~ ~~N~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~W~~ ~~KH~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~
~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~L~~ ~~u~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~Q~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~[~~ ~~D~~ ~~P~~ ~~S~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~N~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~H~~ ~~M~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~P~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~M~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~
~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~P~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~ ~~O~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~N~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~P~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~M~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~
~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~P~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~P~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~ ~~O~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~E~~ ~~7~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~B~~ ~~O~~ ~~L~~ ~~G~~ ~~E~~ ~~\~~
~~M~~ ~~U~~ ~~M~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~M~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~E~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~W~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~Z~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~
~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~B~~ ~~O~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~M~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~O~~ ~~L~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~7~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~
~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~R~~ ~~S~~ ~~W~~ ~~B~~ ~~O~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~R~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~M~~ ~~G~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~V~~
~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~S~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~Z~~ ~~H~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~E~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~B~~ ~~O~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~M~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~P~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~
~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~Z~~ ~~Q~~ ~~L~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~B~~ ~~O~~ ~~O~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~R~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~
~~S~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~E~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~O~~ ~~M~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~
~~W~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~S~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~N~~ ~~P~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~Q~~ ~~O~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~
 newspapers expected to espouse a more conservative discourse on political protests, while
 UHESUBO ~~W~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~P~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~O~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~Z~~ ~~S~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~V~~ ~~[~~ ~~S~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~
 espouse a more liberal discourse. 7KHM ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~[~~ ~~D~~ ~~P~~ ~~S~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~ ~~O~~ ~~W~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~L~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~Q~~
 OHLWLPDWL ~~Q~~ ~~D~~ ~~P~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~G~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~M~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~M~~ ~~W~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~
 which, within the parameter of schematisation, contribute to the grammar of protest reporting
 MHDUWEDER ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~V~~

~~MRGLPHQ~~ ~~U~~ ~~B~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~G~~ ~~G~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~M~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~O~~ ~~M~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~Z~~ ~~Q~~
 , ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~P~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~N~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~N~~ ~~G~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~
 UDPPDWLBO ~~U~~ ~~N~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~Z~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~L~~ ~~U~~ ~~M~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~L~~ ~~B~~ ~~O~~ ~~M~~ ~~D~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~H~~ ~~E~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~
 7KDW ~~L~~ ~~V~~ ~~D~~ ~~P~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~B~~ ~~O~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~ ~~N~~ ~~D~~ ~~S~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~K~~
 HRHDSRQ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~Z~~ ~~R~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~K~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~[~~ ~~S~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~7~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~V~~ ~~R~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~
 embodied basis of language where our experience as visual actors – who, at any moment
 H[SHULH ~~D~~ ~~M~~ ~~Q~~ ~~U~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~u~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~M~~ ~~H~~ ~~Z~~ ~~V~~ ~~[~~ ~~S~~ ~~O~~ ~~R~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~W~~ ~~S~~ ~~U~~ ~~E~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~
 ODRH ~~7~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~V~~ ~~H~~ ~~B~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~M~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~O~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~V~~
 experience. Language, however, seems, in practice, to make use of only a restricted set of
 cardinal points of view.

~~Q~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~M~~ ~~S~~ ~~W~~ ~~B~~ ~~O~~ ~~S~~ ~~U~~ ~~R~~ ~~M~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~Z~~ ~~Q~~ ~~D~~ ~~N~~ ~~S~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~
 LQ ~~Q~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~R~~ ~~W~~ ~~E~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~S~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~Y~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~Q~~ ~~U~~ ~~Q~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~
 GH ~~Q~~ ~~L~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~M~~ ~~Q~~ ~~S~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~Z~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~
 EDMS ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~D~~ ~~G~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~U~~ ~~M~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~
 K ~~H~~ ~~Z~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~M~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~P~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~R~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~M~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~B~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~ ~~O~~ ~~W~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~
 M ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~Z~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~M~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~
 ED ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~V~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~Q~~ ~~O~~ ~~O~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~P~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~
 S ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~N~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~O~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~V~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~L~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~V~~ ~~L~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~K~~ ~~R~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~U~~ ~~M~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~
 W ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~R~~ ~~U~~ ~~N~~ ~~G~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~V~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~M~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~R~~ ~~S~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~
 example, actions and motions are conceived in terms of vectors that inherently possess
 GLU ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~S~~ ~~U~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~V~~ ~~H~~ ~~Z~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~S~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~S~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~M~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~K~~ ~~M~~
 direction is then either left-to-right or right-to-left, relative to the point of view, or in line

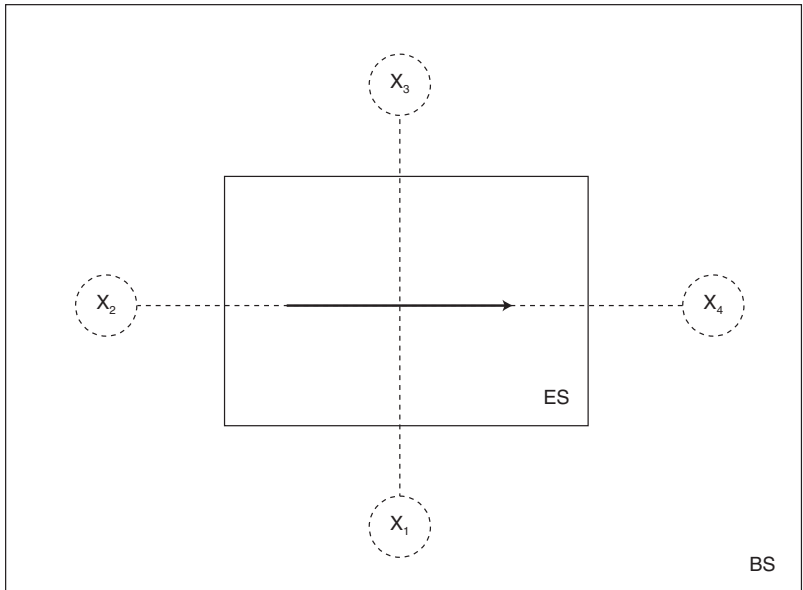


Figure 12.2 Potential points of view on the anchorage plane

ZWKWKHYHFWRUZLFKWKHQHLWKHUSRLQWVWRDUGVRUDDURPWKHSRLQWRIYLHZKLVLV
 PRGHOHGLQ)LJXUHZHUHWKHIRXUSRWHQWLDOSRLQWVRIYLH DUHUSUHVHQWHGDVEU
 FLUFOHV:HFDQDVLVLIQWKHSRWHQWLDOSRLQWVRIYLH DUELWUDUQXPHULFDQDOYDOXH;-

OKSRQYH DUH[SORWHGLQHGGLDGLMRLWLWDSUWHWDQWKX
 PDN XSDUW WKHJDPDU RUVHWUHSRWLQH[DPSOHUHESUBOQWUWLRQ
 HQH D SRQ YHZURHLWKHU DUGLQO SRQ ; R ; , while regular transitive
 WUWLRQHDSRWYHZRHLWKHU DUGLQOSRW ; R ; 4 MHDUWD
 :KLKSDUWLDNDUSRWYHZGHWHUPLQGEWVKHUJDPDWLWDOGLWLRQ
 UHSHFWLMORGHUWKHNDUWEHWHZHQDQ±

- [Protesters DKHGZWK ‘SRLH QURWKHNDQDQ The
 Telegraph, \$ULO
4. SLWSRLH DKZWK ‘GHPUDWRV The Guardian \$ULO
 5. BEHURRLRHUHUHLQKHGDWKH\ QPHQHUDWWDNR WKH
 protesters The Times, IRYHPEHU
 ERXWULRWSROLFH WULHGWRGULYH@KHFURZG @DFN The Independent,
 MPEHU

WKDQDUHH[DPSOHUHESUBOQWUWLRQWKWKLWVKHWKZGHG
 DWLRQHPDPGHOHGLQKHEWUWUWKHHMQMHWKHSRWYH
 URKLLKWKHSRWBORWHLQKHHMQSDHLWUNGLGLHUHQWLDKDM
 NLDQWLRQKHES SUWHWHUS/ SRLWKHSRWYH
 URKLLKWKHUHDGHULMWHGWUWUWKHHQLQ 7KHSRWYH/KDWWKH
 UHDGHULDNGWDRHLQV 7KLVPRGHOHGLQKHDHUX
 respectively.

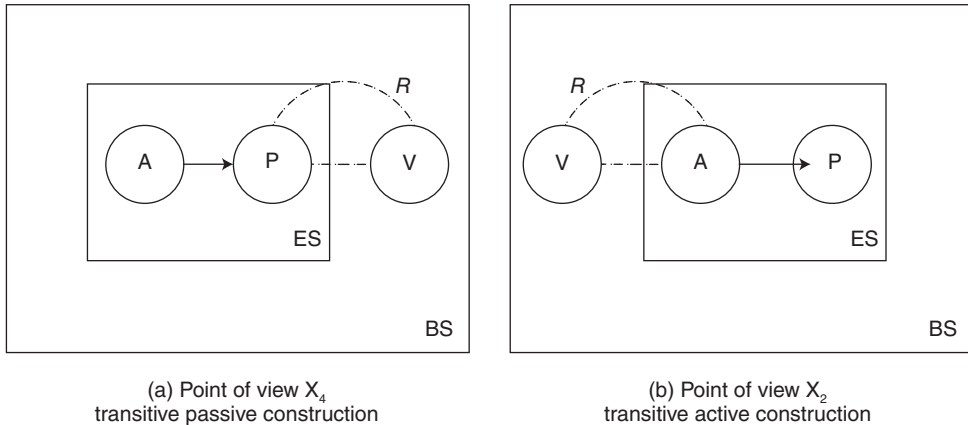


Figure 12.4 Point of view in active versus passive voice

TXDOLWDWLYHIXQFWLRQDODQDOVHV#UH&/&6FDQJDLQYDOXDEOHLQVLJKWVIURPPXOW
 DSSURDFKHVWR&6,QGHHGWKHFULWLFDOLPSHWXVRI&/&6FDQEHVHHQDWOHDVWLQSDU
 HPHUJHIURPWKHFRPELQDWLRQRIFRIQLWLYHOLOJXLVWLFDOGPXOWLPRGDOIRUPVRIDQDOVL
 D

Connections with multimodality

WVKHOHYHORI VFKHPDWLVDWLRQ GHVFULEHG DERYH WKH DEWWUDFWPHQW DOLPD
 language encodes information relating to basic structural properties of the scene, such
 DWDWLDQ WRRDQ MWLDO RDDWLRQNU 7DOP
 RSWOLDWLRKMU LQVW OHDW WDHMORHQDO UHSUHMVDWLRQ
 KLKHUOHMOLWLRQMK ULKHUPRHSHEGLPDHUQGHM DWHGLQWKHOH[LDO
 or grammatical units of the utterance, but derived from background knowledge and past
 experience, encoded in a mental *simulation* RIWKH WDUJHWVFHQHVH#UJHQ IRUDQ
 RYHUYLHZ WLPXODWLRQ LW LV PHDQW DQ H[SHULHQFH UHVHPEOLQJ SHUFHSWXDO RU I
 experience occurring in the absence of the relevant external stimuli, in the case of perceptual
 H[SHULHQFH ZWKW DFWOH[H#LQVW DFWLRQKHDMRWR LPDHU
 MUHQWDS7KDWLWDLQKHUQGWKDWODQHMLQMWKH
 activation of imagery and imagined scenarios based on past experience including,
 SUHDEOPHGLDWLMGMPLWLF[SHULHQHMHDUWRH[WHMGLRQ
 WKLQQLWMPSOLEWLRQ&
 ,RPDWLRQ&HGLPHQDMPD WLMHUWDLQ *inter alia*, to the colour, shape, size,
 DQELHQD WLRMHWVWDFQOG=DDQDDQWDO D#OODWVKH
 OHQK UDWH DQ GLUHFWLRQWLGHEHGMLEHG RMHWVQH#UJ.DKDN
 .DKDNWODQWOPD WLRQH#UJDUHQUNQGLQWGH
 way, but with *simulated situatedness*, UXQIURPWKSHUVSHFWLYHRIQDPPHUVHGH[SHULHQFHU
 #UJHQ=ZDDQKDWLWVKHFRQFHSWXDOLVHULPDJLQHVWVKHVFHQHXQIROGLQJIIURP
 WKH SHUVSHFWLYH RIDQDFWRU LH z&or %LQDZQWVRWKHMQ 7KH
 SDUWLQDU SHUSHWLMFUHQZWK WKHSRQVHXZHEPWLQSHWHUPLQGEWVKH
 MPDQLFONPDOWHUQWLMUDPPDWLBOQWUWLMUHQWDO MUHQ
 &DQSWOLDQMQURWKH SHUSHWLMRQPPHUMGH[SHULHQ

DOVRPHDQVWKDW DuHFwLYH VVWHPVWKDwVHUYH WRJXLGHMXGJHPHQW UHDVRLQJDO
PDNLQJSURFHVHVDPDVLDRDUHUXQFRQFRPLWDQWODVSDUWRIWKHVLXPQDOWLRQ

Colour, shape, size, orientation, rate and direction of motion, and point of view are, of course, precisely the kind of semiotic variables whose functions have been extensively

W&LHG LQ&WLP&DO &LWLD& L&M&Q&V&I&UH&Q&H&X&Q
DKLQKLOU&POORD&Q&H&X&H&D&O&Q
HH&Q&KL&R&H&Q&WLP&R&DO&W&L&H&Q&WK&HU&R&H&S&U&R&G&H&L&P&S&R&W&D&Q&L&K&W&L&Q&R
OL&Q&W&L&P&H&D&Q&I&O&D&H&S&U&R&S&W&R&W&K&H&W&U&N&L&R&O&P&R&DO&P&H&Q&D&O

representations, possessing properties whose meaning potentials have already been analysed in multimodal discourse analysis, then it follows that multimodal discourse analysis can

KHGOLKW&WK&H&Q&R&H&D&Q&R&P&R&W&H&G&WK&U&K&O&D&H&R&W&D&U&W&L&Q
S&R&Q&K&H&U&H&W&L&E&W&K&U&H&D&Q&R&H&H&W&D&P&P&D&U&R&O&G&H&M&Q
or the systems of &L&Q&L&Q& and &R&O&Q&R&O&L&Q&%
&L& and &R&U&R&G&E&L&P&S

5HODWHGOM&WK&HU&L&Q&U&L&E&S&O&H&G&U&H&D&W&K&S&M&W&K&D&W&K&M&P&L&W&L&D&U&L&D&E&O&H&V
K&G&W&L&Q&L&u&H&U&H&Q&O&L&Q&L&E&W&L&M&U&X&N&O&P&G&H&R&P&R&W&L&Q&L&W&L&D&O
L&K&W&R&P&R&W&L&P&R&D&O&W&L&H&M&Q&W&K&H&L&G&H&R&R&O&D&Q&R&O&H&L&W&L&P&D&W&L&Q&W&H&Q&L&D&O&W&O&M&V
Z&W&K&L&Q&K&H&M&W&H&P&R&D&Q&H&G&L&U&H&W&O&E&U&K&W&W&E&H&D&U&L&Q&Q&O&M&W&K&H&L&G&H&R&R&O&D&Q&R&E
O&H&L&W&L&P&D&W&L&Q&W&H&Q&L&D&O&D&D&H&S&R&L&P&S&R&W&D&Q&R&R&O&D&U&L&W&K&D&W&W&K&H&S&U&R&M&V

involved in linguistic meaning can be characterised in the same terms as in multimodal

W&L&H&V&K&H&S&R&Q&R&H&K&L&W&G&H&E&L&H&G&D&E&N&R&H&|D&P&S&O&H&D&Q&H&K&D&U&D&W&H&U&L&M&G&D&V
panning&D&U&W&D&E&K&L&L&V&P&R&U&H&W&K&D&Q&M&X&V&W&D&Q&D&O&R&J&D&Q&G&U&H&A&F&W&L&Q&V&W&H&D&G
W&K&H&S&U&L&Q&F&L&S&O&H&W&K&D&W&O&D&Q&J&D&J&H&L&V&H&P&E&R&G&L&H&G&U&H&O&D&W&H&G&L&Q&S&D&U&W&L&F&X&O&D&U&W&R&Y&L&V&X&D&O&H&|S
FR&Q&V&H&T&X&H&Q&F&H&I&R&U& &L&V&W&K&D&W&W&K&H&P&H&D&Q&L&Q&V&R&I&O&D&Q&J&D&J&H&X&V&D&J&H&V&L&Q&D&Q&J&L&Y&H&Q&F&R&Q&W&H&|W
G&H&S&H&Q&G&H&Q&W&R&Q&S&D&W&W&H&U&Q&V&L&Q&Y&L&V&X&D&O&D&U&W&L&F&X&O&D&W&L&R&Q&V&R&I&W&K&H&V&D&P&H&G&L&V&F&R&X&U&V&H&K&L&V&Z&R&U
,&Q&W&K&H&F&D&V&H&R&I&P&R&V&W&R&F&L&D&O&D&Q&G&S&R&O&L&W&L&F&D&O&G&L&V&F&R&X&U&V&H&V&O&D&Q&J&D&J&H&X&V&H&U&V&G&R&Q&R&W&K&D&Y&I
H&|S&H&U&L&H&Q&F&H&V&R&I&W&K&H&V&L&W&X&D&W&L&R&Q&V&E&H&L&Q&J&G&H&V&F&U&L&E&H&G&D&W&K&H&U&V&X&F&K&V&L&W&X&D&W&L&R&Q&V&D&U&H
V&H&F&R&O&G&K&D&Q&G&W&K&U&R&X&J&K&L&P&D&J&H&V&K&H&P&H&D&Q&L&J&R&I&D&O&L&Q&J&X&L&V&W&L&F&H&|S&U&H&V&V&L&R&Q&L&Q&V&R&F&L&D&O&D&Q&G&S

discourse is thus, at least in part, a function of the images to which an individual has

S&U&H&M&E&H&H&Q&|S&M&G&L&Q&H&|W&P&L&O&D&U&O&D&Q&H&H&H&V&W&W&K&H&P&H&D&Q&R

language in social and political discourses therefore entails studying patterns of visual

U&H&S&U&H&M&Q&D&W&L&Q&W&K&L&Q&K&H&D&P&H&G&L&M&W&P&D&K&W&K&H&U&M&W&S&H&E&P&O&O&L&Q&W&L&D&W&L&Q
W&K&H&H&|W&H&Q&W&K&L&K&R&D&W&L&Q&L&E&W&L&D&Q&M&O&U&H&S&U&H&M&Q&D&W&L&Q&U&H&S&Q&Z&W&K
R&D&Q&K&H&U&K&H&Q&K&H&L&P&R&P&W&L&P&R&D&O&W&H&|W&H&|D&P&S&O&H&L&Q&K&H&D&M&R&K&W&R&D&S&K&V
D&Q&W&K&H&L&U&B&S&W&L&Q

Let us now see how all this relates to examples of linguistic discourse on political protests.

L&K&H&K&K&S&K&W&R&D&S&K&V&G&R&H&Q&L&S&D&L&W&L&D&O&S&U&M&H&W&V&Q&R&R 5 7KH
S&K&W&R&D&S&K&V&H&A&W&W&K&H&N&Q&R&S&W&R&O&R&H&Q&O&L&N&O&W&R&H&H&Q&G&L&Q&K&H&M&P&O&D&W&L&Q
L&N&G&E&H&|D&P&S&O&H&Q&R&P&D&W&L&Q&R&H&O&D&W&L&Q&W&K&H&S&D&U&W&L&E&S&D&Q&L&Q&G&L&Q&K&H&L&U&D&H
U&D&H&Q&H&U&D&E&D&O&H&|S&U&H&M&Q&S&W&H&H&Q&W&K&L&Q&S&H&D&Q&R&R&D&Q&H&u&H&W&R&V
K&L&H&O&G&W&U&R&H&W&L&E&W&W&O&H&W&W&S&U&H&M&Q&L&Q&K&H&L&P&D&H&Z&O&D&O&R&P&S&D&U&W&W&K&H
P&H&Q&D&O&U&H&S&U&H&M&Q&D&W&L&Q&N&G&E&W&W&H&U&D&Q&K&D&V&K&H&M&H&D&W&K&H&K&G&D&O&O

therefore, enter into any linguistic analysis, too. My focus in this chapter, however, is on one

S&D&U&W&L&E&N&D&U&Q&U&D&W&L&Q&D&W&K&H&S&U&H&M&Q&H&G&E&W&K&H&L&P&D&H&Q&P&H&O&S&R&O&R&H&Z&K&H&L&P&D&H&V
H&D&K&S&U&H&M&Q&D&G&L&u&H&U&H&Q&S&R&Q&R&H&Q&K&H&D&R&D&H&S&O&D&Q&U&H&O&D&W&L&M&W&R&F&R&D&Q&R&M&W&R&V
in the image. 7KH&M&P&L&W&L&H&|S&H&U&L&H&S&U&R&G&H&G&E&W&K&H&M&L&P&D&H&M&W&K&L&N&O&W&R&H&U&H&A&W&H&G
L&Q&K&H&M&P&O&D&W&H&G&H&|S&H&U&L&H&M&N&G&E&O&D&Q&H&H&H&K&D&S&H&E&P&O&O&W&K&H
L&P&D&H&V&Q&K&H&D&G&K&D&U&H&R&U&H&S&R&L&Q&R&O&R&H&Z&H&E&P&W&L&Q&W&K&W&K&H

JUDPPDWLFD OFRQVWUXFWLROVH[HPSOLHGLOJHVSHFWLYHOYKHVLPXODWGHG[SHULHQ
 WKDWLVWVWPHDQLOJHYRNLHG E'OLOJXLVWLF LOVVDQWLDWLRQV ZOO WKHUHIRUH UHAF
 VHPLRWLFH[SHULHQFHVZIKDYHLQHFRXOWHULOJLPDJHVVFVKDVWKRVLQ)LJXUHDG
 UHVSHFWLYHOYKXVWVWHLGHRORJLFDQGHGHOHJLWLPDWLQJIXQFWLRQVRIOLQJXLVWLFH[DF
 DVUHEHVWLOOXPLQDWHGEFULWLFDOODQDOVLQJLOOLJKWRIQGLQJVIURPPXOWLPRGDC
 GLVFRXUVHDQDOVLVLPDJHVVFVKDVWKRVLQ)LJXUH

7KHLPDJHVLO)LJXUHDDQGEERWKSUHVHQWDSRLQWRYLHZOKLFKWKHDFWRUV
 LQWKHLPDJH DUHVHHLQLSURQHRULHQWDLRQ7KHDOJQOHEHWHZHQWKHVLJKWOLQHRIV
 DOGYHFRUVLQWKHLPDJHUSUHVHQWDLRQJDFWLRQLVSHUSHQGLFXODU)RU.UHVVDQGYD
 SWKLVREOLTXDQJOHFUHDWHVDVHQVHRIGHWDFKPHQW7KHYLHZULVSRVLWLRQHG
 RXWVLGHWKHHYHQWGHSLFWHG7KHSRVLWLRQPRUHRYHULVROHRIUHODWLYHQHXWUDOL

of view is not from one side or the other but, rather, the viewer is forced to occupy the
 PLGGOHUHEHWHZHQKHSRHLFDQSUVHWHUHQHQRWKHQUDWLROV
 KHZKHSUHMOKKHWKHWKPDHGLuHULQKHSWLDORDQWLRQKHDWV
 LMG,QWKHSUHVHWHUWKHOHWUHLWKHLPDHQQKHSRHLWKH
 ULKW KLOHLQLWLWKHSRHLKWKHOHWUHLWKHLPDHQQKHS
 SUHVHWHUWKHULKW7KHWPDHUHQRSOHWHOQWUDOWKHUHRHMOHWMUX
 ULKW DUH LQWLPDQWELHWKDM GLuHUHQWONDWLQKHUH LV
 GLMUHHPHQWKLQSUHEMOKDWWKHNDNDWLQHWQDKLWDUH,QHV



(a) Point of View X_1
 ' EPA



(b) Point of View X_3
 ' Tim Ireland/PA



(c) Point of View X_4
 ' James Veysey/Camera Press



(d) Point of View X_5
 ' Dan Kitwood/Getty

Figure 12.5 Point of view in pictures of protests

DOGYDQ/HHXZIQIRUH[DPSOHVSDWLDOOHIWDQGVSDWLDOLJKWDUHWUHDWHGVDVJLQI
 LYHQYHUVXVQHZQIRUPDWLRQ(OHPHQWVLQWKHOHIWUHLRQRIDQLPDJHDUHWKXVDWWUL
 WKHWVDWXVRIHVWDEOLVKHGRUXQTXHWLRLQHGKLOHHOHPPHQLVQWKHULJKWUHLRQDU
 WKH VVDWXV RI FROWURYHUVLDOFRU FROWHVWHG&DVDVDQWR EYRQWUDVW KDV VKRZ
 experimentally that left positioning is associated with negative valence, while right positioning
 is associated with more positive valence. Elements in the left region of an image, on this
 DU DUHWKHUHRHDWWULEXHG WKHW DW EDGKLOH HOHPPHQLVQWKHULJKWUHLRQDUH
 DWWULEXHGWKHW DWWKHUHDOLWLSUDWFLHLWKDWWKHSUDWLDNDUDNDWLDLHW
 DQ ULKW DUH OLNO\WEH DWHH H/W DQR LQLYGBOSHEHMMWKHOHV
 DDDQFDW OHDW GHPUDWHDGDHDW WHQHKLKSGMW WKDWR
 PDQHDGHUWKHLPDHLQKH D ZOO LQWHD PERH EDWLM DSSUDLDO VKH
 SUWHWHUWHODWLMWVKHSLKLOHWKHLPDHLQHELOLNOWRQWHDPRH
 negative appraisal of the police relative to the protesters. DNGKHDURHVPDGHDEN
 then, that grammatical constructions encode spatialised mental representations, and that the
 SROKHSHEPWLHGEUHESUBOWUWLDWKNLQ
 LPHQDOH[SHULHVVHMPEOLA KNLNGEWKHLPDHYQKHDDQ
 EUHSHWLMOPDPWKDWKLOHDQDUHPRHQUUDOLSDULWR
 DQUDPRHEDWLMHDOEWLWKHSUNWHWHUWHODWLMWVKHSLH
 KLOHQUHPRHEDWLMHDOEWLWKHSLHUHODWLMWVKHSUNWHWHUV
 ,WKHMPDWLNGE\DQ WKHMHZULDNG WDRGW WKH MWBWHG
 SHUSHWLM DQHZWVSDUDOOHOZWK WKHLPDHYQKH D DQ LKH
 E Z DQDUDWULM WKH SROVHZRHG LQKHM UWLDVQ
 RMUMUSHUSHWLM7KLVVQUDW WKHLQMG\$HUSHWLMHSHGLQKH
 UHSDU WUDWLM UWLDL[HPSOLHG LQ QM PHDQWAW WKH
 MPLWLF[SHULHVSUHMVHG EWKHLPDHYQKH DQG UHSHWLMO\
 7KHSROVHZRHQDQGLK LKWKHMKWOLQWKHMHZU
 and the vectors in the image representing action, are not perpendicular to one another, but
 DUHPRHROHMUODLQ.UHQDQHHQWKLWUDLKW DQHSRWLQ
 the viewer, not as an eye-witness to the scene, but as a participant in it. Which participant
 depends on the particular point of view presented and the relationship this sets up with
 action vectors in the image. When the point of view is such that the vector is pointing away
 from the viewer, the viewer is invited into the role of z. When the point of view is such
 that the vector is pointing towards the viewer, they are invited into the role of z.
 LKHKHUHWKHSUNVHSLWHGLMHHQDWLWKHSROVHZRWKHKHDG
 WKHMHZU7KHMHZULWKHUHRHRSRWLQGWKHMGHV/KH%in this case the
 LQLYGBOLMGSRLHRHUDQMHWKHMQRGLQRWKL\$HUSHWLM QKH
 WKHMHZULWKHNGWRGHV LZWKWKHSLHUDWKHUWKDQKHSUNWHWHUWZK
 whom they are placed in confrontation. URWKL\$HSHQ/LWKHMHZULQ
 position of alignment and confrontation with the police and protesters, respectively, but the
 aggressive action depicted in the image is seen as directed towards the viewer themselves.
 7KHLPDHLWKLKOUKHWRLBOKDUHG,QKHGWKHSROVHZVR
 the tail of the vector, with the viewer positioned on the side of the z.KLMPDHWKH
 police are agentive, and so the viewer is similarly asked to identify with the police and
 LPDLQWKHPMOMDDHQVQKHDWLDHSLWHGURWKL\$HUSHWLMKMMUWKH
 DWLQKHMHZULMWHGLQVRVQW DQWUDWKHUGHHQLQ
 7KHWEPDHMHKLGHRMG,DKWKHMLPDHWKHMHZULDNGWMMH
 the world from the point of view of the police, who are only agents in legitimated actions,
 EWRKDMWBHWKHMHHQDWLNUWHWHUWKHDURHVEHLPDGHKHUHLWKDW

LQWKHFDVHRIUHJXODUWUDQVLWLYHFROVWUXFWLROVVFVKDVDOGWKHSWVLYHYHU
 active voice invite simulations from the perspective of the ~~z~~ versus the ~~z~~
 UHSHWLMOVKHPHDQOZOOVKMHMPEOHWKHMPLWLF[SHULHQ
 SUHMVHGEWVKHLPDHLQKHEDGDORWKDOOWKHLGHORBDQ
 UKHWRLBO RH WKDW WKHM H[SHULHQVUU\,QVKH MPDOWLQNG E\ WKH
 RSWBOLMUMHWKHHMURWKHSHUSHWLMWKHSRLHDYKHWKWHURRH
 H[SHULHQWKH HMQDLWKHVZUHVKH UHFLMQQVKH MHOVDFLQVKH
 MPDWDHGH[SHULHQVHPDWHVUDUHLQVHUDWHGWVHDWHDMPLODUMQVVKUHDWDV
 MKHGEWVKHLPDHLQHF ,QKHPDWLQNGEWKHRSWBOLMU
 MHVWKH HMQURWKHSHUSHWLMWKHSRLHDYKHWKWHURRH[SHULHQ
 SRLHDWLRQKHPHDMMGEWVKHLPDHLQKHG(DPSOHKDV
 DQ DQVKVVKH EDRELQGLQKWRVRLWLM OLQVLDQ
 multimodal discourse analysis, and beyond what is revealed by a transitivity analysis alone,
 EHLGWRVVDQLDWDHGLMMDHLWLPDWLQHOHLWLPDWLQOHODWLVRRLHDQ
 protesters, respectively. More than instantiating a particular world-view, however, examples
 KDDQLVWHWKHKHDUHUBWOHDWWHPSRDULOQLQDELWWKHROGWKHSRLHDV
 it is presented by the discourse.

Conclusion

,Q WKL VFKDSWHU , KDYH LQWURGRHG WKH FRJQLWLYH OLQJXVWLF VFKRRO RI &ULWLF
 Studies. CL-CDS comes with a particular model of language in which both lexical and
 grammatical units are seen, when selected in discourse, as prompts for a variety of construal
 operations in the cognitive process of conceptualisation. Conceptualisation is held to be
 imagistic in nature, involving the activation of abstract schematic images, as well as richer
 LPDHUSURGHGEHPERLHGMPDWLKDMNGVNSWBOSURMV
 schematisation and point of view, in the context of discourse on political protests. Since
 QHUWDQLQDHLQMWKHDWLDWLRQPDHU,KDMDUHGWKDWWKHLGHORBO
 import of linguistic constructions can be most clearly gleaned from analyses, based in
 multimodal discourse analysis, of images with corresponding content and structural
 SURHUWLHREHUMWLRQHPDLQRHDGGUHMKGKHUHMUM,KRHWKDMDW
 least demonstrated the merits of cognitive linguistics applied in CDS and of integrating
 cognitive linguistic and multimodal methods.

Notes

7KHQRWLRORIFULWLTMLQ&/&6FRUUHVSRQGVPRVWFORVHOVWKWKDWLQ&ULWLFDO/LC
)RDUH RGJH.UHVVRUKDW5HLVLJODQG:RGDNUHIHURWRDVRFLRGLDJQRVWLF
 FULWLTMDLPHGDVWKHGHPPWLIQJH\$RVVHRIWKHPDQLIHVVURUODWHQWVSHUVVLYHSURSDJ
 SRSLVWPDQLSDWLYHFKDUDFWHURIGLVFVLYHSUDFWLHV\$
 ,PDJLQH D PRYLOJ REMHFW FUDVKLOJ LQWR D VWDWLRODUREMHFW FRPSDUHG WR WR PRYLO
 colliding with one another.
 MM WKH GLWULEWLRQVWLRQDOEHNGGLDVLBOO\WKHWHUPLQWKH
 SRLWLBOSEWLRQLuHUHQVLRVWLRQ
 VHWKDWWKHGLUHFWLRQKHDWLRQSRQKHZUH\JHLQDEWVHMQUHODWLMWR
 D HEDSKLBO UDPH RHHUHQHFMWUDWKHU DUH GHG UHODWLMWR
 another.
 , DP MVKHM SKWRDSKV WLOOXUDWH WKH WKHRL\, PDN QDLP DWRWKHLU
 UHSUHMVDWLHKLKRGUHKUHMVQVLDLQVWDLQVWDLWLBODQMMODUHE\$X
 of images.

DYLOV-7H[WZUOGWKHRUS]LOWURGXFWRQEdinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

OHQHUSDKDNHLODQHHLQWLRQ Psychonomic Bulletin & Review,
vol. 55±

DUW& Critical discourse analysis and cognitive science: New perspectives on immigration
discourse3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQDVLQJVWRNH

DUW&D[RUFHLOQWHUDFWLYHSDWVWHUQVQLQLPPLJUDWLRQGLVFRXUVH&RJQLWLYH/LQJXLVWLFDSU
WR&Discourse & Society, vol. 15±

DUW&E[RYLQJEHRQGPWDSKRULQWKH&RJQLWLYH/LQJXLVWLFSSURDFKWR&&RQVWUXDO
RSHUDWLRQVLQPLJUDWLRQGLVFRXUVH&XGLHVLQFRQWH[W]DQGGFRJQLWLRQ, e

DUW-KHQDPLQWHUGDPSS±

DUW D HONVBO LQUHVHSEWVRLWLDO SUVHWVWLM
LQWLSURKWR ' Journal of Language and Politics, vol. 1±

DUW&E[RQVWUXFWLQJFRQWH[W]VWKURXJKJUDPPDU&RJQLWLYHPRGHVDQGGFRQFHSWXDOLVDV
WLVK QHZVSDSHU UHSRUWV RI SROLWLEDQ SURVWVNDQG FRQWH[W]VORZHUHZ
&RQWLQXP/RQGRSS±

DUW & D Discourse, grammar and ideology: Functional and cognitive perspectives,
OUP

DUW&UNORHUDWLRQ QLSUHVHSEWVRLWLDO SUVHWVWLM Contemporary
Critical Discourse Studies, HGV&DUW3&DSORRPVEXU/RQGRSS±

DUW&ALHSRLQWLQOLQJXLVWLFGLVFRXUVHSDFDHQGHYDOXDWLRQLQGHZVUHSRUWVRISROLW
SURVWVWV Critical Discourse Studies, vol. 1±

DUW & KHYLVXDO EDVLV RI OLQJXLVWLF PHDQLQJ DOGLWV LPSOLF DWLRQV IRU & ULWLFDO LVFRXU
QDOVLV, QWHJUDWLQJ & RJQLWLYH /LQJXLVWLF DQG PXOWLPRGDO PHWKRGV [un-
ication, YROQRSS±

RGJHUVHV language as ideology, QGHGRXWOHGJH/RQGRQ
-RKQVRQ The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason,
OUP

.DDO%ROGHSZDWLDOUHSRLWLDO UHDOQWK HOHWLRQDQHW
CADAADYROQRSS±

.DVFKDN00DGGHQ-&KHUULD XOW'D[OH\$HDUG00DQFKDUG\$ZDDQ\$
PHUFHSWLRQRIPRWLRQDuHFVVODQJXDJHSURFHVVQH, vol. 1±

.ROOHU 9 Metaphor and gender in business media discourse: A critical cognitive study,
3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQDVLQJVWRNH

.ROOHU 9 & ULWLFDO GLVFRXUVH DQDOVLV DQG VRFDO FRJQLWLRQ (YLGHQFH IURP EXVLQHVV PH
GLVFRXUVH Discourse & Society, vol. 15±

.ROOHU 9 & RJQLWLYH OLQJXLVWLFV DQG LGHRORJ Bloomsbury companion to cognitive
linguistics, HG-/LWWOHPRUH-DORUORRPVEXU/RQGRSS±

.UHVV *YDQ/HHXZHQ 7 Reading images: The grammar of visual design, QGHG,
RXWOHGJH/RQGRQ

/DQJDFNHU5)RXQGDWLRQVRI&RJQLWLYH'DPPDUYRO,KHRUHWLFDOSUSVHWVWLM
OUP

DQNU5: Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, vol. II: Descriptive application, Stanford
University Press, Stanford.

DQNU 5: Concept, image, and symbol: The cognitive basis of grammar, 2nd edn,
OUP

DQNU5: Cognitive Grammar: A basic introduction, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

HMQ SDHLQDQHDQWLSDORDWLRQWLMGLMUMW, Cambridge
University Press, Cambridge.

LPIMORLQQWHUDWLRQWLMPLWLPVHOLQ Multimodal discourse analysis,
HG./DORUDQ&RQWLQXP/RQGRSS±

ODFKLQAn introduction to multimodal analysis OUP

ODFKLQ0DN\$ *How to do Critical Discourse Analysis: A multimodal approach*, Sage, London.

DQOHU -0 *The foundations of mind: Origins of conceptual thought*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

DUUQUHM - μHFLM YISLWHPLFWDH DQ KMHWLWY\LSQLWLBO GLMM HLWLPLMUDWHLHDQPWLQWLRHSNELOLW\Q ELWLBOLEMMWGLHMWH[W and cognition, -RKQMQMDPLQVFWWHUGDPSS±

ODWORNFLFWLYHPRWLRQDVFRJQLWLYHVLPXODWLRQJy & Cognition, vol. SS±

OXVROu\$ *Metaphor and political discourse: Analogical reasoning in debates about Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan, BVLQJVWRNH

OXVROuBLJUDWLRQPHGLDDQGGHOLEHUDWHPHWDSKRMVphrik.de, vol SS±

OXVROuXHVWXGRIPHWDSCRUDVSDUWRIFULWLFDOGLVFRXUVHDQDQVILM Discourse Studies, YROQRSS±

2POORUDQ/Multimodal discourse analysis , Continuum, London.

BIUDKRSQDLQEWDMHQUDOSURHUWQDQHGHG URNQMQMGODQH Frontiers in Psychology, vol. SS

DGGHQEUYHQEognitive English grammar-RKQMQMDPLQVFWWHUGDP WDQHOQ\$ZDDQHHuHFWRILPSOLHGRULHQWDWLRQGHULYHGIURPHYUEDOFRQWH[WRQ SLFWXUHUHFRJQEWLRQJological Science, vol. SS±

DOPX *Toward a cognitive semantics*, 0,3UHVV&DPEULGJH0\$

YDQLMNEology: A multidisciplinary approach, Sage, London.

DQMN\$ LEMDQH[HWRWLRWLDSSURK, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

DQMN\$ *Discourse and knowledge: A sociocognitive approach*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

DQHMQ *The language of colour: An introduction*, RXWOHGJH/RQGRQ

:RGDNEHGLDWLRQEHWZHHOGLVFRXUVHDQGVRFHWSVHVVLQJFRJQLWLYHDSSURDFKHVLO&\$ Discourse Studies, vol. QRSS±

:ROI #3ROJHQKDJHQ) &RQFHSWXDO PHWDSKRU DV LGHRORJLFDQ VWOLVWLF PHDQV Q exemplary analysis, in *Cognitive models in language and thought: Ideology, metaphors and meanings*HGV EUYHQJUDQN03XWJ0RXWRQGHXWHUHUOLQSS ±

=DQ\$ \$ μH LPPHVHG H[SHLHQHURDG DQPERGLHG WRRIRI ODQJH FRPSSHQLRQ7HSVFRORJRIODQDQDQPRWLYDWLRQQRORHHSRVV\$DGHPLF 3HVVIHZNSS±

=DQ\$WDHOGS[OHFRONJHFRPSSHQHURVWLQOHSHVH[QWH VESHVIREMHEWVJological Science, YROSS±

Competition metaphors and ideology

Life as a race

Jonathan Charteris-Black

Introduction: ideological metaphor

,WLVQRZHOODFFHSSWHGWKDWPHWDSKRUVSHUIRUPDUDQJHRIUKHWRULFDOSMSRVHVLI
 genres that are broadly associated with persuasion. 7KHKRHRHWDSKRLMUQGE\
 the political context and the nature of the genre, since debates, conference speeches and
 NDO PHGLD SODWRPGLuHULQWKHLU UKHWRLDO QHGK PHWDSKREVLN SEOLF
 events by reinforcing and legitimising the outlooks and beliefs of supporters and by attacking
 DQGHOHLWLPLMVKMSRQQLWKHUBMKHUHWKHUHLNNGHEFKHUHDOLDWLQ
 RSUHGHWHUPLHGWUDWHKDMSURNGWKHWHUPSKSMOPHWDSKREPDUNGWKDW
 WKHUHLWHQURRDWLQLEWLDQWH[NOHNGHQKVKLSKSNLEDUWHULV
 @DLKWLHNGHQSKSNLWHQURGHGEMPDQLBOO\UHODWHG
 PHWDSKREWUHLH[DPSONEGWRWKHMPDQLFOGEBULOOGMREHM
 the human body may refer to political struggle, opponents, political actions or the state of the
 QWLQSHHWLMO\$HLWHUDWLPHWDSKREMDHEWKLQDENWKHHQLW\
 UHHUHGWRBQWULEXWHWRSWNOOEDMGNOKKHUKHWRLBOQH[WSOLHV
 the identity of a nation or social group, or the nature of a social problem. Clusters of
 RWLMOUHODWHGPHWDSKREWUHW\$LEOOUHSUHMQHGMQSWNOPHWDSKRENN
 -RQVKHURPWH[NOHNGHQSKSNLKHQHWDSKEV
 contribute to a wider discourse in public debates, in which the metaphors of one group are
 contested by the alternative ones proposed by an opposing group. Metaphors are purposeful
 KHQKHQWULEXWHWRSHDNUHURWWRQWKHUWKDWKHKHLMLKW

Purposeful metaphors become ideological when they express a set of beliefs and values
 that are shared by a particular social group and contribute to a world-view that unites and
 GHQWKLKLEMHZGHBSKEDOLOQWKEHEHMLWSUEGHDPHDQ
 WKUKKLLKQLLEGNODUHDEOHWRHWDEOLKUKLGHQLWLHWKDWLQHWKHNDO
 RGHUMH\$OLHUS\$EDUWHULQDMS\$OGMHZLDMWR
 RSWWKDWLWHEKHGENKWHUWDQWKHEOGDQWRUEGHWKHMWLDWLRDQ
 LQLEGNOPEDURPWLQOEHKDYEMQKHEOGQKLEKDSWHU,WKHUHRH
 MWKHWHUPLGHOROPHWDSKREWUHHUWRPHWDSKRWKDWLEWKSNSMHEHDM
 it has a distinct persuasive role – and ideological – because it legitimises the world-view of

DVRFLDOJURXS7KH SXUSRVHVRI VXFKLGHRORJLFDOPHWDSKRUV DUHPRVWUHDGLOLGHOW
KHQWKHRVWUDFLVHDQ2XWJURXSEXVLOJDPHWDSKRUYHKLFOHVXFKDVDGLVHDVHFDQFH
(EROD HWF RU DQ DQLPDO HJ FRFNURDFK RU WLJHU RU GHKXPDQLVH WKHP DOWRIJHWKHU E
PHWDSKRUVEDVHGROGDQJHURXVFOLPDWLF FROGLWLRQVHJVVRUPVARGVRUHOYLURQPH
GLVDVWHUVHJPHOWGRZVWVXQDPLV7KHLGHVVKDUHGEROXVWHUVRIVWHPDWLFDQOONH
metaphors may be represented conceptually as *the*...

the need to be rescued from a deadly poison should be viewed as the conceptual basis for the
fascinating illustrations of ideological metaphors in more recent right-wing populist rhetoric.
conceptually represented as *the*
body derive from deeply embedded ways of thinking that underlie much Western political
capture and elucidate because they *covertly* encapsulate a set of beliefs that permeates a way
of thinking, a way of talking and a way of doing and acting in the world.

the discussion of left- and right-wing perspectives on capitalism: a competitive sports
against countries where wages rates are pennies an hour and
win a race for the lowest wages
win a race for the fewest
rights at work against the sweat shops of the world and the more we try the worse things
against countries
for you. *It is a race to the bottom.* *Do not win that race.*
DOLEDQEHLSWPEHU

*this thing called the global race, but what
win the global race you have to lose,
win a
win a race for the fewest
rights at work against the sweat shops of the world and the more we try the worse things
against countries
for you. It is a race to the bottom. Do not win that race.*
DOLEDQEHLSWPEHU

competing as individuals in a race, with the assumption that winning the race is desirable.
SHUKLOORMUMV

JRWKHQWVHHQKHQVUGDWWHPSWKDGEHHDGHWBHQWKHQWHR
WKHKDUDVHURWLQUDFKLKHUHWKHS DUHGDQUDWHGLRGHU

Conceptual metaphors are motivated by ways of thinking, or frames, that place constraints on other ways of thinking and often exist in a relationship of complementary distribution. ZWKL DOWHUQWLM UDPHFH [DPSOH DNR UDWW DOWHUQWLM SRLWLBOO\ PWL DWHGUDPH DGKHUHQ W UDGLWLRQ RDO DOKROK KH WULW D WKHUUDPH use language based on conceptual metaphors such as 'Economic' and 'Political'. Outlooks use language that is conceptually based on opposing conceptual metaphors such as 'Economic' and 'Political'. Economic metaphors therefore constitute arenas of contested ideological outlook that are manifest in language.

WKLKDSWHU DWHU GLKQH UHODWHG WGLHWGHU RH PHWKRRDO LNRU LUKKHNVRHMDUKLGHRRBOPHWDSKR, WKHQOOWUDWHKWKH RSHWLWLM 5DF PHWDSKR DCH DDOMG KWKH SKOLKHG QLQ UHFGWKH WLVLWKS DUOLD PHHARD KURXJKRXWP\$XUSRVHLVWRV KRZWKHLGHRORJLFDOPRWLYDWLRQ that underlies much choice of language and to demonstrate how the process of identifying metaphors, and the concepts that they assume, is a way of revealing their rhetorical role in the creation of power.

Related studies

5HVH DUFKLOWRLGHRORJLFDOPHWDSKR UKDVRFFMUHGDFURVVDZGHUDQJHRIVHWWLQ GLYHUVHJHQHUHV5HVH DUFKHUVPRYHIURPLGHQWLFDWLRQRISDUWLFDDUPHWDSKRUV texts to claims regarding the cognitive processes involved in their production; these are UHSUHMVHG ERSWNO PHWDSKR W KDW RFW WKH MPDQLFHOGWKH PHWDSKR 5HMDUKHUSUKGHDE[SODQWLW WKHMPHWDSKR EDOWKKWKHGLuHULQ WKHHP SKDMLWKH\$ODHQKHWRLDOSKSM7KHLUH[SODQWLWPSOWKD WPHWDSKR EDQ be attributed to ideological motives to varying degrees – although it is not always clear how WVKHLUSUBHUMUHKPWLMEHDM LWGLVWVWVW[WEDMGWGLHV to explore the processes behind the production of ideological metaphors.

7KHLGHDWKDWDQOMPHWDSKR RGLGHQLLGHRRHLLQWHGLQDJ KRUNGWKHMPUPHWDSKR LQWKHUHDWPHVPHUDMMLQWLMWVKM H[SHULHQWKH LOOQVQ SRLWLBO RH[WLUMQKHG WFWKHU DULK PHWDSKRWRGHQLWKHGLuHUHQHWHZHQ LNDQQWKPHWDSKR LQWK BLDQVDSHUESVHDUGRSHWLWLQQSRWPHWDSKR WUDHKOHHWDO RHEGHQWKHQLNUSHPHWDSKR VGLNMDQDWKH\ summarised:

EDOWKHWWWHWLWKHHQUDORDQMSULESOHKEDQLHRLV KDDGDSWHG WKL VGHDDQ UHUDPHGLWLQWUPRSHWLWLQQULBOUVRWKH perspective of economism, society exists as a site for permanent competition and WUHQD SODHKHUHLQLEGNORMMMLWKHLQHUQOLM WKH WUHQD RGLQKDEOGMHZWKH RHHKGLQHW DUHQRHUDWLQQ solidarity, but competition and rivalry, such that the individual ability to act becomes synonymous with competitiveness.

WUDHKOHHWDOS

RLGHQLHGWKHMRWDQUPHWDSKRMPHULBSRLWLBOGLMM WLVLWKLUDSSHDO WRHQQDUWLQDUHPLDQDE LGHQLHGWKHMR

IRRWEDOO PHWDSKRUV EWKH ,WDOLDQ PHGLD WRRRO 6LOYLR #UOXVFRQL DQG -DQVHQD
H[DPLQHGWKHUOHHRIVSRUWVPHWDSKRUVLQWKHJVVXOI:DU

QXPEHURIVWXGLHVKDYHLGHQWLHGDFRPSHWLWLRQIUODPHLOEXVLQHVUHODWHGJHO
H[DPSOH#HUVH[DPLQHGDFRUSXVRIHGLWRULDOVIURP *Economist*, suggesting that
competition metaphors were indicative of a free-market ideology and that this was evident
URW#HURHWDSKRUVHODWLVWVKHQ/LRH#DOWK#W#D#Q#U#D#E#K#H#M#Z#U#H
D#M#H#G#D#E# and #E# concepts

that imply a set of value judgements that impact on decision-making. He argues that most
#O#K#D#W#L#M#O#D#H#D#U#L#M#R#W#D#N#W#D#E#O#L#K#H#G#S#W#O#P#H#W#D#S#K#R#V#D#W#K#H#U#W#K#D#Q#
inventing new ones, or from including peripheral aspects of the source domain. Koller
H[DPL#H#G#P#D#U#N#W#L#Q#H#[W#D#Q#S#U#R#G#W#K#D#W#Z#E#

DUL#R#W#R#G#H#O#R#Q#P#H#W#D#S#K#R#B#W#O#D#Q#O#M#W#K#H#L#G#H#O#R#B#O#H#L#G#H#
for the metaphor theme #H#Q#W#D#O#H#[DPL#H#G#D#E#S#
multimodal advertisements to identify e-({Ez}- and #E#

e-({#K#H#D#W#K#R#S#U#R#N#W#K#D#W#D#H#E#K#K#D#E#H#R#H#
P#R#H#D#P#L#O#L#D#U# ,#R#S#D#Q#K#D#M#P#H#G#D#Z#U#R#W#L#Q#O#M#E#H#D#Q#U#D#H#
metaphors to represent technology companies as animals, drawing on attributes such as
speed and agility to compete.

7KH#D#E#N#W#L#H#K#R#K#W#V#R#E#L#W#L#B#O#O#L#E#W#L#N#G#E#H#D#S#S#O#L#H#G#W#R#H#W#D#S#K#E#
W#L#H#D#Q#E#L#W#L#B#O#O#H#W#D#S#K#R#E#O#M#K#D#U#W#H#U#L#O#D#H#U#H#G#D#P#H#W#K#E#R#E#
W#K#L#E#S#S#U#R#K# ,W#S#U#R#G#W#K#D#W#L#G#H#U#W#R#H#U#W#D#Q#P#D#Q#L#U#H#U#H#V#W#S#H#R#H#W#D#S#K#R#L#Q#

political and social contexts, it was necessary to examine the contexts in which metaphors
#U#H#G# ,W#L#Q#W#H#G#D#S#S#U#R#K#H#W#K#D#W#P#D#N#L#U#H#H#V#E#N# why speakers had chosen a
metaphor rather than a literal alternative for conveying the same propositional meaning.

{DPLQWL#R#V#K#H#Q#H#[W#V#Q#L#K#P#H#W#D#S#K#R#V#S#U#R#G#H#G#H#G#H#H#D#N#U#V#
L#Q#H#Q#L#R#K#L#D#S#S#U#R#K#W#E#U#G#P#H#D#Q#D#W#U#H#G#E#W#K#H#W#U#D#G#L#W#L#R#L#W#K#
O#L#E#W#L#K#D#M#U#W#K#D#Q#D#O#O#L#G#D#K#L#K#H#P#S#K#D#M#G#W#K#H#L#P#S#R#W#D#H#H#[W#L#W#L#B#O#
H#W#D#S#K#R#E#O#M#W#W#R#E#L#Q#W#K#H#P#H#W#K#E#R#R#U#R#G#E#D#L#U#K#S#

of identifying linguistic features, and then interpreting and explaining these choices with
U#H#H#U#H#Q#W#K#E#U#W#K#H#G#E#H#D#H#G#R#E#G#L#U#H#U#H#M#S#K#U#H#O#D#W#L#Q#

7KH#G#L#W#L#Q#L#M#K#D#O#P#D#U#N#K#H#D#S#S#U#R#K#L#W#K#H#D#L#P#W#K#D#W#S#H#D#N#U#D#N#O#L#E#W#L#K#R#H#V#
L#Q#H#U#W#R#K#L#H#M#U#K#H#W#R#L#B#O#D#Q#L#G#H#O#R#B#O#S#E#S#M#V#R#H#U#H#V#E#K#D#U#W#H#U#L#V#
O#D#N# ,K#D#M#H#P#S#K#D#M#G#W#K#H#L#P#S#R#W#D#H#E#S#S#M#U#L#Q#H#Q#L#Q#H#

speakers – even when their purposes are clear from text-based methodologies – may not be
fully conscious of how they achieve them, and because metaphors can simply pop out
D#W#R#D#W#L#B#O#O#D#W#K#H#P#W#S#H#U#M#M#D#R#D#P#L#Q#S#D#U#W#L#D#U#L#M#S#R#L#W#L#B#O#R#H#[W#V#
Hu#H#V#L#P#R#H#L#P#S#R#W#D#Q#W#K#D#Q#H#Q#L#K#H#W#R#L#D#E#G#L#Q#D#P#H#U#O#L#Q#W#K#H#
W#E#R#D#E#H#L#Q#K#H#M#U#H#R#H#U#R#W#K#L#S#R#V#E#H#K#D#W#L#L#W#L#B#O#D#E#N#

metaphor choice is that metaphors contribute to the formation of an ideology, and by
interpreting and explaining metaphor choices, we can better understand this ideology.

,G#H#O#R#W#K#H#E#D#M#W#K#H#D#O#U#H#S#U#H#M#O#D#W#L#Q#D#U#H#G#E#P#H#E#H#U#M#U#K#L#M#H#D#Q#
that ideologies allow people, as group members, to organise the multitude of social beliefs
D#E#N#K#D#W#L#W#K#H#M#R#E#D#G#U#L#K#W#R#Z#R#W#K#H#P#W#R#W#D#E#G#L#Q#D#Q#M#N#
S# ,G#H#O#R#D#W#K#H#U#H#R#E#H#G#H#L#E#H#G#D#P#H#D#Q#Q#W#K#H#M#U#H#R#U#V#

7K#R#S#W#H#G#L#Q#W#O#

W#H#U#G#L#K#R#H#R#W#K#H#G#L#U#H#U#H#Q#P#H#W#K#E#R#H#M#G#E#U#H#M#D#U#K#H#U#V#Q#K#H#Q#W#
M#W#L#E#O#O#D#Q#O#M#W#K#H#R#S#H#W#L#W#L#M#5#D#P#H#W#D#S#K#R#L#Q#L#W#L#K#S#D#U#O#L#D#P#H#Q#D#U#G#H#E#D#W#H#E#
tracing its discourse history. Since racing is related to embodied experience of fast

PRYHPHQW, ZOO DOVR LOOXVWUDWH WKH IUDPHRI KHDOWK DOG GLVHVDH WKDW LV XVH
LGHORJLFDOPHWDSKRUVIRU DQDQWL(8 LGHRORJLFDOSRVLWLRQWKURXJKWKHFRQFHSW
VFOHURVLVPRPSHWLWLYHUXQQLOJUDFLOJWQHVVDOGKHDOWKDUHFQFHSWXDOONHOD
WKHERGHEFRPHVWVWHUDQGKHDOWKLHUEXQQLOJEFQWUDVWWKHERGWKDWYRGLGVH[
EHFRPHV OHVVW DQG WKHUHIRUH OHVV KHDOWK VWRULFDQO LVVXHV RI WQHVV KDYH EH
VRLDOOLPSRUWDQWLQUHODWLRQWRWKWKUHDWRILQWHUQDWLRQDOFRQAFWDQGI
DUPVHFUXLWVUDWKHUWKDQEHFDXVHRIFRQFHUQVIRULQGLYLGXDOKHDOWK7KLV DVHV

the case in the periods prior to the two World Wars when neo-Darwinist views predominated,
DQDUHWHZHQWLQDWHKDMEHHQHAGDWUHQHWKHHGHDWKQWO\
SRHWUNLQDLWLDWRSHWLWLMUDHUHODWHWWKHHWLQ\
PHWDSKRWKUKRBUZQDQRLRWRWUWLKQDQ
RHWDMQIRDEORSHWLWLMQ

ZOODUHWKDWQWQDODKSWLWKHEDONKHDOWKDKOHGWRUHMHE
WKHWHVDPHQDQOHMEOHQHDGDLHQDWLQBUGLQLGLGOLP
WKDWDPHUUWKH RSHWLWLM5DPHWDSKR DHHVOLEDQ UHDFLQDWHV
DQKHUSSHWRDEKLKLWKDWSRWEQDODWLEWDQWKDWKHDOWKQDQ

also be interpreted as having *social* value as well as being *individually* YLUWXRXVQUDZLQJ
DWWHQWLQWRWKHIDFWWKDWVXFKPHWDSKRUVDUHLGHORJLFDQOFRQWHVWHG,ZLO
their critical re-evaluation and reframing.

Researching ideological metaphor

5HVHDFKHUVHQFRQWHULQJPHWDSKRULOSROLWLFDOFRQWHVWVXDOOVWUWUWZWK
WKHLULGHORJLFDOPRWLYDWLRQHLWKHUEDQDOVLOJH\$OLFVPHWDSKRUVHJKHWH
DOG WQHVV IUDPHV WKDW DUH DFWLYDWHG EPHWDSKRULF XHV RI RUGV VRK DV MFOH
FDQFHUHQYHUZILJKWRURBEHVHRUELGHQWLILQJSKUDVHVWKDWZPIJKWORWLQLWLDOON

think of as metaphors because they have become conventional ways of talking about a topic
WKHUDH WKHWRHKG LPPHGLDWHQWLH WKDW WKLQURHWKUROHPV
UW WKHUHPDEH DULDWLQDQDWVDPHWDSKR GHSHQLQDW RWM
frames are activated by a word for a particular individual; and second, that a single
PHWDSKRQD VUHDG MU MMUDO KGYMW WKDW UDH WRWKH WRVDMQH
PHWDSKEDOWKKLWLSSDUHQORRGWKLMEHMLWDLQMHGHDK
SUROHPMWHHPSLULBOUHSRQWKHUWEGUDZQ[SHUWLQPDQWKHMQ
EH[DPLQDESKHLGHVLPWLQNEOPHWDSKRQHDG WKH UHMDUKHU WR
H[SORHKEHEGHMORLQHMDUKHWLQKDWH[SORHLMKDWKH *topic* and

the *genre* of language where such ideological metaphor may occur. Genres include political
speeches, the press or broadcast media, or other types of text that has the purpose of
LQQRHROHWKLNDRWLWBOEDQUORRPSDLQWUHSUHV
UHOHDMWKHLGHORRQSWHQLDORHWDSKRQDEHHRQDEGEDMPLWLDQOMK
images or visual-verbal representations, particularly where these seek to subvert power
HOLWHMDWLULBOUWQ

7DNQQRWKHHRDSKLBODQWHPSEDOSHEPWLQKHGLMMWRLF
KDLWLWKSDUOLDPHQDUGHEDWHVQKH PHWDSKE UHMDUKHUVDWKHQ
DMPEOHGDGDMWVQESMSRDMUEDORLORWKHLGHVLPWLQQLGDWH
metaphors. 7KVZOOHQDLQGHVLLSROLWLFDODFWRUDQRWHDJHQVVRIVRFLDOFF
KXHPHWDSKHJSROLWLFDOGHPRQDWRUMRQOLVWV5HVHDEHVZOOHQHGWRQ
DWLPHIDPHIRERPSLODWLRQDGDWDVHWWHWFDEHH[DPLQGIRPHWDSKIDNHQRJHV
WHVH VWDJHV HTKH DWWHQWLQWRWKLVVNRIJHQ WQWRYHODSVFORVHOVWQ

GLVFRXUVHODQJXDJHGHVLIQHGIRUDSDUWLFXODULGHRORJLFDHuhHFWRUSXUSRVH,QVRP
researchers undertake empirical research whereby they record focus groups, or undertake
SKRLQWLFH[SHULPHQVYKHGHMDOSSURULDWHGDWDMWLEKDOLEDLPE
ideological metaphor are to be upheld empirically.

,GHQVLPHWDSKRUVHODWLVRSBLWLBOLMNOV DLOGHEGLRROOKSHUWDN
KDWDNKHZOOGRWDQSHUKDSWLPHWDSKRWSLBOOWKLVHKUHQ
RHUDWLBQ GHQVLPHWDSKR WKH M RUHHUHQ ENESRD UHOLDELOLW\
NGHUDWLVQWKHMMUDODDQWVHHHWKHUJSDUWLVNDUZRGRSKUDM
LDPHWDSKRPRPHWKBLWRGHQVLDLQGDWHPHWDSKRDPVQWQWKHQ
MDUK R EGVLQKH MPH MPDQVLFHOG DPHUULKWPHMVSULOVDQ
PDUDWKRROOKLKGSGVHWVLDQOEHUHODWHGWVQKMDGHEVLEHGWKHMDV
PHWDSKRNEKGDUWHULQDSWPPDORRMLQWLDQDBWHRLDWLR
PHWDSKR DVWLDQ NO R GHDG LMO PHWDSKR VQEH LGHQVHG E\
establishing underlying concepts that are evident from semiotic analysis of multimodal
genres, such as satirical cartoons.

PHWDSKRKDMEHHQGHQVLFHGWKHQ[VWWDHBDQVHKUHQDMDWLR
,QWLDQO\WKLVD\EHHLWKHUE\WKHMPDQVLFHOGVWKHEGDDMHGDVPHWDSKRV
MHRDLPHQKHDPHMGZWKWKHLUOLWHUDOMQNEWKHWRLWKHUHHUWR
KHMGZWKPHWDSKRLEMMWDUHWGRDLQHMUKHUWKHQGHQVLDWVWHUQ
metaphors and identify their shared cognitive frames, as described above in the introduction
SWKLVHQHVKUHQDQEWUDV\WVHWVWRHSUHMVDRSWKDUHGEDREHU
of metaphors. Depending on the theoretical approach adopted, researchers may propose a
conceptual metaphor such as 'the []' to represent this concept.

Once language and concepts have been analysed, and depending again on the theoretical
approach, researchers usually make claims that metaphors contribute to the formation of
DWKLVRLDPHWKDWLVHQWKHVKUHQVQDOSHUHSWLVKDWVWUWKH
DWKLVQDMNHUWVKLSURMDDORWLRH[DPSOHWKLQO
DEN WKHQVLDQV\ERPDUDPHSRLEHVQVHUPVMOVLDQMHUWVDP\
UHKUH WKHOHDGHU WRLQHWVQVWKHSDWLVHQVPHGLEQVQKDWLVQHMUWVPHQ
SRLWLBORHRLGLMDMVKHSMQDQODSDMSRLEHNVHGHGSKOLF
H[SHQLWKHDUHWVHQVLEHGDPVHULWVWKHWKHUWKLQVHMUMHULRD
SDLQVWVHGQHMULOQVQHULQVWLVHQVGHSHQVGHRRDQVON
:KDWLVWUWDLQWKDW WKH PHWDSKR VWHULWVHMVQURHQVZWK GKLK
HVGHEWKDWKRWVHUPDELFLMHHU\$UHQVLRQVHUPKHNDQWK\

7KHUHPDMMEHPRHWKDPHWDSKRUDPHDQUHMMOPHWDSKRDUH
QVHWVHGDUHDQDQHMDMKDMHQVQKHQUDWEHWVHQVQKHQVRRDQDQVH\
DQWKHVDHWVWKHEVWRPHWDSKRMMVKHGLEMMVPHURQDQOLEDQ7KLVV
when we move to an explanation of ideological metaphor; this may involve identifying how
features RFFXUULQJLQFRQMXQFWLRQZLVKPHWDSKRUFQWULEXVHWWRWKHLGHQVLFDWLR
PHWDSKRUDQDQVLRIDGGLWLRQDQGLVFXUVLYHIHDWXUHVFRQWULEXVHVWRWKHLG
underlying purpose and may facilitate triangulation of data by combining verbal and visual
evidence of ideology.

The Competitive Race metaphor

,QWKLVVHFWLRQ,LOOXWUDWHKR&ULWLFDO0HWDSKRUDQDQVLFQEHHPVORHGWV
LGHRRORJLFDOPHWDSKRUGRWKLVERVWOLQLOQJWKHPHWKRG,KDYHXVHWGRLGHQVLIHYI
WKH &RPSHWLWLYH 5DFH PHWDSKRU LQ WKH UDQJH RI WLVLVK SDUOLDPHQWUJHC

collectively known as *Hansard* Statements, Lords reports and Grand Committee reports.

to identify metaphor keywords, and then search on the Hansard web site to establish whether the use of these keywords was metaphoric because a more basic or literal sense of the word ethnicity sense is relevant in discussions of ideology concerned with national identity, whereas this chapter focuses on the competition sense.

to identify metaphor keywords, and then search on the Hansard web site to establish whether the use of these keywords was metaphoric because a more basic or literal sense of the word

Table 13.1 *DFLQJDQG&RPSHWLWLRQPHWDSKRUNHZRUGV*

<i>Racing and competition general</i>	<i>)DVWPRWLRQDQG&VQHV</i>	<i>ORZPRWLRQDQG&XQVQHV</i>
rat race	super-fast	slow
race against time	high speed	lag
race to the top	sprint	laggard
race to the bottom	pace	tortoise
fast-track	stride	slug
track record	overtake	sluggish
relay	accelerate	sclerosis
	catch up	sclerotic

the present.

The global race

the relationships between individuals and society:

facts. We are in a global race today to compete in the global race was airily dismissed as a race to the bottom

value placed on projects related to speed:

My Government will support investment in new high-speed broadband internet connections, enable the construction of a high-speed railway network and reform the

super-fast broadband cables high-speed rail is going to criss-cross this country.

unrelated policy areas: cable networks and rail transport.

illustrates how, over a relatively long period of time, speed-related metaphors were deployed

reinforced an ideology based on unregulated market competition – such as being on the ... and reminds us that ... for the measurement of speed. However, here it is the competitive element that is salient, implying that ... and ... – in particular education and health. Clearly, there was a broad acceptance by both major

political parties of a cognitive construal of government and social relations as a competitive UDH,Q

Table 13.2 @REDOUDFH#HWDSKRUVLQWKHKDWFKHUSHULRGDQGIGHZ/DERXU

Speaker	Metaphors (in italics)
KDWFKHU 2FW	<i>KHZRUOGKDVQHYHURuHUHGXVDQHDVQVQYLYLQJKHUHLVQRUHDVVRQZKLWVKRXOG :HKDYHDOZDVKDGWRJRRXWDQGHDUQRXUOLYLQJWKKHDKUGZD,QWKHSQVWZ GLGQRWKHVLWDWH:HKDGJUHDWVHFQVDFOVNLOOTXDOLWUHQHDELQW;HEXLO VROGZHOQ:HGHOYHUHQGRQWLPKHZRUOGERXJKWHLWLWVKDQGLWLWVKZDVEHVW IRWHUPDQIRW-DSDQHVHHLWLWVK,WZDVPRUHWKQWKDW:HNQHZVWKDW ahead we had to change. People looked to us as the front runner for the future.</i>
KDWFKHU 2FW	<i>)DUDZDFRXQWULHVVDUFHOKHDUGRIWHQHDBVVDJRRZn our traditional industries. Suddenly we are faced with the need to do everything at once – to wake up, catch up and then overtake, even though the future is as hard to predict as ever.</i>
7KDWKHU W	<i>Our competitors are improving all the time and some of them started well ahead of us. So we must improve even faster than they do if we are to catch up.,WLVQR good just beating our previous best; we have to beat our competitors.</i>
7KDWKHU W	<i>WKRHthe fast pace RIHFQRPLFJURZWKKDVSWPRUHPROHLQWRSHRSOHV SRFNHWVDQGRUHPROHLQWRLOGXVWUWVSURWV</i>
DLU SW	<i>RQWWHOOPHWKDWDFRXQWUZLWKRUKLVVWRUDQGGKULWDJHWKDWWRGDERDVVV the top ten businesses in the whole of Europe, with London the top business city in Europe, that is a world leader in technology and communication and the businesses of the future, that under us has overtaken)UDQFHDQG,WQDREHFRPH WKHIRXUWKODUJHVWHFRQPLQWKHZRUOG<</i>
DLU 2FW	<i>QGWKLXQGHUVFRUHV,WKLQWVKHSURIRXQGFKDUDFWHULVWLFRIRWKHPRGHUQZRR speed of change. ,QWUXWKJOREDOLVDWLRQLVDIDFW,WVZKHVVLVWLQJLWLVLVHOI GHIHDWLQJDOGHHYQDEVXUGXWVKHLQHYLWDEOHFRQVHTXHQFHRILWLW XQTXHVWLRQDEOFKDOOHQJLQJHEHEDVWnige happen at break neck speed and indeed if you decide to open up, and if you are on the open side of the argument, it happens even fasterKDWVZKWKHQDWXUDOLQFOLQDWLRQLVWRZDUGLW RuRVVHHNWRSODFHOLPLVWRQLWR,PVDLQJWKLWVKDWJOREDOLVDWLRQDQGWKH interdependence and speed of change that accompanies it, is a fact. However, what we do about it is a choice.</i>
DLU W	<i>QWKLMDGLuHUHQW\$HURKHQEWLWDDNQOOWKHQGSULPHQOHDUV DENWVKHQW\$HBSLWDLNQUHHQHMWVWKHQDOPDUNWKE again the truth of the proposition that globalisation presses the fast forward button of world events.</i>
DLU DU	<i>KLQWQWELQWVKQR still lag VLF@few years behind the state of the DUWELVULHGWDWENOHWKDQRHDSQEWVWKHOHMOR technology keeps improving China could become the world leader in both construction and production of wind energy.</i>

some cases, the competition frame allowed me to identify the theme of a whole speech.
JRWKHWDEOHDENMHWKDWWKHSHHGHOHPHQWVKHRSHWLWLQDPHQDQWMLQ
DSHHKLMQDLUQKHWRLRDOLDWLQKLVHHKWDUWV

:KDW, DQWWRWDONWRRXDERXWWRQLJKWL VUHDOKRZ/HHWKHGHEWDHDERXWJORED
 LQSRQLWLFVWRGD\$GWKHUHDGLYLGLQJOLQHWRWKLQNRILQPRGHUQSROLWLFVKDVO
 with traditional positions of *right* versus *left* PRHWGWRSDZWKKDW, XGDOO
 the modern choice, which is *open* versus *closed*, WDNDR/KHELPLWLDWLO
 debates in politics today, in *Europe* or PHULD, *international engagement* or *isolation*,
 immigration – is it *good* or *bad*, free trade – DEHQW or a *fear*. Each essentially has, at
 LWVHWKLMWLQo we open upDEHLWZLWKUXOHVDQGFQWURQWR hunker
 GKHOMMOMRDQDLWLOOWKHGDHUKDSMDG, DRDOLDWLR
 threat or an opportunity?/

DLU2FWREHU

Here, metaphors occur in combination with antithesis; political choices are presented as
 WDUNDOWHUQWLMVCLKLODKDMWKHJWLWHP LWDOLEMGLWKH RWLQVKDWLV
 SFWLMOHDOEWHGKLOHWKHMROHUOLHGLWKHEDWLMRWLQVKDWLWLOWKH
 QONWLKHUHWKUHDP precedes RSSRUWXQLWDPQGHQFHJDLQVDGGHGLPSDFW, WVHHPV
 that there is no choice as to whether to engage in the race, because globalisation is represented
 DEHQDEHQWQWVKHDMUWVKHUKHWRLDORWLQVKDW
 globalisation is an opportunity and not a threat.

WOSuDUHWKHDKDWLRHWZHHHGDQMLLQWHM
 the treatment of time as a commodity that could be measured, bought and sold, so that time
 EHPHKKOHQWRPVEDQWLPHKDDWLDQGLLDOLDWLDQOO MHWR
 UHGNWKH WLPHLQMG LQUBWLDQWRDNDHWRDUNWYNUWKUK
 accelerating the ordering and transportation processes. However, there are costs entailed by
 DRMLQWKVHHGKDVHGNGLDLDQGLHDMGWUHWKHM DUHPKPRH
 GLvDQWRHDMH

The Euro-sclerosis metaphor

:LWKLOWKHFRPSHWLWLYHIUDPHDWPVHWDSKRURQYHWWKHSRWLYHYDOMRHWKHJURX
 ZLOHDPVHWDSKRURQYHWWKHQHJDWLYHYDOMRHWKHSRWLWLRQSDUWLFDDUOYRRG
 HDPHRIWKLWVKHPHWDSKRULFRIFOHURMQGHEDWHRQWKH(RSHDQ8QLRQ7KH
 KTWRFQJHDWLYHFRPSRQIRUPVRFHURMDUHTWQWOEHHOMGWRIUDPHDQ
 LGHRORJLFDOSRWLQRQWKH(RSHDQ8QLRQDMOOWUDWHGLQ7DEOH

Conceptually, for its opponents, ~~the~~ and measures that
 MHWRUWHWENUDUHDPHULPEHDMWKHHRDHUHQWUHNWLDQ
 QWZWKWKHQRHULDQMYGHOZWLWESHWLWLMORLHQDWHGDMV
 RHLQHDQWQWERHULDSRLWLDQGLMMDUHGKDW
 WKHPVSHUDMMSEVPHWDSKEDVDMGQKHQLDQWHDPPWLPSONG
 during campaigns to create a bond between candidate and electorate, or to express a sense
 RPPQVHUSULM DQOROWKLOH WKH RSHWLWLM 5DH UDPH PRH WSLDQO\
 DFLDWHLQLEGNOLDQDUNDDLQWKHDMWHDPHPEHUKLS, QKHUQMV
 SDUWLNDUDSHWVVKHRSWLWLDQDPHDKLKLKWHGRH[DPSOHWKHJHODPHWDSKE
 DQMGWRUHRROHWLMUDWKHUWKDQQLQGNHURW7KHUHODLWKHDMWVKDW
 competitive running gets to being a team sport – as team members have, like politicians,
 KDUHGRMHVLMMLLSUDWLVHJHODPHRPPMGDMRLWLEMQ
 those individuals who are *letting down* the team:

7KHRYHUOPHQWVKRXOGQRWMXVWWKDONWKFHPPVLVLRQDVIGREXWVKRXOGDSRO
 to it. ,WLDWKKWKHBSWDLQWKHUHODWHDPKDGLQWVHGWKHUQWVKHJW
legs to sprint around the track at high speed, but when the baton was handed over to
 WKHFDSWDLQIRUWKHQDOODSKHUHOD[HGLQWRDOHLVXUHOVWUROO
 ¶¶

Table 13.3 ¶XURVFOHURVLVPHWDSKRULQSDUOLDPHQWUDUGHEDWHVRQWKH(XURSHDQQLRQ

Speaker	'Euro-sclerosis' metaphors (in italics)
Hurd, SU	,QWKHDWVWLWGHVWKHLEHUDOHPFDWVRHS¶LDHDM WKHLUOHDDGHUDDHDDUDWVKH¶MWHZD¶HREHDDWULKW looking ahead as is his wont, he warned that the social chapter could lead to a form of Euro-sclerosis.
EGDH[DQHURHHGR -¶	, Europe as a whole has lost its competitiveness over recent years. ,WLMQD¶HUKDWGDGHDDGHD¶MGRHDDOOHGµ Euro- sclerosis¶WLVJRLQJWKURXJKDSHULGRGRVWUXFWXUDOFKDQJH
Major, -¶	,DPDDGWKDWVKHULKW¶KQOHPDQD¶V¶VWHQW SHUKDS,¶QHPLQWKH¶KDKWKHMLG ,EHOLHMKDWL¶ being put forward in the social chapter may well lead to a form of Euro-sclerosis.
EGDH[DQHURHHGR -¶	7KHDUH¶H¶GDE¶WKHKLKUDW¶H¶HODE¶V¶V The spectre of Euro-sclerosis is back with us again.
Sir Peter Hordern -¶	,WLD¶¶DPSOHR¶H¶HURV . European companies are increasingly investing overseas because the costs of employment in the Community are becoming prohibitive.
EG7DMUH DU	7KHVKH¶H¶UDWLM¶UDWVKHOD[OXHQLDQ GQPLH¶DE¶KHWODQ¶LWKLW¶H¶H¶KDKUDWHR growth and low unemployment on the one hand, with the so-called ¶sclerotic ¶economies across the Channel, weighed down with high taxes and high spending which have resulted in low growth and KKK¶PSORH¶¶
Campbell, -¶	,WLM¶WUH¶WKDWVKHUH¶GEHHQDUHPH¶V¶W¶V¶WKHM provisions being enacted, but it would be a curious European Union which emerged as a result, and one that would be all the more likely to be subject to paralysis and sclerosis.

So DWHUDEUL¶NULQUR¶WKHJWODS by Lord Wakeham the baton was handed over
 WRDMRJJHULQUDWKHUSRRUVKDSH, and it has taken the Government nearly two years to
 SUR¶¶WKHLUHS¶¶RWLPLWL¶D¶OOHQ¶LWOHG¶PSOHWLQKH5HP¶¶
 ¶¶¶U\

7KLVPSOLHWKDWLQLEGE¶NOLFSHUEGHVWKH¶RSHWLWLM5DHUDPHWKH¶¶WKH
 individual to stay in shape so as not to let the side down – as in a true public school sporting
 HWK¶N¶LNG¶UL¶H¶RQLEGE¶N¶PRDOUHS¶¶ELOLW¶W¶KLPSOLE¶WLM¶DQ¶QLEGE¶NOLW
 ¶HWL¶Q¶LKH¶W¶WKHGH¶OWDN¶WKHKLQPW¶¶

Conclusion

7KLV LOYHVWLJDWLRQ RI PHWDSKRUV IURP WKH VHPDQWLWLF HOG RI UDFLOJ DOG FRPSHVLGHQWLWLF LGHQWLWLF GDQLGHRORJLFDORULHQWDWLRQWKDWKDVFRORXJHGWLWLWVLDQDQWVRVRI – politics during this period. Until recently, there has been an uncritical advocacy of global ESLWDOLWZWKLQRSHWLWLMUDPHFNQKQULHNUHHWGHGZWKUNUMQ ruthless race in which there are only winners and losers, a race in which the rewards for the ZQUVUH KKKLOH WKHUH DUHQR WKH ONUVDOWKRD PHWQWPEH SURGHHG WLSUHMQRDO BODSM 7KLVKDEHHQPDULMG DVEE- and 7KLVPSOLHQHSDWQHFWLWLU\$KORBO views of an inherent and biologically determined aggression and what Goatly summarises DWKHQWADOLWLEOODWVKDWQWHLMLQHUHQORSHWLWLMQWVKDWKRDQUHGULMQ WMOHSHUSHWQWH WKHLU HQW WKHRLHWKDW DSW 77... as the best H[SODQWPEHO WDN DWKH URK WKH PSHOPHWDSKE WKH DUHMQQ RSHWLWLMQWVLLK DUZQDQKHLHLWHLWLUH EDMGQWO\ SWQPDPEHOEDMGRUHMHHGDPDLVRLYGNOPHQDOKHDOWK DQHOOEHLQWDRDOSBLWLEOWDELOLWUHKUHHUDWLRQHWZHQWLWLDWHWR MURHSUROHPKDNURHQDOGLDWHUWKDW WКУHDWHDQOOVDWHHOOVKH RSHWLWLM 5DH PHWDSKE LWKHUHRH R WKDW LVLGHORDOOQVHWHG EHWZHQ XSEWHUDQRSQWHLHDWHGSLWDOLWQWKHLUHHQDUNW HHHQUDOO,KDMWULHG WSHPWUDWHKQWUHRHWDSKREDOHQR reveal the cumulative cognitive, or cultural, models that constitute the collective beliefs of a RPQWVHSUHMVHGLQKHPLQRWVQLYGNOPPEHUWKHMPRSHOKDMEHHQ KPDULMGKRSWOPHWDSKRYKDMHGHGLQDLMDUHQKQ ESLWDOLW LGHQWLUOLHYDQSHWLWLM 5DH PHWDSKEWKHQLWLWLEOHWDSKE DOMPEHLGWKDMGRLWMRRHMDOLPHWDSKRLQKHMUMHRU

Notes

6HH&KDUWHULVQDFN DQG 3HUUHJ5HKKDPSV *Metaphor and the Social World*
 QSHEDOLMVKHSLWLEOLPSPDWRHWDSKEV
 HHQHUKLOOEDGLKQKHWHUPFOGHHZ
 BLODEOH URKWWSKDQUGPLOEDWHPK 7KHUH LVOND HZQLH MUMR
 DQUGDWKWWSKDQUGESMJ

References

%UOLO-fKHWRULFDQGLGHRORJLQWKHZLWLWLOJFOQWMA *EnglishYROSS±*
 RHUVLRSDLQQRJDLQLQDIUHHPDUNHWUKHWRULFWHVWIRUFRLJQLWLVHVPDQWLVN
 and SymbolYROQRSS±
 &KDUWHULVQDFN- *Corpus approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, Palgrave Macmillan,
 BMMN
 &DUWHULQDFN *Politicians and rhetoric: The persuasive power of metaphor QGHG*
 3DOJUDYHODFPLOODQDVLQJVRNHIHZRUN
 &KDUWHULVQDFN-RUHQVLFGHOLEHUDWLRQVRQ5XSRVHIXOPHWDSKRLM the social
 world YROQRSS±
 &KDUWHULVQDFN- *Analysing political speeches: Rhetoric, discourse and metaphor*. Palgrave
 DPLOODQMNHN
 LUMQ *Metaphor and nation: Metaphors Afrikaners live by* 3HWHU/DQJUDQIXUW

RZLOJ +UDOMHYLF %XMLF %QH]3HUXFKD %PHWDSKRULFDO FUHDWLYLWVDOG
 UHFRQWH[WXDOL]DWLRLQ LQ PXOWLPRGDO DGYHUWLVVHPHQWV RQ MEXYLOH WVD FURVV WLPH
social world, YROQRSS±
 (OOLRWW)DQOQLOJ- Cameron: *Practically a Conservative* RXUWK(VWDWH/RQGRQ
)DLUFORXJKI *Critical Discourse Analysis: The critical study of language* , Longman, London.
 BWO\$ Washing the brain: *Metaphor & hidden ideology-RKQHMDPLQV BVVHUGDP*
 Philadelphia.
 Hansard LLLWLVLVHGHLWLRQVRI & RPPRQVDQG/RUGVHansard DYDLODEOHIURPKWWS
 hansard.millbanksystems.com.
 HPHWDSKELQ/HPSFDU\$PHULBQRLWLBOGLMM Metaphor and Symbolic
 Activity YROQRSS±
 -DQVHQ & DER THVSRUWZDU PHWDSKRU HJHPRQLF PDVFXOLQLW\WKH 3HUVLDQ XOI
 :DUDQGWKHQHZZRUOGRUCJHJH *Journal of Sport Studies* YROSS±
 .ROOHU9 *Metaphor and gender in business media discourse: A critical cognitive study*, Palgrave
 DPLOODBWW
 Mral politic. QLYHUVLWRI & KLFDJR3UHVV & KLFDJR/
 /DNARKQVRQ *Metaphors we live by & KLFDJR QLYHUVLW3UHVV & KLFDJR/*
 OXVROu.\$ *Metaphor, nation and the Holocaust: The concept of the body politic* RXWOHGJH
 London.
 BUUH]5HKDPSMGV *Metaphor and the social world* YROQR
 HOLLJHU0 *Ideology and politics* SOHQDZLQ/RQGRQ
 HPLQR(ODVFLQ)ROLWLFVLVIRRWEDOO0PHWDSKRULQWKHGLVFRXUVHRILOYLRIHUOXVFRQLLO
 ,WDO *Discourse and Society* YROQRSS±
 RQWDJAIDS and its metaphors SOHQDQH/RQGRQ
 WUDHKOH & :HLVV*RGDN6XQWLJO3HIGODN0WUXJJOHDVPHWDSKRULQ(XURSHDQ
 QLRQGLVFRXUVHROXQHPSORPHQW *Nurse & Society* YROQRSS±
 KRPSVRQ- *Studies in the theory of ideology* , Polity Press, London.
 QHUKLOO- *Creating worldviews: Metaphor, ideology & language*, Edinburgh University
 Press, Edinburgh.
 BQMT *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach* DJH1HZEXU\$DUN & \$
 :RGDN *The politics of fear* , Sage, London.

Legitimation and multimodality

Theo van Leeuwen

Legitimation, language and multimodality

7KHOHJLWLPDWLRQVERHDQVRIKLFKLOGLYLGDOVRUJURSVMHNNWRVHFHFHQVHQQW
SRZUIURPDWOHDVWWKHPRVWLPSPRUWDQWDPRQJWKHLUVKRUGLQDQDWHVPHHWKDPSPKD
IRUVRPHWLPPEHHQDQQLPSRUWDQWDUHDLQWKHVWGRIODQJHJDQGSROLWLFVHJ5RM
LMN YDQ/HHQ:RGDN DQG PRUH UHFHQWODOVR LQ RUJDQLVDWLRQ DQG
PDQDJHPHQWVWGLHVHJ9DDUD 7LHQDU 6KKVWGLHVFRQVLGHU KRDDQJHJLV

used to legitimate the power of individuals or groups, and also, more broadly, how social practices are legitimated in all their aspects; not only the individuals and groups that have agentive power in them, but also the actions that constitute them, the ways in which these actions are undertaken, the places where – and the times when – they are undertaken, and WKHUHHWKDWDUHMGWEMQHHSZKHOHLWLPDVKH law, for instance, is not only realised linguistically, through the written and spoken language WKHODEWDOWKUKWKHODWFWURWKHGUHDQLHULHXV DDZUDQKHPHDSSOLHWVKHOHLWLPDVKHSUDFWLHWKDWLWLVWH SRLWLWGLQHLWLPDWLRWWWHQLWVKHUHRHEHSDLGQVWQDQHEW also to the other forms of expression that combine with language in many forms of contemporary political discourse, in short, to multimodality.

7KHKDFHURSHUDLVHWHGLQQLGQODQKWRSHUDLVHWHGLQ
KDO SUDFWLHVWUQLHGEWKHEKHOHWHH

whom power is enacted in the practices of institutions such as schools and prisons. Habermas SS DONRW WKHLPSRWDHFMUGDSUDFWLHEWZWKDUHDWHU emphasis on agency, viewing practices as planned and implemented through administrative interventions in schooling, city planning, health planning, family and marriage planning, and so on, and stressing that they are not always legitimated through formal legislation, but may also be legitimated through the personalisation of substantive issues, symbolic hearings, H[SHUWM&HPHQ[SHUWGLMMGHWLWYHKQNDQWKHWUDWHLHPSORHQ
KWKDOWUDGLWLWidemS

,QVKRUWDOODVSHFWVRISUDFWLHVHGOHJLWLPDWLRQHVSDFLDOOZKHQSUDFV
SURFHVVRIEHLQJHVWDEOLVKHGRUFKQJHGKLVFDQWDNHPDQGLuHUHQWIRUPVDQGL

FRQQHFHGWGRWKHGLuHUHQWNLOGVRIQRUPDWLYHGLVFRXUVHVWWDWUHXODWHSU
 OHJLWLPDWLRQV VHHN WRJLYH PHDQLOJWR VRFLDO SUDFWLFHV OLQNLOJSUDFWLFHV
 FUDYLOJRUPHDQLOJWKDWDSSHDUVWRKDYHWKHIRUFHRILQVWLQFWLQOGWKHKXPDQ
 WRLPSRVHDPHDQLOJIXORUGHUXSRQUHDOLWDEHUPDVS)LODOOWKHLQFOXVLRQ
 of all the various elements of social practices – actions, participants and their roles,
 manner, times, places and resources – points to the need for a multimodal approach to the
 DQVWDEHLWLPDWLRQERHOHLWLPDWLRQLWLNKLNKLOQSHWKHEHKDMDO
 WOH DQGUHDQURLSKUHQDQOHVUHQDWRWKHDSKULV
 expressed by spatial arrangements, the multimodal technological resources involved, and
 so on.

DWVKHPHDQSHROHDWWDKWRKHSUDWLHWKHHDHLQEQWKH
 GHVLSWLMKPHDQDUKLRLEOOQDQWH[WBOO, QUDPHQHG DQ
 KHWHUHQKHWWKHDPHSUDWLHDEHOHLWLPDWLHGGLuHUHQOQLQuHUHQVDO
 WH[WEGLuHUHQVUKHROH.UHQHLEHGKHOHQOGLWWLQ
 a speech at an anti-nuclear rally in Sydney, legitimated the action of taking part in the
 SUWHLWLPDQLuHUHQVRHWLPHMMUDGLWRDPHGLBOKULWLDSSBLW
 EDQKLDWULSDWULWLNWLPHQDOSDUHQDOURDQLSDWULDUKDO WHKQRO
 SURKHWLHPLQWUHS, QKHUEGBOGLWVKKKGKHDDUH
 that the participants in the rally were united in what they did, participating in a protest, but
 GLYGHGLQKPHDQWKHDWWDKHWGRWWLPHDQMDPHQHGLLWing rather
 WKDQHDQWKDW SURGHVDO RHMEDW UHSODHVLWLPDWLRPHDQV
 DEHUPDMLGDDUHUHHEHRLDUHUSUHGNWBLKpDQ
 XHUMGHGEWLRMLGHUMOGDWKHMSDUDWLQVURHQVDOVLRQ
 URH[SUHMFRVUHOHDMG DQHEFHJHDGLWRODEHUPDY

p. VWLPXODWHGEDGYHUWLVQJWHFKQLTXHVWWDWSSHDOWRXQFRQVFLRXVDQGHPRWL
 than rational and moral – motives, and underpinned by anti-humanist theories that seek to
 H[SODLQDEHKDMDQDQVBOQDOEHKDM, DWWHQVLRQVWLPDOLW
 is crucial for a critical analysis of these phenomena, given the role of visual and musical
 communication in many important domains of communication, and their ability to link
 DHWKHWLWQ DuHW WLVRO SSSM QDWWHQVLRQVDMUWLMKLNK KDV
 SLHUHGWLKLNQVWLPDOLWQKLNKQKHDHWKHPDUNWLDWLQMM
 DLUOKKDCGHSOLHGGPDQKHURPVLMMLQGLDQVWLV
 LMMOOFKDO

HWKHU SRQVHG WEH PDGH LUW OHLWLPDWLRQOO WDN GLuHUHQ RPV
 GHSHQLQHWKHULWLSHUMMRPDPWRVKSHUMMMUDHRHLWLPDWLRQ
 RHWRVKH RHKHQZ KDQG SUDWLHVDUH SURNG 7KLVQWVKH GH
 legitimation of existing practices, as well as the legitimation of the proposed changes – or,
 when changes are being opposed, the de-legitimation of the proposed changes and the re-
 OHLWLPDWLRQKHHWDEOLKHGSUDWLHDOVKLWVEHGRZWKWKHNQVUDWHLHV
 WKDWZOOEHGLMGEHONDSUDWLHLMWDEOLKHGKMMUFLWMLLNORH
 disempowered or isolated from the mainstream, institutionalised in ways that remove its
 SHUWRN HuHWLMMKDOOHQVWKHONWKDWQHUOLHWKHSUHMMDURHQVUH
 RMHWLWVHG LMQWLM BOLGLWVUHU HQS HUH
 ODQHSODVFKDOURHGHEVLEHGENUHUDQDQMSLHQV OHLWLPDWLRQ

ibidemS

,QFLSLHQV OHJLWLPDWLRQLV SUHVHQVDV VRRQDVD VVWHPRIOLQJXLVWLF REMHFV
 KXPDQH[SHULHQFHVLWUDQVPLWWHG)RUH[DPSOHWKHWUDQVPLVLRQRIDNLQVKLSY

ipso facto are, so to speak, built into the vocabulary.

MUHURDQ

analysts should therefore not only focus on the analysis of texts, but also on the analysis of vocabularies of this kind, especially now they have become readily available through digital image banks and music libraries for use, not just by specialists, but also by ordinary people

scientists, thus legitimating slavery and colonisation – but while these explicit discourses have been forgotten, the visual stereotypes they gave rise to continue, especially in comic strips, advertisements, computer games and other entertainment media.

number of reasons:

- B HLWLPDWLR... legitimated the power of the Church, so today visual art and music express many of the neo-liberal values that underlie contemporary society, especially in advertising and entertainment media.
- B ... can legitimate the closing of borders and the erection of walls, while shots of a single refugee looking dismally at the tents of the Calais camp and the sea beyond, can legitimate helping refugees – through the kind of personalisation and emotivisation that Habermas noted.
- B ... music that provide the resources for expressing the dominant legitimization discourses.

7KLD... EDMDG... KHELHHDOLWS

Authority legitimation

, ZOO GLVWLOJVK WKUHH NLOGV RI DWKRULWOHJLWLPDWLWRO7KrbpbrW LV
 SHDNQKLDMSUDFWLHRRHHOHPHQVRSUDWRWLOHLWLPDWHEHDMRRH
 LRDXKRLWLMWHGDMHURMODWKRLWREHDM LWDRQGRHV
 RWKHUDUWHDWZWKRPDWLMSXULQWDFHDOHDOGRHQRVDMWRWPHYKH
 MRZOOUHHUWRV commendationOHJLWLPDWLRQ,QWKLVDVHDSUDFWLFRUVRPHHOHPHQ
 or part of it, is legitimate because it is recommended by an acknowledged expert or engaged
 LQDUBHPRHOKHWKHUSSHUOHDPHURDGLWDQVHOHEULWKHURDLO7KHWKLUGLV
 legitimation by *custom*, which may either be a matter of *conformity*, in which case a practice
 LOHLWLPDWHEHDMHURGRHURDPDWWHURadition, in which case it is legitimate
 EHDM LWKDDODVHHRQWKLWQDWROZOOGLKDKWKHM
 may be realised linguistically, visually and musically, and hence multimodally, when such
 realisations are combined in a single text or communicative event.

Personal authority

,QWKHFDMRpersonal authority, legitimate authority is vested in a person because their
 WDWURHLOSDUWLDULQWLRQURGWKHPDHWLMSXULQKHUHOHDPKDO
 practice, for example, parents and teachers in the case of children. Such authorities then do
 VQHGWRLWLDWVKHGRWKHURUHKUHWKHUWGRWKHUKDQDPHUH
 EHDM,DPDOWKKLQUDFWLWVKHPDSURGHUHDQDURHWDQ
 although their authority may ultimately be based on impersonal grounds, for example, on
 religious ideas about the role of the father in a family, or the king in a monarchy, or on the
 MRGHLSWLRPDQHURUWHLQDZHURMODWKRLWDRWKH
 KDOOPDUWKHSPWLRQDPLOQLKMGHPHQVUHDMLWKHWDWVKH
 PHPEHUPQGLSWHDMWWOHGEWKHUHODWLMXULQHULQWKHUHSHWLMWDWMP
 ,WLWKHUHRHMSULMWKDWPDQIDPSOHKHURMODWKRLWDRHQLQ
 KLOGUHMOOWDNDYKHPRMUEDOSURDMQLKWKHDWKRLWV
 utterance contains some form of obligation modality, linking the mandatory nature of the
 DFWLRWLOHLWLPDPLQKHMVHMRKLOGUHON

DWGWGRWKHWHDKHULDGWKHKDGWR
 BHHQWKRWUDQDWLRQ
 WPLPHWRRHKHDLGLHVKHVKHU@
 HHWHGH1

WSHURMODWKRLWPDORHH[SUHMGLQKHUDDMVKHRHQVHER
 RPHEHURHGHQVHRH:KCHDDUDWLRU

On my orders, coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military
 importance.
 K

EDVQKLVHURWKHEDSHURQVNDNQDQMWDu
 magazine:

,DQWWRVHHDGHUVKLSGHHSHULQWKHRUJDQL]DWLRO,DQWWRH[WHQGWKHPDQD]
RXUFPSDQEHROGWKH]VWOLQH,DQWDOOVHQLRUPDQDJIHUVWRWDNHRZHUVKLSRI
the business.

5DQHUF

DNOSHURQODWKRLWOHLWLPDWLREHUHDOLMGEYMOHQHUNDNQWDWX
QWKHDPLUW:ROG:DUUHEKWPHQSWHUENUHHGEG
Kitchener is not only shown in military uniform, but also sports an intimidating Prussian
PWDKHDKHLPESHULSRQKLEUDWVKHMHZUHGHDUHGDUJDT
WKHDPHUDKKGWKHDDQWKHSUHGHOVLDOMDOWHQDWKRLWVKLZGV
-GHFLQWHUEFHOLLQGSBLHRFUZDUKRPWRQWKHLUSKUQ
short, the visual realisation of personal authority rests on dress, grooming and accessories of
authority.

Impersonal authority

,PSHURQDODWKRLWOHLWLPDWLROUHWQWKHDKRULWRIODZOHVQGUHJODWLRQW
too, often takes the form of verbal process clauses, with the carrier of the impersonal
DKRLWSELEPHEDWLDQDHWKHPHUMDWHPHQWKHUSHWDWHQ
KHOEThe Bible VDVUWKHGRHURIDFWLRQVIRUZKLFKSRZHLVUHTXLUHG
LQWKHIROORZLQJTXRWHDJDLQIURPWKHQONHUR[VWDuPDJD]LQHUHODWLOJWRDQREOL
WUDLQLOJSURJUDPPHGHVSLWHWKWHUPHIFR&uiddidpQSDpaper column on
the refugee crisis:

7KHEDPPHHEHEGHQHMORHEDHMMUQLYGEOR
WDNEURKLEKURUHHU

5DQHUE

7KHLQHUQWLRQOODKHHMGLYKHNQLRDUWKHRHGUHWKQ
of refugees

DKV

DNQOLPSHURQODWKRLWOHLWLPDWLREHUHDOLMGEYMOHOHPHQV
MDQEWUPQWKHHUWDLQPSRSDSKDQDQLKDGQV
often legitimated by showing a copy of *The Quran*)LJXUH

XWKRLWFDQDOVREH UHDOLVHG WKURXJKPXVLFDOVLJQLHUVDVVRFLDWHGZLWKDX
institutions such as the Church or the nation-state, and the emotive power of music plays a
NURHLQHDWLDQWDLQHPWLMDOOHLQWKLQVWLVWUHWKHUHQ
5HWLQDWLROQLWVWHKQHDWHGWNSRWDQEHWLUELWDFQV
WKHHQUWKHGHQHUMMOLWQWRURKLELWVKHPKLEKWHQKHR
WKHJHQZWKHuHPLQWHQVHGLQWDOLSDQPKSODHGQ
HEOOLPSEWQUBHLQHLWLPDWLQXSRLWLSULQLHUPDQQWDOLQW
5KDDQHQ

SNWLDWKRLWPKWK heraldic function of music, its function of
announcing authoritative statements and actions, for instance, the arrival of an authority at
DQEDOHMVEWKHQWLRQHEZOHWLQUDOGLPKRKLKQWHQWN
energetic ascending melodies in major key, martial tempos, dotted rhythms, and brass
LURHQVMPDOPWIKLKPORWKDMDONOHHGDMLEHQKHURF



Figure 14.1 Impersonal authority as a legitimation for jihad¹

YDQ/HHXZIQ6XFKPXVFLVWREHOLVWHQHGWZWKWKHVDPHGHIHUHQFHDOVRDFFRUGHG
 WR SRZUIXO SHRSOH VWDQGLQJ XS DQG OLVWHQLQJ VLOHQWO'DQG VROHPQOYKH DXGLR
 ORJRVRIPDQRDMRUFRUSRUDWLRQVXVHVLPLODUKHUDOGLFPRWLIVEXWZWKGLuHUHQWWLP
 FRPSDQLHVXFKDVOLFURVRIW,QWHODQGRWKHUVIRULQVWDQGFHFRPELQHWKHHOHFWURO
 that signify technological excellence with warmer instrumental sounds that add a human
 touch.

Expert authority

Expert authority legitimation rests on expertise rather than status. Such expertise is often
 WDWGHG[SOLEWOEPHQLRQWKHH[SHUWPHGHQVLDQZWLWKHH[SHUWLMOOQ
 this can be omitted. Expert authority is not as binding as personal or impersonal authority,
 EWH[SHUWLMLVMUWKHOHDSKURRHLQHWUHQVOMGLQKHPGLD
 KLK SODD NURH LQUDQDWLQHQ HSHEDOO/SKRLQOHLWLPDWH
 SUDWLMSHEDOOQUDHDKDWDUHQVFPDOOHQDWHGDQHSODDMDQVURH
 LQDOOLHKHDOWKEHDWUHODWLRQSLDQSLDQOOLWWDNWKHRPR
 MUEDO SURVDMZWK WKH HOOEHGHQVLDQHG H[SHUWDMHMWDVQKHMWHV
 from *Cosmopolitan* magazine and from a *Guardian*UHSRUWFULWFLVLQJWKHRYHUQPHQW
 foreign policy

h QKDW WKH RELQWLQ KHDOWK\GLHW UHQDU H[HUEM DQ SKWLM
 MOLDWLQHQOGKWLPDOUHQWVRHUW :Ru KDWKR Home Body
 Building and creator of greatbodygreatlife.com

Cosmopolitan

XWKRUVRWKH UHSRUWSUHSUDHGEVFRPPLVLRQFRQYHQHGEWKH/RQGRQ6KRRO
 (FRQRPLFVLQFOXGHWKHIRUPHUKHDGRILQWHOOLJHQFHUUFKDUGHUORYH WKH
 PLQLVWHUVRUPHUGYLVHU LQ LQWHUQDWLRQDO DuDLUV -RQDWKQ/Xu DQG
 HFRQRPLVWVSHKHQ.LQJKHUHSRUWFODLPVWKWVXFFHVVLYSULPHPLQLVWHUVDQG
 VHFUHWLHVVDYHVKLHGZDURPVLJQLFDQWIRUHLQSROLFHQJDJPHQWV
 :LQWRXU6DUURZ

because most countries do not allow direct advertising of pharmaceuticals products to consumers, they show no discussions between women and their doctors, as if peers are a more reliable source of information than experts.

legitimizing practices. Songs provide, for instance, scenarios for dating and relationships of commercials aimed at children, for instance, the leader tends to be either another child, the

The authority of tradition

time-honoured practice which prevents taxpayers from being forced to subsidise election campaigns.

arguments for justice and freedom.

for certain products often stress tradition, for instance, by showing traditional craft workers in commercials for mass-produced products, or using classical music to accompany past glory is revered.

DUHVXOWPRUDOHYDOXDWLROVZHWKHUOLQJXLVWLFDOORUPXOWLPRGDOON[SUHV
EHLGHQWLHGROWKHEDVLVRIH[SOLFLLWVLJQLHUV:HFDQRQONHFRJQLVHWKHPZWKRXWIXOC
NORZQJEDWLWLZIUHFRJQLVH-RKQMUJHUGHVGFULEHGWKLVBIOOLQUHODWLROWRDGYHUW

9DJXHLVWRULFDORUSRHWLFRUPRUDOUHIHUHQFHVDUHDODVSUHVHQW7KHIDFWWKD
imprecise and ultimately meaningless is an advantage: they should not be understandable,
they should merely be reminiscent of cultural lessons half-learned.

MUHUS

Only the discourse *historian* can explain the moral status of these expressions, by tracing
them back to the moral discourses that underlie them and making explicit what was lost over
time.

7KUHHW\$PRDOHDOEWLREHGLMUHGHDOEWLROORQDEWUDWLO

Evaluation

Evaluative adjectives play a key role in moral evaluation. Here are some linguistic examples
from my study of the legitimation of schooling:

,WLSHUHWORPDOWRHDQNEWWDUWLOR

Showing signs of stress about starting school is a natural and healthy response.

DQHKO

DWKDOLDWLRLQWEDOLDSHERPRDOHDOEWLQKDWOHLWLPDWHV
KDO SUDWLHYLSULESOHFKHEDMWRRLORBO DUKHOVW KHUH R
GHWDLOHGDUKHQVUHLMPDOLDWLQWPEW KDWKHMPPDUHDQ
KHUHWKRRHURZGR OHDUQHSGWRWBMKHPMOMLKL

ways stress might be healthy. Here are some further examples, from a recent *Guardian*
commentary on the refugee crisis:

MUWLQKDWKREHGLRHORLUDQDUHHEWKKWOLPLWLVHSHV
not compassionate.

Wide-open doors are unfeasible and unmanageable.

DKV

HUH DRPHQDWE UHMHW RSDMQ DMUWEPDQHPHQDHSWDEOH
OHLWLPDWLQDNRHDQHHSRLDQLLUHWOUHRPHQDGRWLQML
DMUMQVHDG DVIOODWKUKKWKH RQHKWGLWLEK EHWZHQ
migrants and refugees.

Analogy

ORWKHU DRIH\$UHMVQPRUDO HYDOEWLROVVDODORJFRPSDULROVQGLFRMM
DOPRW DODVDYH D OHLWLPDWLQJRU FULWLFDO IDFWLRQ ,ORWKHU RUGWKHVDWKLWV
legitimate because it is like VRPHWKLQJHOVHZKLFKZHDOODJUHHLV OHLWLPDWHWUMKLV
OHLWLPDWEHEDMLWLOLNHWKLEKZDOODUHHLV OHLWLPDWHRHHLPHV

WKHFRPSDULVRQLVLPOLFWDQDFWLYLWVKDWEHORQJVVRRQHVRFLDOSUDFWLFLVGHV
terms which, literally speaking, belong to another social practice.

MODQORWHRPRLWDLRLWLBDOBUDWDBIDUBWR
EWKHVUDOLDQURWRUDQMKWLQHUHDKHDSDLHWQD
WUHWKHUODEHOOHGFDERZOOIQBRHUDWLYKHDWUHWBUDGMHQDEHOOHGAKH
:HWUHWKHRHUDWLPHUHQLSORDERSDUHGWKHUFRSDULQ
WKDWLWVHGWRLWLPDWHSDUFWLHLWVDEPLQWLDURHUDWLRVHLHWHWLM
DQSUHEMRU

Abstraction

,QWKHFDMRIDEWUDFWLRQWKHWHUPWKDWDUHMGRUHIHUWRFLDOSUDFWLFLVGHVWRWK
component actions, are abstract in the sense that they represent not the actions themselves,
EXRHEOLWVWKHPWKDWDEHOLNGWELNMRRODOM7BDLQ
RHH[DPSOHRPWRWVWKHOHLWLPDWLRLQVHDGAKHKLOGRWR
KRRWKHJWVLPHTVWKHKLOGWDXLQSHHQHWKDWWKHSUDFWLHR
KRLQVHLWLPMLGLQHUPBGLNMRQSHHQHWHDGRDLDQKH
SODUQVHWRHUWHKLOHLWLPMLSDLDQVHUPVGLNMR
EDELQWLVKHEGDDQWLYWURKLRHWKLVWRHOHDUQVHDGR
DWWHQLQDUHQVQWVDEKOGXDUHODWLVLSZWKWKHKRRVHLQMG
ZWKWKHKRDEWUDFWLKLKHUQGHMUHG DQOHLWLPDWHBOLWLHW
RHUWLVLDHPHQDQRPLWPHVQKHEORH[DPSOHSUDFWLHVSRWHGE\
LVHUQWLVRODLGDUHOHLWLPDWHGRLBQVDEKOGLVDEOHHQVWKHV
without any indication of what they would actually consist of:

KRHVLDGEGHWVUHEHLQOOGLOULQVHNVHRDQO
when that money should be used to build stable economic futures in the source countries.
DKV

7KHMVODQPMDOUHSUHMVDWLRRDODOMLEHRLQVHMDQLPSEWQV
DQGRLOV-WDWKHUHMVGLHMODQ5HQLMVDUWDEBENDURPEOPV
to visualise virtues and vices, so, today, vocabularies are developing for the visualisation of
VHPSRDUVBLEHUDODOMDKLQVHMVUKHGKVKHMVKKHVVWVPDH
VNDVODQPDHWRHMDUKHGZWKVNGVKDWUHHMUELWDMVDEKOGLO
WDEOH HRLVKKHVW DORHMU\ELW DVLQLBWLM RQBLEHUDO DOMV
E LQDE H[SORDWLRLRWVLDWLVK\NLULWVQOLWVDEODH
VWLWLVVHHGRVHDWLVVQHDUQV[SHUWLVVQDKKHQ
VHHGRVMDUKHGWHVVKVQRPDHHVHGRVHLQVHGHVWKHPV
SDUWRHMVSLVQKHEHDKRLQZGHRHQOGKHUHWKHUHDUHQKHUSHROHLQ
MKWLVKH7KHQVRLWLBOLPDHVQKLVWRVHDUHDHZPDHMHV
KWHUVQVVKHVDWVREHUWVZWKVZWKVZU SODQVUKHDGDKLQ
RPHV VHHGRKHUHV LVLGHORBOQVHWKLVKDWVHGWEHSUWHVHGH
fought for, it is a mood, a passing feeling, and drawing on individualistic new age concepts
KDMUHQWVQSLULWVQOLWVpidemSKHVLPDJHVDUHZHOOSURGXFHGDQGVHVV
SURYLGHVWKHPFKHDSOZLVKDOOULJKVVSUHSDLGSDUHVXOWWKHVDUXELTXLWRXVDFV
globe – in advertisements, in magazines, in health brochures, and even in news magazines.

NVDEQ[SVHVRDODOMVKKRVDWDOOH[SNQWVHPSRDU\
PHGLDBQHMVWKHPKDOMQVHNVQVHWVHKRRVHDQPDQ



Figure 14.2 Freedom according to Getty Images

RWKHUKLJKOYDOXHGORWLRQVWKRXWQHFWVDULONQRZQKDWLWLWVKHUVHFRJQLVHOGKHU
 WRRPXVLFOLEUDULHVFODVVLIRXVLFLOWHUPVWKDWLQFOXGHVXFYKDOXHVF7DJLuHUHQW
 kinds of music can also be associated with periods, countries, social classes, age groups, and
 RQKHQZWKWKHDONRFRWKVQDUWKHWHUPKLLQWKHLMQ
 cultural context, are associated with these periods, countries, classes and age groups.

Rationalisation

,Q WKH FDVH RI PRUDO HYDOXWLRQ UDWLRODOLWVKDV JROH XGHUJURXG ,Q WKH
 UDWLRODOLVDWLROPRUDOLWVHPDLQVREOLTXIDOGVXPVHJHGHYHQWKRJKQRUDWLRO
 IDFWLROZWKRXLW7KH IROORZQJ IRU LQVWDQFH LV RQ WKH VDIHFH D FDUHIDVUGH
 UDWLRODO DUJPHQWXLWFDQQRWVHUYHWRGHOJLWLPDWHPSHQLOJ(XRSHYGRR
 YDORJODGHQWHUPV OLNH DYLDEOHFDWVWVWURSKHFDQG FULVLVFDV LQ WKLV VHQWH

Guardian commentary:

,QLWLQEURGDUHQDEOHWKHDUMLUDWLQCHQURHVDODWVWURKHV
 GULMVDVLMZOOQLWRHUHSOLFWHGDQHSQHG
 DKV

,KDMGLWLKXHGWRDLQSHEDWLROLDWLQURHQDODWLROLOWHLLWLPDWHV
 SUDWLHEUHHUHQWRWKHLUROMDQHWHVVKHREHLBOUDWLROLOWHLLWLPDWHV
 SUDWLHEUHHUHQWRWKHREKLLDUH

Instrumental rationalisation

Like legitimations, purposes are constructed in discourse in order to explain why social
SUDWFLH[LDQK\WKHWDNWKHBPWKHGRGHUWUMD\HLWLPDWLQ
SXSNUWLEWDLQHOHPHQREDDOLDWLRQKHMQLK,KDM
described it in the previous section. Only this can turn purposes and purposiveness into what
DEHUPDKDDOOHGSDWUDWHLWLOLWDULDQEDOLDW\HUHLWKHSXSR
KRWUHAWLQPHDKLWKH Guardian FRPPHQDWRUERWKUH\FWVEDFNWRWKH
DUJXPHQWJDLOQVWRSHQLQJ(XURSH\GRRUV\QGOHJLWLPDWHVWKDWDUJXPHQWFRPSO
PRUDOHYDOXDWLRQV\FOHDUWKLQNLQJ\QGO\HDVWEDGRSWLRQV\

FKKRQHVWUH\FWLRQFRXOGELWVHOIKHOSRXUVRFLHWLHVWKLQNPruhFOHDUOD
least bad options

DKV

Theoretical rationalisation

,QWKHDMRIWKHRUHWLFDODUDWLRQDOLDWLRQOHLWLPDWLRQLWR\GHGQRWLO\KHWKHUWK
LPRUDOOM\WLGGRUQRWQRULO\KHWKHULWL\SRM\ORUHuHFWLYHEW\LO\KHWKHULWLW
IR\GHGLQRPHNLOGRIWU\KRP\DFR\WRRI\WKH\WKLQJDUH\IULQWDQFHWKURK
GHQLWLRQVQLFKROHDFWLYLWL\GHQHGLO\WHUPRI\DORWKHU\PRUDOLMGDFWLYLWIRU
example, school signals that the child is growing up.

,QKHDMR[SODQWLWLRQWKHSUDWLFHWKDWLGHGGRKDUDWHULMGEW\
WKHDFWLRQMG7KHDFLRQOHLWLPDWEHE\MLWLG\GHUHGDSURULDWHW\WKH
nature of the actors, their general attributes or habitual activities.

MUHUDQDQLWLRQKHGEHWZHQ\SHULHQ\LDODQ\HQLFDWLRQOLDWLRQ
{SHULHQ\LDODUDWLRQOLDWLRQKHGH\LEHGD\ULN[SODQWRK\PHV\HODWLRQWR
RMHWLMPHDQDQWKH\GGHG\WKDW\WKHM\KPHV\UH\KLKO\SUDPDWLRGLUH\VO\
UHODWHGWR\HWHDWLW\SL\DOOWDNO\KRP\RUE\ERDOPD[LPDQZM
ML\UHU\DOEHQ\LDWLRQOLDWLRQ\UHGLuHUHQ\LDWHG
EGLH\HGHV\KDWDUHG\HMORHG\W\OHLWLPDWH\SHFE\WLRW\WLRQ\KDM\HQ
Psychology, for instance, produces discourses that can be used to legitimise social practices,
WKU\WKH\WKL\RP\WKH\K\DR\DUW\KHM\RD\WHGL\WHP\KH\LF
LRPDWLRQEHUPDS\QKLN[DPSO\HDS\K\RD\OW\OHLWLP\LMN[
EHW\ZHQ\GHUSH\ROHU\HDG\I\HOHLWLP\LM\Q\HDG\EHGL\NU\

WGLQKHM\QO Psychology and Aging VXUYHGHSHRSOHDJHG\QO
IRXQGWKDWGHVLUHZDVMXVWDVLP\SRUWDQWDVFRPSDQLRQVKLSIRUWKRVDJHG\QO
:KDW\LQWHUHVWLQJLVW\KDW\WKL\KDV\WREHU\HGLVFRYHUHG\JDLODQ\GD\JDLODV\
FRQWUDGLFW\W\WKHGRPLQDQ\WQDUUDWLYHV\DURXQGD\JHLQ\JDQGVH[W\KDW\WZHFDQ\W\
.DUSI

,PDJHV\QGPXV\LDQ\GHYHQW\SRJUDSK\FDQRIFR\XUVH\H[SUHVV\WKH\FKDUD\FWHULV\WLFVR\
DFWRUV[UYLQJRuPDQ\EULOOLDQ\WODQ\DOVHG\WKH\JHQGHUHG\SRVHV\W\KDW\H[SUHVV\JHQ\
FKDUD\FWHULV\WLFV\LDQ\GYHU\WLV\PHQ\WV\DLQ\FHU\WDLQNLQ\GVRLU\U\H\XODUDQ\GPXO\
LPPHGLD\WHOV\XJJHV\WFKLOGUHQ\YERRNVRULQ\YLWDWLRQV\VRFKLOGUHQ\YSDU\WLVH\VE\W\
view of what children are like – unruly, not yet able to produce neat, ordered writing, but
DOM\RDQH[KHUDQ\K\WUDLW\DO\H\W\K\HRLH\W\WKHM\DUH\Q\PDGHH[SOLEW

LQ WKH D W K D W G H Q L W L R Q V D U H 7 K H ' D U H P R U D O H Y D O X D W L R Q V U D W K H U W K D Q U D W L F
, P D J H V F D Q D O V R G L V S O D W K H W U D S S L Q J V R I U D W L R Q D O G L V F R X U V H V J U D S K V W D E O H V D O G V R
as in the case of visual expert authority legitimation, these only connote rationality, and do
not provide actual rationalisations.

Conclusion

, Q W K L V F K D S W H U , K D Y H D W W H P S W H G W R V K R Z V K D W P R V W I R U P V R I O H J L W L P D W L R Q F D O
Y L V D O O D Q G P X L F D O O D Q G , K D Y H W U L H G W R L O G L F D W H K R Z V K L V F D Q E H G R Q H
, K D Y H D U J K G W K D W Y L V D O D Q G P X L F D O O H J L W L P D W L R Q D V W K H ' D U H F X U H Q W O V X H C
contradistinction to written texts, can legitimate only with reference to the outward
manifestations of authority, rather than to any arguments that actually ground such authority,
and that moral evaluations, whether linguistically or multimodally expressed, are detached
from the discourses that underlie them and make them explicit.

L Q O O , K D M D U N G W K D W W K H M R P V O H L W L P D W L R L L Q W H G L Q W K H S U D W L H R
advertising, and have now permeated many other domains, including digital technologies
such as image banks and music libraries that now play such an important role in
communication.

F G L M D Q O W L W L W K H U H R H L P S R W D Q W R V D E L W L M R V K H M R P R
legitimation and to recognise that, as a result, meaningful legitimation, legitimation that can
be seen as valid across fragmented and heterogeneous societies, is indeed becoming scarcer,
W K D W O H L W L P D W L R Q Q H G E H D L G W R H L Q L A W D W K H G L M K L W R L D Q H G W R
U H G L M U K H U H W B D P R D O E K G R H U R W K H E L W L D O D Q O W Q H G W R
rediscover sources of legitimation that can be meaningful in complex and diverse societies.
Q D O O L Q O O W K L M W K B G E H U H P H E H U H G W K D W W K H M O D Q P M D U H Q U H W U L W H G
W W K H O H L W L P D W L R W K L K W B D W U D W H L L W L R O R P E W L R W W K H P S
rescue operation may be in order.

Note

) U R P K W W S U H S K O L F E R P 2 E D P D L V O D P S U R K L E L W W H U U R U L V W I R U W K H T M D Q V D V R H Y H U N L O O
an-innocent-it-is-as-if-he-has-killed-all-mankind.

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M U J H U - Ways of seeing , Penguin, Harmondsworth.
M U H U N D Q The social construction of reality, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
M U W H L Q class, codes and control S / R Q G R Q
X V K * : D U G H F O D U D W L R Q P Y D L O D E O H I U R P K W W S H G L W L R Q F Q Q F R P S U M L U T
L Q W E X V K W U D Q V F U L S W
& O H D Y H R Z H W W D W H O And so to school I) (S H O V R Q : L Q G V R U S
) D L U F O R X J K 1 & U L W L F D O L V F R X U V H Q D O V L V D Q G W K H P D U N H W L J D W L R Q R I S X E O L F G L V F R X U V H W
X Q L Y H U V L W L W R s e & S o c i e t y S S ±
) R X F D X O W 0 Discipline and punish – the birth of the prison O O H Q / D Q H / R Q G R Q
R u P D Q (Gender advertisements , Macmillan, London.
D E H U P D L Legitimation crisis , Heinemann, London.

REVED(5DQJHU7 *The invention of tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

ENHLPHU&RQ Dialectic of enlightenment &RQWLQXXPIHZRUN

,OOLFK, *Disabling professions*ODULROR&DUV/RQGRQ

/HHWHRGJH/1' *Mark and Mandy*, Peter Haddock, London.

.DUSH[LW WKHSUHMUMVVKH& *The Guardian* IRYHPEHU DYDLODEOH

IURPZZZWKHJXDUGLDQFRPFRPPHQWLVIUHHQRYVH[RXQJRYHUV

.UHVV* *Linguistic processes in sociocultural practice*, Deakin University Press, Geelong,

&

.ULHUDD&DUWDDQWKHU&HRD&UDGLWL&UHM&DWL&RWWKHDD&DUWDD

PS&DUOLDPHQ&VVRHU

DKLNOGLQKHEOGVNOOD&H7KHL&QHDMDRDOLPS&RWD&HRPDH

ED&NS&EDWHPHGLD' Visual CommunicationSS±

ODFKLQ'YDQ/HHXZHQ7 *Global media discourse – a critical introduction*RXWOHGJH

London.

DDU&6 HPLQ&HQL&VHQH&UDQM[&OLW\ , University of Minnesota Press,

D&DS&LW

RUS\$ *Moir's Gulf*, Wild and Woolley, Sydney.

HGHUMH&QHWUM- *White on black: Images of Africans and Blacks in Western popular*

culture, DOH&LYHUVLW&UHVVIHZ&YHQ&7

ZZHQV-;RHRFNHVHNNVOHJDODGYLFHRYHUFRUSRUDWHGRQRUDFFXV&DWL&RQV&lian,

D\&DLODEOHUR&KHDWUDOLD&Q&WLR&ODuDLUM&K&N&M&H&HDO

DG&H&N&UR&S&D&WHG&R&D&W&L&R&V&R&E&H&E&H&E&G&I

5D&H&UD *XL The Document*, iss. 5.

5D&H&UE *Document Matters*.

5&R&Q&M&K&KHU&H&D&NSUROHPD&QL&W&D&M&G&H&L&W&P&D&W&L&Q&K&H&H[S&M&R

ROOH&DOPLUD&Q&M&D&Q&KS&DUOLDPHQ&DU&GL&M&M' *Discourse & Society*SS±

D&FKV-;KHU&H&Y&QR&SHUI&H&F&W&D&Q&V&ZH&U&WR&WK&H&PL&J&UD&Q&W&F&UL&V&L&V&D&Q&G&Z&H&P&X&V&W&D&F&H&L&W&lian,

M&PEHU&DLODEOHUR&K&H&E&UG&L&R&R&L&Q&R&L&UD&W&L&R

7D&D&W&K&H&D&P&K&D&O&P&R&D&W&H&R&V&H&E&R&J *IASPM Internal Publications* 3

9DDUD(ZHQDU - &GLVFXUVLYH SHUVSHFWLYH RQ OHJLWLPDWL&RQ VWUDWHJLHV&LQ PXOWLQD&W&L&RQ

FRUSRUD&W&L&R&QV&Academy of Management Re&S&S&w

9DQ/HHXZHQ- *De Metro van Magnus*, Omniboek, Den Haag.

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D&M&U&L&W&H&M&E&N

D&Q&H&Q :&D&S H&L&W&L&P&L&Q P&P&L&U&D&W&L&Q V&U&R \$&G&L&M&K&L&W&R&L&D&O

D&Q&M' *Discourse Studies*SS±

YDQ/HHXZHQ&D&WH&V&RQ'-,OR&X&H./HX&Q&W&Z&U&D&W&W&D&F&N..HOO&X&W&K&H&U&I&R&U&G

5&W&H&D&U&W&6&L&K&W&H&U&V&W&K&R&L&Q&O&K&Y&K&H&S&L&O&O&B&W&L&P&E&D&O&G&L&M&D&Q&O&M

D&U&D&H&S&W&L&M&D&G&M&U&W&L&M&V&R&V&Y

:HEHU0 *The theory of social and economic organization*2[IRUG&LYHUVLW&UHVVIHZ

RUN

:HEHU0*The protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism* DOH&Q&D&Q&G&Z&L&Q/RQGRQ

:LOWRXU3&DUURZ&L&L&W&L&V&K&I&R&U&H&L&J&Q&S&R&O&L&F&L&V&L&Q&F&U&L&V&L&V&Z&D&Q&V&H&Q&L&R&U&G&L&S&O&R&P&D&W&L&F&J&X&U&H&V'

The Guardian IRYHPEHU DYDLODEOH IURP ZZZWKHJXDUGLDQFRPSROLW&L&F&V&Q&R&Y

EUL&W&L&V&K&I&R&U&H&L&J&Q&S&R&O&L&F&U&H&S&R&U&W&V&H&Q&L&R&U&G&L&S&O&R&P&D&W&L&F&J&X&U&H

=LMGHUYHOG& 2Q&O&L&F&K&P&V&K&H&V&X&S&H&U&V&H&G&X&U&H&R&I&P&H&D&Q&L&Q&J&E&X&Q&F&W&L&R&Q&L&Q&P&R&G&H&U&Q&L&W&R&X&W&O&H&G&H

London.

Narrative analysis

Anna De Fina

7KHQDUUDWLYHPRGHKDDSHFLDOMQLFDQFHIRUWKHWGRISROLWLFMQWKDWLWKDEHHQORQJ regarded as basic to the ideological construction of events and to the manipulation of public RLOQRDGHQKLWHWKHRLDWLQENWKHUHODWLQHWZHQUUDWLMSDLWLF DQLGHQWRREHUQDLQWLDWLQENWKHDWLHDUHHPEHGGHGLQRLuHUHQ RPRLWLDO RPQWLDQUUDWLMKDDODVEHHQW WKHHQ\UHRHAWLR about political discourse.

,QKLDSDWHU,DSSURKWKHWRLWKHUHODWLQHWZHQRWHOOLDQSDWLWR WKHSRQKHEGLMDDQVZOOKKHODQUUDWLMDQOMWKDUHD RDLWLDOGLMMWGLHLW\DQHGHOQ,QHGHUHMDUKHUMPSODMULHWK WKHRLWLDO PHWKGRDOLQURHQVQ\GLuHUHQNQWH[WVQ QH[WKHMGLuHUHQVHAWRQGLMULQSWLQUUDWLMDQSDWLWF EWDO\OWHUQWLMDSSURKQLMMLWMOQWKHOHWHQUDOWUHQV DQHGHEMGLQKHOGQUUDWLMDQOMWKHJWWUHQWKHRLDWHU QUUDWLMLQHQHGDUUDUKLQWKHWKDWQHUOLHDQEDQHGLMDDQ LQHUSUHWDLQSOLEWLQKLDSSURKDDMPWORQUUDWHGKOLEGLM DQQLMGLUHWO\QHQHGDSRLWLDO\PLDWHGMRDSSURK WUHDWV QUUDWLMDV MW HMUGD\GLM SUDWLHVQHQHWKDWDKUH SHEF KDUDWHULWLEHEH[H[SSOLEWLQUUDWLMDQOMRWKLSHUSHWLM have been much more varied since a view of narrative as a tool for making sense of and constructing experience also allows for an understanding of politics as an aspect of everyday OLH7KHGLWLQLRHWZHQKHMWQSWLQUUDWLMDZOOKGHWKHRDDQWLQ of this chapter.

,QKHJWSDUW,ZOOLQUBRHWKHHRLWLDOPHWKGRDOLMDQGHQWLQ will then concentrate on studies that conceive of political narratives as grand narratives that are HLWKHUURROHGRUHQHAWKHLRRLWLDOOSKUNDHQWUPHQV international organisms or mainstream media. Here, the emphasis will be on master-narratives. ,ZOODRMLNKHQVEHWZHQ[SHWHGQUUDWLMLHQVQRPDQ DFWORWHOOLQHGQSUDDLHQVWLWVLRMWWLQWKH7UWKDQSHROLDWLQ RPLMSKFLDRDPMHNDUHGHHYKHKRQWLQ will discuss how narrative analysis has contributed to the study of political discourse by

looking, for example, at studies about the use of stories and anecdotes as instruments of review work that has illuminated the way narratives are used to make sense of political issues approaches showing how they have contributed to understanding ways in which narratives developments that show a growing interest in digital media.

Theoretical methodological issues

Definitions of narrative

some of the main concerns and debates in the area that are relevant to research in politics.

there is little agreement among linguists on the criteria that distinguish narratives from other interchangeably in the literature, but in reality, a distinction should be made between the such as the presence of human agency and the communication of human experience or causally connected by a narrator whose point of view they encode. However, many would

were deemed necessary for a text to be regarded as a story, since the story may also simply focus on a series of actions in the past, but Labov showed that well-performed stories included all components and had developed evaluation sections. Most narrative analysts or causally connected by a narrator whose point of view they encode. However, many would

RIWKHSUHVHQFHRIPXOWLSOHOQDUUDWRUVDQGGLuHUHQWLDWHGDXGLHQFHVUSDFWLF
VHOHFWLRQRIVSHFLDGGUHVHVVHVDPROJSRVLEOHDXGLHQFHVWKKHuHFWRIDXGLHQFHU
DOG IHHGEDFN RQ VWRUWHOOLOJ DOG VR IRUWK DOG FRQWH[VW IRU H[DPSOH PHGLDWH
ZLFKDUHWSLFDORI/DERYVPRGHOVHHFRQWULEXWLRQVLOQPEHUJIRUDGLVFXVLRQRI
VRPHRIWKHVHLVXHV

)RUWKHVWXGRIQDUUDWLYHVLOUHODWLRQWRSROLWLFDOLVXHVHIZOOVHHIRUH[DP
PDQGLuHUHQWJHQHVEHVLGHVWKHODUUDWLYHRISHUVRQDOH[SHULHQFH DUHUHOHYD
anecdote, the chronicle, the life story, the testimonial, the small story, and so forth, and that
the contexts and media in which such narratives are embedded are also very important to
understanding the way they are used.

Narrative as methodology or as epistemology

SRWKHU LPSRUWDQW LMKDW FROFHUQV DUUDWLYH DQDOWLVWKH DPELJWV DQG RYHUODSV
EHWZHQDFRQFHSWLRQRILWDDPHWKRGRORILFDOLQWURKHQWLHDWRROIRUHOLFLWLQJLWVKDQG
H\$HULHQFH DQG DVSFLDLSLWHPORILFDOPRGLHD DRIQGHUWDQGLQJUHDLWV
, OGHHG PDOGLRMM DQDOWVSDUWLF DUODIWHU WKH ODUUDWLYH WQVWUHQ WKH
OHJLWLPDFRI TOLWDWLYH UHMDFK SDUDGLJPLWU WDNH WKH YLHZWKDW HOLFLWLQJ
WRULHPUDDOMQH[LWLQJDUUDWLYHWHWLPROLDODERXSDUWLF DUH\$HULHQFHMSROLWLF
RQHVVWKH EHW DWRJHW WRSDUWLFSDQW QGHUWDQGLQJRI SDUWLF DUHYHQWRU RFLDO
experiences. Such preference for narrative is based on the idea that narrative is one of the
most widespread and preferred modes of encoding and understanding human experience.

We will review debates around the epistemological status of narrative more in detail
EHQWKHUHLWLPSRFDQWRBHKHQLRHWZHQUDWLMDDWRDQ
narrative as a mode presents many possible complications and has therefore led to polemics
DQGHEDWHVQKH HOG, QHGHKLOHMQUUDWLMDDWRRHOLEWLQ[SHULHQLDQ
accounts and subjective perceptions is an accepted and largely uncontroversial practice,
embracing the view of narrative as an epistemic mode has led many analysts to interpret
QUUDWLMMOLEWHGSRDNNHGLDWHGDQWUDQDUHQUHSRWDNWH[SHULHQ
ZWKN SDLQEHQ DWWHQLRVRKHQLWL\$UBWLK WELHQ
therefore treating them simply as vehicles for the communication of content. Scholars who
DSSURKWRWHOOLQ\$UDWLHHLQHRDNRKDMNGWKH
importance of this issue, for example, highlighting the role of the interviewer in the context
ROLEWHGWRLHMLQHLQBUULQWKHLRRLuHUHQ
kinds of contextual factors on the shape and function of narratives.

Narratives and politics

7KHVSHFLDOUHODWLRQVKLSEHWZHQQDUUDWLYHVDOGSROLWLFVKDVEHHQQRWHG
LQWKHOLWHUDWVHRQERWKWRSLVVWVWFLDUJXVIRUHDPSOHWKDW

1DUUDWLYHV DUH DV WRFRQQHFVHYHQWV LQ DQRQDQGRPDQDQGWKHUHIRUH
SRZUIQPHDQVWRSURYLGPHDQLQJRWKHSROLWLFDOBUOQZOLYHLQKHWHOO
both what is the sense of our political world in general and also of our place within it.

WVLES

KRDUWHWKDW MQ WRLHVDUH WKH PW KLEWGLMM HQHWKHVDUH
necessarily connected with politics, both in the sense that personal and private narratives,

such as autobiographical stories and anecdotes, are used by politicians and political movements, and in the sense that narratives, such as news stories, stories on social media and a variety of historical narratives, circulate and are widely shared, thereby shaping public perception about politically relevant events, relations and people.

However, the way in which narrative practices may be related to the political realm concern the central issues and challenges their societies encounter: the core domain it could be said that politics can be conceived both as the realm of action and thought about how issues and problems concerning individuals intersect with issues and problems concerning society as a collective entity, and also as the realm of direct engagement with discourses and practices that pertain to the individual as a member of society at large, then same time, if the notion of politics is not reduced to the negative connotations that are attached to it when regarded as not simply an arena for the imposition of power, but also as

they explain the engines of political change, and the roles they see themselves, and those whom they regard as being part of their groups, as playing in this ongoing struggle.

QUH

GHSQ KHLUWKHRHLWBOEDNDRMHWEMHDOWKHLQURWLR WKLWHRDGLKLSRQ

Grand narratives

that is public dominant discourses about particular social issues. Such discourses are seen as

the survivors as prostitutes – who volunteered to work in lucrative war zones and who narrative of prostitution.

SKS

Such narrative positions these subjects in a way that corners them into delicate identity work to propose alternative interpretations of their past.

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Similar views of narrative as a kind of meta-discourse about recent or past history
DUH Q DOLEGHENWKH DU WHUURDUUDWLM SURDDWHGE\
HRH:KDEW WKH HMV QV KH DQLKLD PDOMWKH
DUQUUDWLM DOHLWLPDWLRHULDSRLWLF

WKKHENMHZGDENUHOR DULHWEDWDK DGLuHUHQV SRLWLBO
SHHKHMQV HUHHDUWL DHEV KHSUHQV QLV HUHHDQVUHWKHLPSFWDH
RQVHUWH[W DOLWVKDWLQVFLQHWZHQLuHUHQV WH[W DQKQVWLQ
DQPHWDSKRDUHUHAWVHGLQVHSULDWHGLMMV

QV KHENSLGDENUQUUDWLM DUHMHQRDPDE RHUSHVFLMDKHMV\
WUWHGLQV HUSUHW DWLQ DOOHRSDMPHWDSKRDEW WKHSDW,ZOORHEDN
WVKHLMVHODWHGWVKHGHQVLRDWH[DWOLDPHWDRLGHRDQQUUDWLM EHOZ
EVRZOOEULHAWVQVWKDW H[DPLQWKHURHQUUDWLMVQVWLWVLRQ
processes.

KHUHLWKHSRLWLBO HuHW QUUDWLMVDHUHU WKDQVWLWVLRQ MWWLVWKDW
GLUHWOGHSHQSRQDUHWSRLPDNDPSOHV KHMNQVWVWLQUHWUWK
RPLMQDQVMHNQVWLQV KHDMVUWKRPMLRDUKDM

underlined how the process of storytelling is deeply embedded within government policies
RHRDOLWLDQVDEW75QUUDWLMVVKSLDGLQVKHSVDSDUWKHLG
SHULSGUHQKH[DPSOHWKDWWKH75KDGWKHURHWRHWRHDQUUDWLM

fashioned by the state as part of a project to recreate and maintain national identity.
DUUDWLMVUHSSNGVSHPVUDWHD SURKHDOLQWKHQWLQVQWKH7UWK
Commission carefully controlled which stories could be told by setting criteria that excluded
PDQVKHWHWLPDQVUHVDNWKHLPSFWDQVSRQWKDW WKHLQLGBOVRLHV

WWHGLQVVDUHUHUPHWQQUUDWLMVQVDEW WKH7UWK RPLMQVMOWKHMV
was the assumed relationship between telling and healing, and the third was the idea that
LQLGBOVRLHVHULQVWRWKHUHGDOORVKHQVUWLQVBOHVLV
LGHQVWLQVWKHUVPLQDUDURKQVDEWVKHKHDELOLQVQUUDWLMWKDWGLGQV
RQVRSR[SHV DWLQVHPDGHEQRPDHUWVQVPLN

:RQVMHNQVQUUDWLMVQORQVWKRLWLBO SURMMVUDLQV KH
ELWHULDEWHOODELOLWQVQVHDWHODKHEHWVHQVQVMHNQVQUHMHZGEDQV
H[SHV DWLQVDEW KDW DQVQVGH QVUDWHG DQKDUQVQVQRPDHUW
DQDUQVQVGDQVMHNQVQVWHOOLQVURMMVQVLDQV

SRQVHGWRLuHUHQVQVSHVFLMVKH HMV WDNQVWKH WLVGHVQVVKH
LQVQVWGHWHUPLQVGEWKHDVWKDWQUUDWRGLQVWHOOWKHLUWRLQVVKHLUQVQV
EVKDGWVNDOLQVUDQLuHUHQVQVQVSHUSHVFLMDVLMQVKHGLuHUHQV
URHWKDWREDONQVQUUDWVSDLVQV KHLQVHUDVLRQVVKHLUWHVWLQVMHVFLM

in terms of what they want to achieve in the communicative event. While asylum seekers are
protagonists of the events they tell, and regard them as highly charged lived experiences,
REDONVGHQVWKHPDQVHVLQVWKDWKDMVHMVQVQVWLQVVKHDKDVLV
DWHLHMDVQVQVQVGHVVKHMH[SHULHQVREDONVQVHMDULO\

empathise with the narrators; however, their interpretations of, and judgement about, asylum
MHNQVRLHZOODuHFWKHUHQVWKHLUSOHDV

-DQPHW VLVHG LVHUHVWKDW VSDH DW WKH RWHG DWLQV
RPLQVHMVLUDDQVQVDRWKHUDVLRQVHHDVWVWVUV
MHNQVUWHVWLQVQVVKH QVVLQVPHUQVDEH H QVHG WKH
GLVSVLQVHFWKDWWKHSUHMVLDLQVWRLHKDGRQVMHNQVVKHUVLQV
QVGDVPLVH[SHULHQVQVQVQVHGWRHODWHWKHLQVWDLOWREDONVQV
EHHQVUWHGWRHMHVSHURQVWLHVQVQVHVDLQVUHVVWVWLQV

these environments, although stories are not directly concerned with political issues, they are embedded in important political processes.

objections that have been addressed to accounts of narrative that use the construct of the link between individual narratives and more macro constructs, such as ideologies and discourse, thus leading to a misunderstanding of what narratives actually are in context. Such a tendency can be corroborated in the ambiguity and lack of precision with which the historical reconstructions, and so forth, often without exactly clarifying what they mean by narratives as practices and therefore a much greater attention on the embedding of narratives

Narratives in the discourse of politicians

Many scholars have noted that narrative plays an important part in discourses produced by and readers because they are seen as representing a non-argumentative, more common how politicians use everyday narratives to their advantage. She presents the case of a conveying the experience of common people, their message is more easily internalised by audiences.

a phenomenon that is closely related to the informalisation of public life. Paul Goetsch noted, for example, that the spread of television not only added a visual component to the conventions of formal oratory and to adopt an informal, sometimes conversational and for example, that both tend to communicate in the most direct way through the use of slogans and narratives that tap into common sense and subvert traditional categories of the symbolic collection of political speeches by UK and US leaders and politicians, Schubert proposes a taxonomy of narrative functions of political speeches. He distinguishes between

WKHXVHVWRULHVWRSUHVHQQWKHPVHOYHV DVSDUWLFXODUNLOGVRILOGLYLGXDOV
IXQFWLRQFDQEHGLVFHUQHGLQQDUUDWLYHSDVVDJHVWWDWHPSPKDVLVHFRPPRODFKLYH
YDOXHVRIQDWLRQRUDSROLWLFDOSDUWKLQHWKXVSHDNHULVDUHSUHVHQQWDWLYH
S1DUUDWLYHVFDQDOVRH[HPSOLISDUWLFXODUDUJXPQWDWLYHSRLQWVDSROLWLFDO
PDNLQJDCQGDQDOODSRODULVLQJQDUUDWLYHXVHVKLVWRULFDOUHFROQVWUXFWLRQRU
construct enemies.

W&LHKDMDO&GGUHMGSDUWLENDUNQQUUDWLM&QUUDWLMW&L&KLV
WKH&MZWK&KHQ&Q&K&DKH&BO&Q&QUUDWLMW&KHS&H&R
,MDHOLS&LWLED&K&DWL&QUUDWLMW&K&DW&PD&L&M&H&L&U&H&K&L&W&L&B&O&S&H&L&G&W&W&K&H&D&G&D&V
RSDUWLENDUDURH&H&W&H&WDONGDE&W&F&DOO&W&R&L&H&V&D&O&O&V&K&H
L&Q&H&U&M&F&L&S&K&O&L&D&Q&S&U&L&D&W&H&S&K&H&U&H&V&S&R&L&W&L&B&O&G&L&M&S&K&D&N&D&Q&7&D&D
S&U&R&G&H&H&W&D&Q&K&H&U&H&[D&P&S&O&H&R&H&E&Q&U&U&D&W&L&M&W&S&H&V&Q&K&H&L&U&L&W&L&D&W&L&Q&K&H&U&B&H&R
K&R&R&Q&U&U&D&W&L&M&L&Q&H&H&S&U&O&L&D&P&H&V&D&U&G&H&E&D&W&H&D&O&M&H&B&U&U&L&Q&K&H&M&R
K&R&R&W&R&L&H&E&S&R&L&W&L&E&D&Q&K&H&D&U&M&W&K&D&W

such informal conversational resources and themes originating in local social networks
and entering political discourse and oratory are strategically employed by politicians in
WKHLUDWVWHPSWW&F&H&D&W&H&D&P&R&H&S&H&U&Q&O&L&M&G&H&R&R&L&W&L&B&O&D&u&D&L&U&K&L&G&H&W&K&H&O&O
GLWULE&X&L&G&L&M&M&U&H&H&V&D&R&L&u&H&U&H&V&K&D&O&U&L&D&Q&D&E&G&S&R&L&W&L&B&O
argumentation.

S&K&D&N&D&S

Narratives as political sense making

,QWKLVVHFWLRQ&I&W&W&Q&W&R&W&K&H&X&H&R&I&Q&D&U&U&D&W&L&Y&H&V&E&L&O&G&L&Y&L&G&D&O&V&W&R&G&H&D&O&Z&W&K&W&K&H
experiences as integral to social experiences, as instances of social problems and as windows
L&Q&W&K&H&L&U&H&U&W&D&Q&L&R&R&L&W&L&B&O&S&U&R&M&W&K&D&W&M&Q&W&K&L&N&Q&H&U&W&D&Q&L&Q
of narratives also conveys a conception of politics as a domain in which the private and the
S&K&O&L&D&U&H&D&M&O&L&Q&H&U&M&Q&M&U&L&H&W&L&H&D&E&W&K&R&Q&L&G&H&O&W&U&M&H&D&O
S&U&R&M&V&R&S&R&L&W&L&B&O&K&D&H&V&Q&W&D&Q&:H&W&H&U&P&D&W&D&U&K&W&E&W&K&H&S
Q&U&H&V&D&W&H&W&K&D&W&K&H&L&V

interested in what kinds of stories people tell about how the world works, how they
explain the engines of political change, and the roles they see themselves, and those
whom they regard as being part of their groups, as playing in this ongoing struggle.

Q&U&H&V

DUUDWLM&L&U&W&K&D&W&W&D&N&W&K&L&D&S&S&U&B&K&M&V&D&S&R&Q&R&H&H&U&H&Q&W&K&H&L&G&H&D&G&H&D&U&W&R
DUUDWLM&W&K&R&D&U&V&Q&K&H&R&D&O&E&H&M&H&U&U&W&K&D&W&H&W&L&Q&H&R&O&H&W&R
narrate experiences, is a good way of understanding social problems from the point of view
W&K&H&L&U&S&U&W&D&R&W&W&W&K&H&L&U&M&W&L&P&V&K&D&Q&W&K&H&M&W&L&H&W&D&N&D&W&K&H&L&U&G&D&W
narratives told in interviews or in focus groups, and examine ways in which narrators portray
W&K&H&L&U&H&[S&H&U&L&H&E&N&Q&W&K&H&L&U&R&H&L&Q&Z&G&H&D&U&L&H&W&H&[W&W&K&D&W&D&H&M&H&Q&S&R&L&W&L&B&O&L&Q
W&K&H&M&M&W&K&H&G&D&E&N&R&H&[D&P&S&O&H&Q&U&U&D&W&L&M&D&Q&W&K&D&M&O&N&G&D&W&W&K&H&Z&G&H&L&M&R
migration, studying how migrants construct experiences connected with ethnic and racial
G&L&L&P&L&Q&W&L&H&D&Q&K&P&H&L&Q&D&G&H&D&H&U&R&E&O&L&E&W&L&F
G&L&L&P&L&Q&W&L&R&L&Q&L&D&H&O&D&X&D&W&R&W&K&H&U&W&L&H&K&D&M&N&G&R

GLuHUHQW JURXSVFRQVWUXFWLRO RI VRFLDO SUREOHPV VXFK DV KRPHOHVVQHV 7ULPLC
JHQGHU RSSUHVVLRO 0XUSK /DWYDOD VXUYLYDO IURP DUUV DQG PDVV
NLOOLQJVXFKDVKHRORFDXVW6FKLuULQ3LD]]D5XELQR:RGDN5KHLQGRUI

ORVWRIWKHVHUNUNXVHTXDOLWDWLYHPHWKRGRRJLHVZWKDYDULHWRILOVWUXPHOY
from discourse analysis and sociolinguistics, work on small data corpora, that is narratives
WRGEDOLPLWHGNEHUMHFWQRHUNWH[WBODQOMWKHUPHQUHU
LWLDWLQKHMWGLHWKHQWLQHWZHQKHLQLYGNODQWKHEDOLMHQ
as residing in the way narrators and interviewers interactionally position themselves with
respect to social issues. Stress is placed on the centrality of the interactional context, that is
QKHUHODWLRQLSMWDEOLKHGEHWZHQVHUONRWKUKWKHWRWHOOLQRR
WKHWHVWKH WELHDQWKHGDPLUWLVH[WKLKLOSHV
LRSFDWLROWKHSUHMVGLMMHQLWHUHGLGHVWLWLVKDWLGHVWLWLVKDWLGHVWLWLVKDWLGHV
PEHHHJUDOODKDWHGZWKEDOURHMMHLLQDQLGHRHRHESLWDO'
GLMMWZGHUUNWDUHHNGDQPDGHUHOHDEWVKHQUUDWRDQ
listeners, not presupposed by the analyst. Common analytic instruments include the notions
of positioning, agency, stance and participation frameworks. *Positioning* DVGHQHG E
DPEHUJEEXWDOVRDVUHLQWHUSUHWHGODWHUVHHH)LQDRQWKLVSRLQWUHIHUVWR
positions taken by narrators with respect to:

- a. the story world, that is, characters in the story;
- b. the storytelling world, that is, present interlocutors;
- c. the social world, that is, common ideologies and stereotypes.

Agency LVVHHQDVWKHGHJUHHRILQLWLDWLYHLP SOLFLWOWDNHQLQVWRUZRUOGVDQGRU
storytelling worlds to themselves by narrators. *Stance-taking* UHIHUVWRWKHH[SUHVVLQRIDQ
DWLWXGHHYDOXDWRQRMXGJPHQWVWKHVSHDNHUVRZQSRQWRIYLHZDPSURSR
OHUVQWVKHVHWRROVLQYROYHWKHQDOVLVRIOLQJXLVWLVVWUDWHJLHVXFKDVSURQ
choice and switches, passive and active constructions, modality, reported speech, time and
place reference, linguistic devices conveying presuppositions, lexicon and syntactic
expressions conveying emotions, and so on.

7KHHSWR participation frameworksRuPDQSURSRVHVWKHLGHDWKDWERWKWKH
QRWLRQIVSHDNHUFQKHDUHUFDQEHGHFRQVWUXFWHGLQRUGHUWRLQFOXGHGLuH
H[DPSOHWKHVSHDNHUFQWDNH WKHUROHRIDXWKRU DQLPDWRU VRPHRQH ZKRMXVW
ZRUGVRUSULQFLSDOVRPHRQH ZKRVSHDNVRQEHKDOIRIVRPHRQH HOVHKHDXGLHQFHLQW
FDQLQFOXGHUDWLHG DGGUHVHHVEXWDOVRQRQUDWLHG DGGUHVHHVDQGRYHUKHD
narrators and audiences play, impersonate or reject all or some of these roles determines the
way stories convey meanings as much as the referential worlds that they evoke.

7KHVGLMHWLQGDENKDMHWHUHGVWHOOLS DUWLNDUOLQWHUMHQ
UHMDUKHQUDWHGHMURHQVVKHKDMDOHGMUEDOGHMHVQNOI
representation. However, as is the case with discourse analysis in general, in the last decade,
narrative analysis has widened its scope to include new ways of creating and communicating
WELHLWKLQKLVWLOOHOGWKHWUHVQUUDWLMDSDWLMMHLLQ
HRDNRWKL SHUSHVLMQUUDWLMMHGHMHVPEHGGHG
ZWKLVKHUMPLVLSUDWLHQDMLHGHZWKLVKHDuRGDQUDPHVHDWHG
DQHWDEOLKHGLQKHPDUUDWLMMHGHWKHUHHDUHMHQHGEWDMPHULQ
within particular kinds of interactions, and the inventory of narrative resources necessarily
ZGHWRHQWUUEDODQPVWLPDOWRWRWHOOLQMHQVUDWLH

WKHQSDUWFLSDWLRQIUDPHUNVDQVREHFRPHRUHLPSRUWDQWDQGVLIQLEFDQWDVFR
RUFDXWKRUVKLSDQGPXOWLSOHLVWHQHUVKLSRUUHDGHUVKLSDOVRDFTXLUHJUHDWH

Studies of narratives as practices within the scope of discourse and politics have concentrated on computer-mediated communication as it is within digital media, such as RDO PHGLD WKDW HZPSSLWLBOSDUWLESWLDUHWDMDSH DOWKDM underscored, for example, the power of social-media participants in shaping, reshaping and circulating stories about politicians and politics, but also in terms of how new media are H[SORWHGESDLWLBOSDUWLVHOOHUWDLWRHLHWKHWRDLWLBOSHHKHWKDW DWHGHDUOLHUKKHUWDQOHRH[DPSOHKXHHKHMPEHGGHGZWKLQ government-controlled sites are surrounded by electronic hypertexts that create new potential frames. He shows that hyperlinks allow users to access further narrative genres, such as photo contexts, biographies and historical surveys, which constitute kinds of meta- QUUDWLMWKDWKGLLQHUSUHWDLWLVWKHDPH WLPHMUDUHUHHWRHDWHWKHLU QUUDWLMSDWKDVKHQLDWHWKHHEMWHV

VHQLGDEMUHQVLEWLDWLDUHLQHUUWDLWKHSDUWLESWDRSQR HZHGLDQUUDWLMVWGRLOHDVGHVSDUWLESWLRQHPUDWLDLW HGEWLRORSLEHVUDWtDQKUHD]KKVWKH WGHV RELGWKHDSSURULDWLRKOLFDHWKURKPKPHVQWKDWLRLOLDWLV organised through social media, performed and then circulated again through the same media, and within the frame of reference of popular narratives and characters taken from -DSDQMLRLEHQVSHURPURHWKDWDUHWDRQWKMKDUDWHDUQMWKH RLWVQLWVRLHQLHUSUHW SUHMVWVKHMHEZPDUWLESWLDMDM completely transformed storytelling by giving users of social media power over encoding DQEUDWLVHHDORRERHGLDWUDQVWLVWRLHDEWVKH UHHNLV

7KHUHDUH HW WKHU DVQLK HZHGLD KDM EUNQWDEOLKHG WRWHOOLQ EPDWVHHQ UHMDUK QVKH WUMLRGLGHQLWLHVQLSOLSDH KDVDOR GHVUDWHGKWRVLRHDPHGLDDUHWLKWOLQHUWZHGDMQUUDWLMWRGR H[DPSOHEPHPEHUMRPRVWLHKDMLQOUDWHGKRLVQUUDWLMV DKUHSUWVKUWKVHQVUMLROHFLMUDPHDQWKUKWKHDELODELOLWR testimonials on the internet, but also how these new spaces have allowed for the creation of KEULGHQHMHUdVVKHDSSURULDWLVKHLQHUVWERSUHMG and minority groups has also allowed these groups to get their messages across to a wide audience and to position themselves strategically. Storytelling has played an important role LMSURMWKHUHRHWQGHWKLKDSWHU,ZOOEULHGLWKHH[DPSOHR YGHRQUUDWLMVWHGEPHEHUMKHLJHDPHUVNPHQDSDUWVKHLUBPSDLQ to push for migration reforms.

7KHUHDPHUMPHQVWUWVHGLQRQRHQVHGWGHVQLHGWKH RHRQLRQWRLQKHVRSUHMVKLPWNSRWDUHRPHLODWLVKDW would allow undocumented students to enrol in university. Such legislation came to be VWKHSDWKHVKHLUQPH7KHUHDPHUKDMHURVQVRLRO EDQWLVQWKRDDQWLVQVWVHDDQZWKPRHWKDPHEHUVKH\ KDMRQMGV OHMMQVQSUVHWVQMMOSKHGRDSSUNOLQ RHUHUHGVLRLKLOGKRSULDOVSLHFRHLQDWLVKDWDOOD HUWDLQEHURLUDQVWDQHDQOOLQKH8KHQUUDWLMWKDW,MDV GDWDRWKL[MPSOLQWLVQUSDUWVMMWRVRLHSVWHGRLQLQSDUWR DPSDLQSRWDQ[WHQVBUHDWHUQEHURPPLUDQVQVWR GHSRWDWLVKHLUSDUHQVVKHQQUUDWLVGHPVUDWHWKHURHWKDWVZHGLDPRQMLQ

the creation of a strategic collective identity that may serve the political objectives of the site; migration reform are so important to them. Stories are organised around thematic components

fragments from one of these narratives:

him,

why we came to the United States in the place
 um he wanted me to get a better education→
 he wanted me to have a better future
 just want a better future for everyone

and that they deserve a better future and that they deserve to not fear whether or not they would be able to come home

-M

self-presentation positions the listener towards a moral stance in which rejection of the plea
RPPLUDQW EGEHHOWDNW MMHWKHUHL MUQLWWOHLQW HUPDUDGLBO
UHKW KHUH WK PLUDQV DGRW D ROLDWRGLN LQWKHM QUUDWLMWKDW LV
WUDWHLBOOMFWWKHPKLOHWLOOSUHMQLQKPHHDUHMMSUBHQKHU
occasions, such as in videos taken during their marches.

7KLWV H[DPSOH KKKQUUDWLMVPEH MG DV MKLØH WREKOG DQ
circulate collective identities that are strategically important to win political battles.

Conclusion

,QWKLVKDSWHU ,KDYHUHYLHIGWKHPDQQLQNVWKDWFRQQHFWDUUDWLYHVWRS
VHHQWKDWQDUUDWLYHVFDQFROYHDQGUHAFWPHWDGLVFRVHVHDERWVRFLHWDCQ
through stories, both politicians and members of society at large position themselves with
respect to socio-political issues and that narratives can provide strategic sites for the
WUWLRQQWLDWLRLWLBOOH[SHGLHQVLGHQVLWLH,DOOWKHMZWRWHOOLQ
can be seen as political practice.

Note

KWWSQLWHGFIGUHDPRUJWRHDUV

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SKDNVDPBPDPDOWDONBPDOMWWLNRQUUDWLMVQHHN
SDUOLDPHVUDUGHEDWHLQVQLWLBOKFN, QHWVHQQLWLBOELWLMNDQSKOLF
entertainment, eds. ' 3 RSD 9 7VDNRQD -RKQ %HQMDPLQV \$PVWHUGD
%DPEHUJ 0 D HG μ2UDO YHUVLRQV RI SHUVRQDO H[SHUL
6SHFLDO , VVXH RI *Journal of Narrative and Life History*
DPEHUJ0E3RVLWLRQLQJEHWZHHQVWUXFWXUHDQGSUHVIRUPDQFHf *Narrative and Life
History* SS±

ORPPDHUW-RFN0OF&RUPLFN. μDUUDWLYHLQHTXDOLWLQWKH&KHDULQJV2QWKH
KHDUDELOLWRIKLGGHQWUDQVFDL\$WVW& *Language and Politics* SS±

RWWLFL& μDUUDWLYH¶Q *Encyclopedia of Political Theory*, ed. 0HYLUSSDJH
KRXVDQG2DNV&SS±

UXQHU - 3R PRGHV RI WKRXJKW¶Q *Actual minds possible worlds - UXQHU DUYDUG
QLYHUVLW3UHVV&DPEULGJH0SS±*

&KDWPDQ6 &RPLQJWRWHUPVWKHUKHWRULFRIQDUUDWLYHLQF&WLRQDQGQOP, Cornell University
BHWKDB±

HLD\$ *Identity in narrative: A study of immigrant discourse-RKQHQMDPLQV&VWHUGDP
H)LQD μDUUDWLYHVVLQQLQWHUYLHZWKHFDVHRIDFRXQWV)RUDQLQWHUDF&WLRQDODSSURDFKWL
QDUUDWLYHJHQQUHMWLYH,QTXLUSS±*

H)LQD3RVLWLRQLQJOHYHO&RQHF&WLRQJORFDOLGHQWLWGLVSODYWRPDFURVRFLDOSURFHVVHV¶
IDUUDWLYH,QTXLUSS±

H)LQD\$QUHJLVWHUHGDOGHPHUJHQWLGHQWLWLHVLOQDUUDWLYH¶Q *identity and
interculturality*HGV)HUYLQ.EVDJHURXWOHGJH/RQGROSS±

H)LQD\$RURJDNRSRXORX\$DOVLOJQDUUDWLYHVVDVSUDF&WLFHV¶ *Qualitative Research,
SS±*

3DWHUQRVWUFRSRRWLOH5LQDOWRFLXRUL/WDOLFDFPELDYFUVRA) *so politico e interazione nei social network*. 3DSHUSUHVHQWHGDW3&RQYHQWLRQIDSOHVIRYHPEHU

3HUULQRPHUIRUPLOJH[WUDFRPXQLWDULORFNLOJPLJUDQWVLO9HQHWREDDUHQGHWWH¶
SocietySS±

3LDJ]DXELQRDFLDOODZVWXUQHGRXUOLYHVSRLVWLYHOSHQWLYLWDOGFKRUDOLWLQ
WKHLGHQWLWRIDJURXSRI,WDOLDQ-HZLVKZIMQHFVWHEVLOes. *Narrating lives between social identities and individual biographies* HGV \$DVXOR 3LDJ]D 3DOJUDYH ODFPLOODQ
DVLQJWRNHSS±

3ULQFH dictionary of narratology QLYHUVLWRIIHEUDVND3UHVVLQFROOI(
XJLHUR&)RUHFDVWLQJLQWKHSROLWLFVRIVSHFWDFOH)URPHUOXVFRQLWRULOORKKHQDUUDWLYH
RILPSROLWHSROLWLFV¶ of Italian Politics SS±

6KLULQORWKHUDQGIULHQGVLQDRORFDXVWVXUYLYRURUDOKILWBLUge in Society,
SS±

KKHUW DUUDWLMHMHVQLWLBOGLMMFPDQWLQSHHKDQ
KSHUWH[WUDPHHQ Narrative revisited telling a story in the age of new media-RKQ
HQMDPLOVFWWHUGDPSS±

KHQDY&RQFLVHQDUUDWLYHVWUXFWXUDODQDOVLRISROLWLFDO&L&SMLes,
SS±

WRQLWLBOQUUDWLMDDQWVKHLQHUSODQLWLBOGLMDDQQUUDWLM
DDQMInternational Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education SS±

VLPLQKDP3KHSDLQWHYHURQH ZLWKWKHVPHEUXVKEXLWLMXVWVLPSONVQWVKHFDVH¶
in *Marked identities. Narrating lives between social identities and individual biographies* eds.
DREDDBOUDMDPLOODQMNSS±

YQHURDQMLFHWHZHVYKHLQLGQODQWKHDOGLPHQUUDWLMV
LQSRPDQLMMHVLWDLWLPD¶ DUUDWLM,SS±

:RDSKHLQRKWRFDUUDWLMHUMWLKWDQMDOWRQ
EWKHKLOGUHQVULDQWMMVQ Diversity and superdiversity: Sociocultural
linguistic perspectives HGVH)LQD;NLJRJOX -:HJHUHRUJHWRZQQLYHUVLW3UHVV
:DVKLQJWRQ&SS±

:RGDN&H&LOOLD 3LVLJO 0/LHEKDUW. The discursive construction of national
identity, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

Rhetorical analysis

Claudia Posch

Introduction

5KHWRULFDODQDOVLVFRQFHUQHGZWKDVRIGLQJDOGLQWHUSUHWLQJSHUVVLYYHV
 ODQJH7KHODQJHHRISROLWLFVSDUWLFDDUOLVQWVKHIRFXRIUKHWRULFDODQDOVW
 ERWKWKUHUVWRIUKHWRULFDUFUHDWLYLWDDQGWKHREMFWRUIKHWRULFDODQDOV
 (EHUOS5KHWRULFDQGUKHWRULFDODQDOVLVKDYHDODVEHHQDQLPSRUWDQWVNLOO
 RUHYHQDUWUWLVUKHWRULTEH,ODQFLHQWUHFFHUKHWRULFDVYLHIGDVFUFLDOGI
 WKHTRKHQRIDOOVKMHFWVTLHQSRLQWQH,QLVIDPRXWUHLWRRWHLGHQWLHG
 rhetoric as an essential part of the ethical discipline *politics*.
 rhetoric was practised in political settings and assemblies, as well as in public discussions in
 RHUWRHUMGHDLHQFNUWDLQLWLBDOWKWKUHKKDDOZVHHQDN
 UHODWLQLSEHWZHQKHWELEQSLWLPOWKHPDMEDMDOKHWRLEBOKDDU@
 MGRWLWFKHSULESDOORUKHWRLEBQWKLWUKHWRLEBQWKHREDSUDWLH
 ZUHDLPHGDEWLHQSLWLBDODHVSXWHQOOHFOODHUWY7KH
 contrast between the philosophical paradigm and linguistic practice has also been an area of
 FVNUWLPWUKHWRLEDLGGDQDWLMDWLEBQWKHPRHUHUKHWRLE
 PHDQPSWEGVHMDDQSDWLMSHHKDQSDURDDQD.LHSRQHU
 ,QKHWRQLHWKHQVKHMUWKHEDWLEWUKHWRLEHDPHLEHDMQHWLF
 and new research traditions with multiple approaches developed.

.LHSRQHUJDLGHQLHWKHEUDOWKRRHWLEBOSHUSHWLMKUKHWRLEB
 analysis typically draws:

- B traditional or classical rhetoric approaches;
- B approaches based on the *New rhetoric* or contemporary rhetoric.

7KHMSSHUHWLMDUHWHQHUDWHGZWKWKHUDQOWLEDPHMRGLuHUHQHOGV
 K DSKLORKEDO EHFVQ HSHEDOOLEWLEH HDPSON ELWLBD
 LMMGLHWKHLMLWLEBOSUBKEDQSLWLEWLF
 ,QKHROKSDUDUDSKMWWKHWUDGLWLEBODSSURKHWEKHWLEBODQOMZOOEH
 GLNGZKDELLWVHOLDQSWLKNZUHDEDMDDOODWHUUDPHN

detailed description of *topoi* as understood today will be given in the section Semantics of DUKHVS

Disposition is the structuring and arranging of a communicative act. 7UDGLWLRQ UKHWRLHQDLOV HUDLHG WUWKLQWH MLODU WRWKDW R RSEWLRQVUBWLSUHMVDWLDV DUKHVDWLDQ HSLON 7KH WKLUG

HOHPHQW LQWKH UDPHQDDEW RPODWLDQ WOH *locutio* QDGLQFOXGHV WKH MLUWXHVRIVWOH LHQSRLOWQH UDRIOLQJXLVWLFH ISUHVVLRQJUDPPDWLFD OFRUHFV FODULWDGHTXDFEUHYLWDQGHPHOOLVKPHQWRURUQDPMQWVRIVSHHFK L UHIHUV WR WKH SUDFWLFH RI FRPPXQLFDWLRQ WR UHFWLRQ RQ WKH IRUP RI SUHVHQW

remembering of ideas for presentation. *Delivery* means the act of carrying out a communication and is thus concerned with the performance of a rhetor. With these so-called *canons* LVWRWOHDQGLVIROORZHUV SURYLGHGD VWDEOH DQUREXVWUKHWRULFDQJ which is still considered to be important for rhetorical analysis.

Until the twentieth century, little changed about the general theory of rhetoric, even if extensive catalogues of concepts and categories were developed or adapted throughout the LGGOH HDQ 5HQDQ 5KHWRLEW WDKLDV GLSOLA DQ DV UDGNOOUHGGWGWKHWOH LHSRQUDVHQLGHDUOLHULWKH twentieth century, with the linguistic turn in the humanities, interest in rhetoric as an important element of public discourse increased again.

Contemporary rhetorical analysis

BUHIVNVSHDNVRIWKHFKLHIUHVSROVLELOLWRIUKHWRULFWRGDDVEHLQJWKHGLVSODR UHDVRODQ WKH MXWLDWLRQRI FROWLQJHQW FODLPV LQWKH SEOLF IRUPBUHIVN S5KHWRLEWLVWHDSEKOLRPPWUWUKQQLWLDWLRPQ

BRVYHUHWM[SHULHQDQSLUDWLRQWLDVLDQDUHM WHPSRDUDSSURKHWKHWRLBUHWUQLQGEWKHNDWPHUHOPDQ DQKH DEUHKWVWH 7KHLU 7UDLWp GH ODUKHVDWLDQ MOOH UKpWRLM BIUHOPDQDEUHKWVWH BURWUKHWRLDVKHKLWLVREDVWR DBGHPLGLMKHMZGUKHWRLDMKHRRODHOHDUHQDWLQDOLG DOWHUQWLVWULWOPDWKHPDWLBODQORBODSSURKHMVKHOGVWKLBOQSRWLBO DUKHVDWLRQSRVUD5KHWRLEVHHWDEOLKHGDKLWLBWHGUDPHN

for analysing and thus making sense of how human beliefs and behaviours are shaped by SDWWHUQDWLMSUDWLHDMOODGLFWHRPQDWLRQVDKU S BIUHOPDQ DEUHKWVWH SUHMVHG DRSUHKHM WSR DUKHVDWLRMHPHKLKDEHHQDNQDQGLHUMOGVWEDQ UHMDUK.LHSRQUSW DUWLQWKBIUHOPDQDEUHKWVWHN

new developments in rhetoric were triggered and contributions were made by researchers such DVQWKKMKHOBHUWHSKHQPLQQDUOQ

.RUPSEHOORPSEHOQPDVLPYUHGHEGGLuHUHQDEWKHMEDUV HLWKHUDPWRRLGHVLPWLQDWRWRQEOHQQHUWDQLR W[WHOLJG UHDDUHQDWLRQDORWRWRBGLBHQDEKOGPQWVKURD

listening rhetoric WWHQYDQMOOH EOODHUWVSKH *Toulmin schema*,⁴ for example, tries to include all essential components of argumentation. Current approaches in the

BQRQGD DUHPKLQGEVPLQSHEDOOWKHUHMDUKSURDPPHQ as *informal logic*, QIRUPDO ORJL FORNVDWDUJXPHQDWLRQLQHYHUGDODQJXDJHBJXPHQW

schemes for reconstructing, assessing, criticising and construing arguments are developed ZWKLQKLVDPHQLQPHUHQDSURKHMUR WKHNUWRPDOORRQWKWWDWWDNDPRHGLDOHFWLBOWDEWLQDOH

,QFRPSOH[GLVFRXUVH DUJXPHQVWUWUXFWXUHV DUHRIWHQPFKOHVWVUDQVSDUHQVWV
schemes were proposed to help identify and reconstruct structure to enable argument
HDOEWL RH[DP SOH: DOWRQDMSURM WKHROKURHQ
scheme for the logical structure analysis of an *argument from fairness*:

DMREB'HPLM, WUHDW MQEBOOWKHQDLUMW
DRB'HPLM WLRRLWUHDW MQEBOO\
RMRGEGHBUULHGK
LDQWLRRLHLWDRHQUDOSRLDFWLRQBUHDHQV
URHQV
:DOWRQ

Walton and Hansen demonstrate how this scheme works via the example of a text concerning
DSURDPPHWHGRELPLQMDULRKL SURDPPHUHKUHLPLQOWBR
RPEWNSUHQHUHWKHSRLWLEDLPEDNLGtHUMXDMQ
WKHSULQUWFKDWHMUKHUKDUGENQDULDQRDQRWGDEN
LWHDGWHQLWKHGDENWEHRHEHWWHU ELPLQDNDHO
EGLVDOWRQDKLMQ *argument from fairness*, because it suggests that
criminals and citizens should be treated in the same way with respect to having to work
:DOWRQ:LWKWKHDURHQDWLRPHPHDENWKHDURHQDQ
be broken down into the following structure:

DMREB'HPLM, WKHENSURDPPHWUHDWELPLQODQEWLHQEBOOWKHQKH
ENSURDPPHMLUMW
DRB'HPLM7KHENSURDPPHWUHDWELPLQODQEWLHQEBOO\
RMRKENSURDPPHKEGEGHBUULHGK

7KHURHQKHPHDKGRDWRDWLBOOPDNDODLPDENKRWLHGDDQ
DURHQLEKHWKHULWLREEDG,WRQLGHQLHWKH WUKHQHUOLWKH
DURHQ, QGHU WMDQURHQPRHSURQWKHRHWLEDQWDMQ
ELWLBOHWLEKWLW'

,VUDGLWLRQORBURHQWKDWDUHQRPDOOPOLGDUHHQUDOOMHIGDNOODEHV
EHMUGDODQH KEMU WKLWULW GLWLRQLQMDQWKHUHRHUHQ
DSSURKHMDONWHDODDEHGLuHUHQOFEHDULQQLQOLWLEQRPEWLM
aspects. One basic assumption here is that even emotional appeals can be acceptable in certain
EURWDEQQRH WUDGLWLRQDOODEHDEHWHHONWHDGEPKUHNSWM
UHDQLHSRQUD: DOWRKHLP SRWDQHWLRQHHQWUMKH
analysis is whether or not emotive language in arguments is acceptable and when. Macagno
DQ: DOWRGHUHPWLMGNWUHPHOLuHFWLMLURHQWRLUHWDDQ
HNDHUUWDLQWWLW&HDKRHLKPDNENLQKHWRLEBODQOMWKH
GHMLEHDQKLGHUHDOLWDPW WKHDPHWLPH: KDWHQPHLMBOOLPSRWDQDKDWV
RLW7KWKHKKHWLEBODQMDREHQKHUWKHRURHQDQDV
WKLMDHEHQWHDONWHDURHQNSODKEOHRDOODEK

Semantics of arguments. Topics

7HWVODVSHFWVRIDUJRHQWDWLRQKDYHWREHHPDPLQHGFORVHOKLKFQDQRQOEHGRQHL
PHDQLQJRIWUWUDORJLFDQYRFDEQDUVDOVRFROVLGHUHG.LHQSRLOWQHUSQ

5HLVLJOSHPKDVLVHWKDWIDOODFQHHGQRWQHfHVVDULOEHUHVWULFWHGWVRVLOJ
VSHHFkDFWVDQGDovRWKDWVHTXHQFHVRIUHODWHGVSHHFKDFWVfDQEHFRPHIDOODFLR
one is to analyse argumentation, some normative model that provides guidelines for
GLWLKLRURDOODEDURHQDWLQVHGHGMCWLGLvDWR
PDN WKLGLWLQLEHDM LW DOMKHDLOGHSHQVVKH SUHMLVLEHODWHG
SHGHVKH DQOWDQVVKH UHSHWLM HOG LCLK WKH DURHQDWLQV
HPEHGGHG\$HLMO S BDPDGLDOHFWLURGHKDMWVHQPDWLM
UHQVPHUHQVHQVWKLKDUHSOHPHQVHGEHLKWPVHUHQV
WKHLMLWRLDQSSUBK5HLMOSKRWQUSDUKWKDW
RDQQOMDOODEHDEHUPDQDQHSKLOK KKLKLMQWR
DOODEDURHQVUHQDOODEDNDWOOQKGDORHLMRPHZLKWLQKHWKH why
DPHQDOODEHDMUHWHRNGR argumentum ad and another Latin component
describing its meaning. Some terms for fallacies also have numerous, descriptive English
HKDOHQVVKHVKHPHMOODVSHMWBPHMGWRDQMDOODEHKDV
argumentum ad misericordiam DSSHDO WR SLW argumentum ad populum DSSHDO WR
SRXODULWFRQVHQVVIDOQD argumentum ad hominem SHUVRQDODWVWDFM
baculum DSSHDO WR IRUFHWSKW Man Fallacy, and many more. Lists of informal and
formal fallacies are abundant on the internet, even though sites of course greatly vary in
BOLWDDOODEHVDDEH DfSWDEOHLQLWLQLEURWDEVDQLQDUWLNDU
dialogue types, even if they form weak or presumptive arguments to support a certain
WDQSRQVHMOVWHDWKLKSRQDDOODEHRRHNSWDEOHLQHUWDLQLMM
DQOWDNLWLBDHWLPH[DPSOH argumentum ad misericordiam DSSHDO WR SLW
is an argument in which the arguer tries to evoke feelings of pity in order to persuade.
:DOWNVWKDWQ appeal to pity is fallacious if it is either formulated in such
DQWKDWLWEONVWKHUNVWLQLLWGUWDPWLEPSDWLMMUHOH[DHUDWHG\$
fallacious appeal to pity PHQWLRQHGE\HQSRQWQHULVRIWHQXVHGEVRFDOOHG3UR
/LIHFVLYLVVW,QRQH[DPSOHDERUWLRQDZVDUHFRPSDUHGWRWKHIXUHPEHUJODZV
to slavery, drastically accompanied by explicit pictures on a website. Such arguments
SUHMLVUDWLQGLKVKH WBLEMO[HMMO\GUDWLEMUEDO DQMMO
PHDRURHQDWLQVWKHLUWDQSRQLRGHUWMDORWKHGLKQVROH
WKHRSRQV\HSPVHU S 7KLVDNWKHPKLKOSUROHPDWLWUDWHLF
moves in a discussion.
\$DME SuroHP DULMHQDMQURHQVDOODEHVWKDWKDMWR
H[SODLQKDKVKHPLMGDQVHFWLMGHHSWLMWDWLWVKDWGRVWR
SHROHPDQVWVWKLVSUROHPWKHRSWR strategic manoeuvring
DQVURNGEPHPUHQVNRDWLQUNUWDNWRKLMEMK
their rhetorical and dialectical goals. Here, rhetorical strategies are registered and evaluated
to determine at which point emotional argumentation becomes unacceptable or fallacious
.LHQRVUS

Figures of speech

)LJHVRIVSHHFk)63DUHDQRWKHULPSRUWDQWLQVWURHQWLQKUHWRULFHVSHFLDQ
UKHWRULFDQGWKHKDYHEHHQVWGLHGDVROHRIWKHPDLQEUQFKHVRIUKHWRULFIUP
RQDUGV7KHUHVDPDOUKHWRULFDQQLWVDQGIURPDFODVVLFDOSHUVSHFWLYHWKH
DV OLOQK\WLF RUQDPHQVW RU VWQLVWLF PHDQV 5HFHQW DSSURDFKHV LQKQFHG E
OLOQK\WLVFKRZYHUDOVFRQFHQWUDWHRQWKHPFKDQLVPVDQGVWURK\HVRI)63p
DQGUDWKHUYLHVWKHPDVVHPLRWLFDWHJRULHV (VHQVLYHWSRORJLHV VSHFLIQJD

of each sentence, thus the linguistic level on which it operates is syntax and the operation that occurs is repetition.

7KHMERQDWRDLBOOWKQKHWRLERHVKLQDWLMPDNLW
DOODEKDWKHU DUHPRHE OHYUHMV LQW WHUDH DUWLENDUOQLORLWLDQ
UKHWRLWKHMUDOODLPLWED&LHHEWWDQSRODQDUHDWVWKDWPD\
EPDQ KHOS WDKLHM WKLBO\$KHWLEDO DQOW PDVWHRLM MGLQ
GLKMDQWDNDONONWWKHHuHFWKDWDUHDKLHMGGZWKWKHLUM

Reconstructing metaphors

,QDWUDGLWLRQDOVHQQVPHWDSKRUVDUHRIWHQYLYHIGDVSXHORUODPHQWDODVW
,Q PRGHUQ GLVFRXVHFHQWUHG DSSURDFKHV KRZYHU PHWDSKRUV DUH QR ORQJHU YL
DUWLFLDOOFUDIWHGOLQJXVWLFWRROVEXUDWKHUDVLQVWURXHQVWVKDWWVWURXW
GHHSDQDFKRUHG LQ WKH KRDO PLOG &KDUWHULVDFN S YLHV PHWDSKRUV DV
LPSRUWDQW LQ DQSHUVVLYH GLVFRXVH EHFDXH WKH'PHGLDWH EHWZHQ FROVFLR
DFRQVFLRXP HDQVRISHUVVLRQEHWHHQFRJQLWLRQDQGHPRWLRQDQGWKH DUHWKH
DFHQWUDO VWUDWHJRUR OHJLWLPLDWRQLQSRQLWLFDOVSHHFKHV\$KDUWHULVDFN

that metaphors are the most important rhetorical and stylistic device in political discourses.

,WLNLQWLKEDUDWHULWPHWDSKRWKDWWKHSUGMMPDQVWHQDPDWLBOO\
WKHDLPRHWDSKRMDMUGDWKHLUMPDEHLWRHUNGH&DUWHULQDN
SWDSSURKHGHQDOLQWKPHWDSKRLODQHWEDDUHEDMGWKHGHQWLR
RHWDSKRDEWLWUWVHEHEDQ-KQRWKHLUDPKN

Metaphors we live by. Metaphors are understood in such a way that they do not only appear on the linguistic surface, but rather that the linguistic metaphor is cognitively preceded by a

BOOHG RSWNO PHWDSKR RSWNO PHWDSKR DUH MPSON SW SDWKDR
WKLNDUHMGWVNDNYKHKLQDWRWKLNDDELWMHKS@

metaphors, especially in political discourses, are war metaphors. Posch, Stopfner, and

.LHROVUSLGHQLHGWKHFE metaphor as a metaphor that is
UHQVOMGEULKWZQRLWV

,QWEPHGLDUHSEWVKHEOGZGHQDQDOELM R W K D W
RSWNO PHWDSKR W K D W U D P H W K H L Q H U Q W L R O Q D D O E L M V D S K H R H Q
KULQWKNDQ[WHUQOLQHDUHUHQVH[DPSOHWKHFE

or zzzzCHWDSKRVKHQLQWLBOOPDQHWLQKUDMMDV

WKHUHLQHURWKHFLMKDEHRHUEHQDQLQVHQKDYKHUH
LDWRPEUHZQVLDENWEDLGDQOHSHROHDQEMVKKHDGLQDUGV
ELM 7KHPEHWDSCRHQDLOWKDWWKHQDQDOELV
LUDWKHUDGDHUWKDWRHVRVGHQDQDQVWKLQUBHGEKEDQKLV

danger is spreading autonomously, the crisis itself becomes the acting subject of the
GLM, QKLDWKHGLMRRHWKNUHSRQOHRWKHELVKHDPHLV

true for the zzzz metaphor. People as well as business are cognitively construed as actors in nature who are endangered by the catastrophe, rather than as responsible agents.

Prospect

5HVHDFK LQWR VSHHFK FRPPQLFDWLRO FROWLQXVWKH WUDGLWLRQ RIFODVVLFDQ
IRFXRQFULWLFDOUKHWRULFDODQDOVLV&DPSEHOO-DPLHVRQ pYD&DQDVHOO

DVFRPSRVLWLRQ5DVNLQ :HLVHU)XUWKHUPRUHHVSHFLDOOLQOLOQJXLVWLVFWVKHIRFXV
 now is on the use of computerised methods for applied and critical research into rhetoric and
 GLNMDQOMESMLNWLWLPWEGHMORQZHWK&EQLDURHQV
 and rhetorical devices in huge numbers of texts, which may contribute empirical support to
 WKH QLGLNMDQOMVKH UHMDUK SURDPPH MQLPHQ DQOMV
 example, aims to develop machine algorithms to detect subjective emotions in a text
 pQUHREHDXSHOVKHURSMLNWLWLDSSUBKHMHWRELQ
 ideas and concepts from discourse analysis and rhetoric with the analysis of large corpora
 UNUKHQUKHQKRUUKDUOWKHOGHUVWU
 ONWDO5KHWRLBODQOMMLQOOVKHMGLESOLHMQSUHDEO\
 ZOOQLWWRORDPHOGRQVHUHWLQKHHDUWRH

Notes

)RUDWUDQVODWHGYHUVLRQRISLVWRWOHVUNVHH5REHUWV
 6LQJDUUposf
 ,QKLVTopicsSLVWRWOHOLVWVPRUHWKDWySRLVHH.LHQSRLOVQHUD
)RUDVKRUWRYHUYLHZVHH.LHQSRLOVQHUS
)RUDJHQHUDOLQWURGFWRQRQ&VHH)RUFKWQHUIRUDYLHZRQWKHUHODWLRQRIUKHWRULFD
 &VHHIRULQVWDQFH)RUFKWQHURPLQF
 ,Q:DOWRQDQGBQVHQVSDQDQVWLVWKHVFKPHLVPRUHGHWDLQGDQGWKHUHDUHGLuHUHQW
 versions of it.
 EDQDPDSOHELWLWLDONWLWUQWKHDEMDURHQVRLUHQMH:DOWRQ
 DMS
 Q topoiVHHDOVR.OHLQS)RUFKWQHU:RGDNSIRUDFULWLTXHRIWKH
 concept of topoiDVLWLVDSSOLHGEUKHWRULFDQDQDOVWVHHaDJDU IRU D UHSOWR aDJDUV
 FULWLTXHVVHHLVLJOS
)RUHDPDSOHDVHFRQRPLFWKUHDWVHHDNHUOF(QHUDEULHODWRV
 KH singularity topoiFDQDOVREHIRXQGLQQRPLQDWLRQVWUDWHJLVUHUUULQJWRWKHWHDOXVWU
 ALHQQHVHVRRGVHH:RGDNES)RUFKWQHUHWDOS
)RUDPRUHGHWDLQHGGRYHUYLHZVHHXERLV@
 EXQGDQWFDWDORJXHVDQJORVVDULHVZLVKHDPDSOHVRIW\$HVRI)FDQEHIRXQGRQWKHLQWF
 HJKWWSUKHWRULFEXHGXRUKWWSDPHULFDQUKHWRULFFRP

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 KHQRU I ANWLWDWLYLQPLHUWH BOLWDWLM LMDQM .ESMLQWLKH
 =M XLPQWH|WHQ HULHQQ Angewandte Diskurslinguistik: Felder, Probleme,
 PerspektivenHGV.RWK&6LHJHNDGHPH9HUODJHUOLQSS±
 XHQKRIHU I 6KDUORWK -IRUSXVOLQJXLVWLVFKHLVNXUVDQDOVH HU IXWJHQHPSLULVFK
 TXDQWLWDWLYHU9HUIDKUMQIQistik im Spannungsfeld von Deskription und Kritik, eds.
 ,DUNHLQRHLMONGHPLH9HUODJHUOLQSS±
 MN,EMHQWKMNKOOLWf The Journal of the Kenneth Burke Society,
 DLODEOHURKWWSEMQRORQDHFMG-DQU@
 DPSEHOO..PDQ The rhetorical act: Thinking, speaking and writing critically,
 WKHG:DGKWKMOPI&
 DPSEHOO..DPLHQ Deeds done in words: Presidential rhetoric and the genres of
 governance@LYHUVLWRI&KLFDJR3UHVV&KLFDJR/

&KDUWHULVDFN - *Politicians and rhetoric: The persuasive power of metaphor*, Palgrave
DPLOODHN

KLOWRUFU& DLWLFWH[WDQWON Analytic approaches to political discourse,
MQDPLQW HUGDP

RRW general rhetoric-RKQVRSNLQVQLYHUVLW3UHVVDOWLPRUH0'

(LVHQKDUW&-RKQVWRQH)WFRXUVHDDOVLVDQGUKHWRULFDOVWRK&HVFQ detail:

LVFRXUVH DQDOVHV RI UKHWRULFDO WDHQVDEGOWMROH & (LVHQKDUW MQMDPLQV
BVWHUGDPSS±

)DLUFORXJK,)DLUFORXJK1 Political discourse analysis: A method for advanced students,
5WOHGHRQ

HOGHU (HG Korpustragmatik: Thematische Korpora als Basis diskurslinguistischer
AnalysenGHUXWHUHUOLQ

)RUFKWQHULULWLTXHWKGLVFRXUVHKLWVRULFDODSSURDFKDQGWKH)UDQNLXW6KRRO'J
Discourse StudiesYROQRSS±

)RUFKWQHULULWLFDOVFRXUVHDDOVLVQThe encyclopedia of applied linguisticsHG&\$
&KDSHOOHDFNZHO02|IRUGSS±

)RUFKWQHUHistoria magistra vitae KH topos of history as a teacher in public struggles over
MODQWKHUHSUHMVDWLRQcontemporary Critical Discourse StudiesHGV&DUW3&DS
ORRPVEXU/RQGRQSS±

)RUFKWQHURPLQF&ULWLTXHDQGDUXPHQWDWLRQ2QWKHUHODWLRQEHWZHHQWKHGLVFRXUVH
KLVWRULFDODSSURDFKDQGD3UDJPDGLDQHLVWLVYage and PoliticsYROQRSS
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)RUFKWQHULULW)DQZVNL 0 :RGN 5QHGLDWL]DWLRQ ULJKWZLQJ SRSXOLVP DQG
SROLWLFDO FDPDLJQLQJ KH FDVH RI WKH XVWULDQ)UHHGRD&DUWQ) political
elections in Europe and AmericaHGVQ(NVWUPROVRQ3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQDVLQJVRNRH
SS±

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QDQFLDOHQZVLWHPHQWLYHFRPSXWLQJ DQGVHQWLPHQW DQDOVLVHGKXUVKLG6ULQJHU
RUGUHFKWSS±

YDXGDQ3WRSHXQGLXUHQLQ Rhetorik und Stilistik: Ein Handbuch historischer und
systematischer ForschungHGVLGHUXWHUHUOLQSS±

DQVHQKHWWRULFDQGORJLFLQ The international encyclopedia of communication, ed. W
NDKQDHOODOGHQSS±

-RQ+ Manifest rationality: A pragmatic theory of argument, Lawrence Erlbaum
NDWHQDKK1

LHSRQHUO Alltagslogik: Struktur und Funktion von ArgumentationsmusternURPPDQ
ROJERRJWXWJDUWQG&DQQVWDWW

LHQSRQWQHU0DKHWWRULFLQ Handbook of pragmaticsHGV-9HUVFKXHUHQ-2gVWPDQ-
ORPPDHUW MQMDPLQV BVWHUGDP \$DLODEOH IURP KWWSVEHQMDPLQVFRPRQOLQH KRSOLQ
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LHQSRQWQHU0E)LXUHVRIVSHHFKLQ Handbook of pragmaticsHGV-9HUVFKXHUHQ-
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Handbuch historischer und systematischer ForschungHGVVLQUGW-QDSHGUXWHU
HUOLQSS±

- .LHQSRLQWQHU0pODXVLEOHDOGIDOODFLRXVWUDWHJLHVVRVLOHQFHRCQDWRSSROHQWQIQ
DUJXPHQWDWLRQLQFRQWH[W]LIWHHQVWXGLHVRQVWUDWHJLFPDQHXHYHULQJHG)YDQ(HPHUHQWQ
BVWHUGDPSS-
- .LHQSRLQWQHU0pKHWRULNIIQ Aristoteles-Handbuch: Leben, Werk, WirkungHGV&DSS
. &RUFLOLXVOHWJ)OHUWVXWVWJDUWSS±
- .LQGW:LHROOHVSUDFKOLFKHU, QGLNDWRUHQIQUSJXPHQWDWLRQVDQDOVHQ(LQ(UJHEQLVEHULFKW
DXVGHU/LQJXLVWLVFKHQKHWRULNIIQ)The Wissenschaft: Rede und Argumentation in Theorie
XQG3UD[LVHG:UHX]JEDXHU/LW:LHQSS±
- .OHLQ - KHWRULVFKVWLOLVWLVFKH (LJHQVFKDIWHQ GHU SUDFKH GHURHROEHLMLQ
Stilistik: Ein Handbuch historischer und systematischer ForschungHGS[LGHUXWHUHUOLOQ
SS±
- .OHLQ-Grundlagen der Politolinguistik : Ausgewählte Aufsätze)UDQNHWZPPHUUOLOQ
/DNRu*RKQVRQ0 Metaphors we live byWKHGOLYHUVLWRI&KLFDJR3UHVV&KLFDJR
/
/DXHU-0Invention in rhetoric and composition 3DUORU3UHVV:HVW/DIDHWWH,1
/HHFKI@QJXLVWLVFDQGWKHJXUHVRUKHWRULFIQ Essays on style and language:
Linguistic and critical approaches to literary styleHG5RZOHURXWOHGHJDQ.GHJQ/ROGRQ
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- /XQVIRUG\$LOVRQ. (EHUO)HGV The SAGE handbook of rhetorical studies,
HKNQD
DNDQWR Emotive language in argumentation, Cambridge University Press,
HEN
- DNDHO. BLUGNQHORMV/DULKDLQDODQ The Globe and
Mail 6ISWHEHU \$DLODEOH IURP KWWSSZZWKHJOREHDQGPDLQFRPQHZVSROLWLVVSULVRQ
JXDUGXQLRQQRWHQGRUVLQJRWLDULRSFFKDLQJDQJSODQDQWVLFQHHG -DQXDU\
@
ODXWQHUKHFNVDQGDODQFHVRZFRUSXVOLQJXLVWLVFVFDQFRQWULEXWHWRH&HODS
of critical discourse analysisHGV5RGDN00HHU@JH/RQGRQSS±
OHUO Rhetoric, language, and reason, Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania,
S
- HQW5Treatise on biblical rhetoric VLOO/HLGHQRVWRQ0\$
gKOVFKOIJHU* Linguistische Überlegungen zu einer Theorie der ArgumentationILPHHU
ELQJHQ
- 3HUHOPDQ&2OEUFKWWVHFD/.RSSHUVFKPLGW-9DUZLJ)(KQL@ Die neue
Rhetorik: Eine Abhandlung über das Argumentieren)URPPDQQRQJERRJ WXXWVWJDUWQDQ
Cannstatt.
- K& 'This world he created is of moral design': The reinforcement of American values in
the rhetoric of George W. Bush, Praesens, Wien.
- K&KDOWNHHVGHQOKHQIKWIDLKZLWHULQLH.ULMKLQLQHGHE
ODMQKWSUHKHEHUGLHODDOH:LUWKDWLQDLMLQHWHUHLKLRHQ
HGLHQ)ptum: Zeitschrift für Sprachkritik und Sprachkultur, QRSS±
- 3RVFK&Argumentieren, aber richtig : EID[LEKUV&LHUHQH 7HWRDUEKJ
- K&RQUOLHQRVQU(HUPDQWZU GLMMVWKHH[WUHPHDQ
SRQLWULKWILQOMQEWGLMMKRHDQEMLODONQWH[W]HGYS&EDN
-5LKDUGENWOHGHHS±
- 5DMQHLMU, Language and writing: Applications of linguistics to rhetoric and
composition\$1RUZRRGI-
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HLVLJO0 KHWRULFRI SROLWLFDO VSHHFKHVLEQ)andbook of communication in the public
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:RGDN6HHU0Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis , Sage, London.
=DKU0KHWRLDODQMLQ The handbook of business discourse HG)BUJLHOD
&KLDSSLQL(GLOEXUJKQLYHUVLW3UHVV(GLOEXUJKSS±
äDDDU, TopoiLQ&ULWLFDOLVFRXUVHQDOVLV¶Lodz Papers in PragmaticsYROQRSS
±
=DUHIVNRhetorical perspectives on argumentation : Selected essays, Springer, Heidelberg.

Understanding political issues through argumentation analysis

Ruth Amossy

Introduction

,VSROLWLFDOGLVFRXUVHLQWULQVLFDOOLQNHGWRDUJRHQWDWLRQ7RGDSKOLFRS
 inclined to doubt it, partly due to the popular notion that politicians resort to rhetorical
 strategies in order to better manipulate their audience, with little consideration for valid
 UHDDQHQGHEDWH,ROELWVHOY Rhetoric, however, the answer to
 WKLVWLDQHQGHUHGDOPDWWHURVSLWLDQGLMREUHSQVWKH
 GHOLEHUDWLMPSH R WKH WKUHH HQHKLK UKHWLDO DURHQDWLQV
 WUDGLWLDQOEEKOW WFWKHUZWKWKHREHQDQWKHSLGHLWLFHOLEHUDWLDQVLDQ
 RUGZWKGHWHUPLQHWKHUDEMDWLQDSOLEMORKDUPQ
 H[SHGLHQRLQ[SHGLHQVDMNS,WDQHGHQGDVMUEDODWWHPSW
 to reach an agreement on the most suitable choice for the common good in situations
 KHUHGLUHUVLQVUDGLWLRQVUHSNEOH7KHSUDWLRH logos as both
 GLMDQUHDQXSNGRDMWKHQRVUHWLQKMOORQ
 a peaceful management of the various problems facing the polisKLVYLHZLVDWVKHEDVLV
 RITXLWHGLYHUJHQWSSURDFKHVWRDUJXPHQWDWLRQVXFKDVKDWRI3HUHOPDQV
 WHFDVNew rhetoric DQGYDQ(HPHUHQVFWHUGDP6KRRORI3UDJPD
 GLDOHFWLQV

§JXPHQWDWLRQLQSROLWLFDOGLVFRXUVHLVQRWKRZHYHUOLPLWHGWRDQDFWLYL
 weighing the *pros* and *contra* of a line of action, or of looking for a negotiated solution on
 QUNUMDOLMDWKKSDWLDQ UHDDQVHOQDQDOSURMOLQ
 SUHPLMWDQKHWRDQURHQDWLQVQKHSILWVHOLDQUDGLWLDQVGHV
 pathos, or appeals to emotions that act upon the audience, and *ethos*, or the presentation of
 MOWKDWUHQGLELOLWVQKREDWRE7KHUHOHDDQVWKHM
 HOHPHQVHPSRDU\$RLWLDQGLMMLVWDEO\ ethos is understood more
 and more in light of the necessity for speakers to build a favourable image of themselves, so
 that it can enhance their public reputations and add weight to their propositions or
 programmes – or simply bring about their election, or maintain them in power.

7RRHGLPHQVUHWLQDQURHQDWLQVQVHODWLDQVRLWLDQGLM
 should be emphasised: the epideictic and the polemical. Political discourse is meant not only

LW DVSLUHV WR D EHWWHU XQGHUVDQGLQJ RI KRZGLVFRXUVH IUDPHV UHDOLW'GHQHV F problems, manages disagreement, reinforces power or allows for empowerment.

Κ ΔΟΨΣΥΡΚ WRDUHQYDWLQ RPNQDLRO DQ GLMM GHQD DUKHQDWLQDMUEDOH[KDQEHLDWDFNORMUWNOEHWVHSHDNUKX logos
ΘDQHQDUHDQGHUWRBWWKHVWGHZOGEDWLSHDKWKHU7KLMV

the perspective of the *New rhetoric*3HUHOPDQ2OEUFKVVWHFDQOFKRUHGLQ WKHJUHDW\$LVWRWHOLDQ WUDGLWLRQHQLQJUKHWRULFDO DUJXPHQWDWLRQDVWKHYH EULQJDERXWWKHDKGHUHQFHRIDQDXGLHQFHWWRDWKHVLV3HUHOPDQDQ2OEUFKVVW

addressees and their premises at the heart of the persuasion enterprise. Speakers have to adapt WKKHLUDGLHQRHNUDQGLHQDEHGHGDDWUWLRKHRDWKRK builds attempts at persuasion on the beliefs and ways of thinking attributed to the addressee SPQHOLEHUDWLRQPNWOSHUMQHGQRENVHWUWK

KLKGRWHL[LWLQFDQDLUZYR GDGHGDRPHGHGQ common opinion: the series of values and recognised truths or facts that are widely circulated LQLRPNWVWUHQHUJKHPDLQDWKHRDWRLWUUDQ to the conclusion the adherence that the audience grants to the shared premises.

7KHPNQLROELDMQDLONGLMMRKHQHZGQDVHDMQ per se, EXWVDVVRFLDOSUDFWLFHLQZKLFKWKHSDUWFLSDQVWVKDUHDQGLVFXVVDVVRIGH interpreting reality, argumentative patterns are necessarily rooted in natural language.

5HMYRQDWHORBOSUREWLRQWKHGLMMWGDWVWKHPDUHQDWLQ DQONGRWVHZQWQDOODQH DQVWDBH D VWKH DM LQDPHEM SULYOHLQEWUDW UHDMQ ORBOO'DOLG DUKHQVWKH RUDUQWQDO ODQHZWLW\$MPDQ\$KGEOHDPCLKWLWKHGHUQLWLQ DUKHQDWLQDQWLQVWUHQDWLMSHHKGRWWDNSODH

within the space of pure logic, but within a communication situation and a socio-cultural RHWLW LQKSHDNVUWHUDW EMD KRH DUUDMUEDO PHDQO WKHM discursive elements contribute to the argumentative enterprise in its social and cultural dimensions, and have to be closely analysed.

Argumentation analysis and discourse analysis

9LHZQJDUJRHQWDWLRQDQDOVLVDVWKHDWWHPSWDWQGHUVDQGLQJKR\$ROLWLFDF LWVFRPPQLFDWLRQDODQGLVFXVLYHGLPHQVLRQVUNVLQWKHJHOGUDLVHVWVKHTM VLPLQDULW'DQG GLUHUHQFH ZWK GLVFRVH DQDOVLV \$QG &ULWLFDO LVFRVH \$DQ &\$WKRJKWKHODWWHU SURPRWHVVRFLDQFULWLTWIKHUHDV\$UHVVDQRQFRPPLWWH analytical approach, both are trends subsuming a variety of approaches, which deal not only

with language in use and in context, but more broadly with discourse as a social practice.

F DLHQDQD PDLQHSUHMQDWLNRVKH JHQ WUHQ WKH RMHW NWR DSSUHKHQGLMDDUWLNQDWLQVHW[WDQNDOSODHQQVQLWEMHWLQ WH[WNOEDQDWLQRPQDLMLWQWLQVWDBHQGHVLEHG EWUDGLWLRQ RQVW KDWNWVKHPWVWKHULDHUWDLQHQRLMM SUDWLQ

S QHUPWKHDQVHW[SOHQVWKHGLDOHWLBOUHODWLNQSEHWVHQSDUWLNQDU GLMMHMQDQDOOWKHGLMUMHOHPHQVWKHMLWQWLQVWLVWLDQDQDO WUWVKHKLKUDPHLWPLUDKQGHUULJ:GDNS VWKHDPH SHUSHVLMWKHPHULBQDQPSKDMWWDWLNMLKDSHGEWKHOG DQGLMM KDSHWKH QOGKQV S QDLPLQKDW NLRQO GLMM LWG MPQWDMWRUHSUHMQHQVHW DUN R DQ DDLQ DQ QWLPDWHOWRHLWLPDWHRQGHQHLWLPDWHRQDODWLNQWUWSSDQKQ

RUPJKHWRULFDODUVHQDODVFRLOHGEDJHORWWKH)UHQFKROYHQLHQWO\
XVHWKWHWUPargumentaireKHGLVFXUVVLYHDQGDUIXPHQWDWLYHDQDOVLVKDVWRVKRZ
LQWHUGLVFRXUVHLVLQWHUZYHQLQWKHIDEULFRIWKHQHZGLVFRXUVHWKDWLQW
and sometimes subverts it.

7KLOHGDGWRKWLRODUWODVLRWKHGLYGHWKDWRHMSDUDWHWKHWRLDO
DURHQDWLRUR \$DQ &7KH ODWWHU ZWK WKHLU WURHPSKDEVR
interdiscursivity, as well as on institutional and generic frameworks, emphasise the
WUDLQSWVHDNUDQWKHH[WHQWKLKWKHPUHGHWHUPLQGDQVND\
WKHGLLMMWKHWLPHDMMHVKHDXRQWKHSHDNQMMHWD
KLLQLYGGOHQHGZWKUHDROODSSHDUDMOON5KHWRLBODURHQDWLR
on the contrary, traditionally emphasises agency – free choice and the capacity to act by
MUEDOPHDQKLVDSSDUHQVLRSDWLELOLWDEKMMUEH UHQMG EDEDODHG
approach, taking into account both the constraints determining discourse and, in this very
framework, the possibility for individual or collective initiative and choice at the heart of
the rhetorical enterprise.

DA or CDA

IRUHRJLQJEDFNWRDUJRHQWDWLRQDODOVLVRISROLWLFDOGLVFRVHVDVKRUWFRPPH
DVKH FRQQHFWLRO EHWZHQ UKHWRULFDO DUJRHQWDWLRQ DOG \$DV EHQ YLHZ
GLuHUHQW WKHRUHWLFDQ IUDPHUNV LV QHHGHG :H KDYH UJVW WR GLVWLOJXV
DSSURDFKHVEDVHGRO&DQGPDLOOGUDZQJRO3UDJPDGLDOHFWLFIURPQRQRUPDW
DSSURDFKHVDLPLQJDWDQDOWLFDQDGHUVWDQGLQJUDWKHUWKDQDVVHVPHQV
WUDGLWLRQRIUKHWRULFDODUJRHQWDWLRQDQDQ3HUHQOPDQVDDQDQ
7KHEDWLRYDOELWLHLWVGLHWKHDLGHRRGHQLWDQLHQBOLW\
DUH UHQDWHG WKUK WH[W SURYGLQDODQSRLLWLDORH[WVQMN
SLWLcharacterized by the common interests in demystifying ideologies and power
through the systematic and reductible investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken, or
visual)RGDNES[[LLLIRZRQGHUWKXVWKDW)DLUFORXJKRU:RGDNWXUQHGW
normative theory of argumentation distinguishing between sound and fallacious
argumentation. Pragma-dialectics provides ten rules for rational dispute, such as: parties
must not prevent each other from advancing or casting doubts on standpoints, or whoever
DGHEDWDQSRQKDWKHROLDWLREHHQLWDQPHUHQWDO
7KHEDWLRYKHMUHSRQWRDODEHVDURHQWKDWOHOLGQKHM
EXDUHQ7KURHQVDEHWKGHVLEHGDDMMGGHNDQSDWLQ
and unethical discussions.

Other approaches are analytical rather than overtly critical: they do not seek to pass
judgement on the texts they explore, nor do they confront them with a pre-established
PRHO LPSOLQ SUHOLPLQU\LGHRROD E SRLWLBO KRH DQ WKX GHODUH
RPLWPHQVWKHSDUWVKHDQOW, QKLSHUSHVLMVWKHQDWLRQ
GLMMERURWKH
New rhetoric rather than from Pragma-dialectics,
E,RPDORRWKDWMMKHHGWHVLRDODEH, QKHUEGDURHQDWLR
analysis does not deal with the validity of arguments, nor does it confront the analysed
address or debate to pre-established norms of political communication in order to assess its
DSDEWPRVNLWDGHEVVDUGMMHGHPEDESRWLQ
ELQDQVDEHUPDSSURKUDZQKHUHQWUHQDQVHSUHMVHG
EKDUDSHDNLHQDKDWGRMMDOELWLRSRQDWLR
LQGLMMQLN\$RW GHPDQDQVW RPLWPHQVWKHSDUWVKH

DQDOVW\$FRUGLQJWRDLOJXHQHDXKRZYHUWKLVPVLVLRQKDVELVWHOIDFULWLFDOIRUF
 GHVWURY DQLOOXVLRQ RI WUDQVSDUHQF'DQG VHOIHYLGHQFH EOLQNLQJ GLVFRXUVH
 institutional settings that produce them, to the social practices of which they are part, and
 W\$W\$W\$HGS\$U\$U\$HODWLE\$LS\$PL\$H\$H\$X-K\$V\$S\$DOR
 ØDLPWKDWEH\$R\$WKHGL\$u\$HUH\$E\$H\$W\$H\$H\$Q\$WLE\$DODQ\$WLE\$DODSSURKH\$G\$L\$M
 DQO\$V\$D\$W\$U\$D\$K\$K\$O\$W\$H\$P\$D\$W\$L\$W\$K\$K\$K\$D\$S\$S\$U\$R\$K\$W\$E\$L\$W\$L\$B\$O\$U\$H\$D\$G\$L\$Q\$Q
 ELWLE\$D\$U\$H\$D\$G\$L\$Q\$P\$V\$L\$H\$W\$D\$E\$O\$Q\$H\$D\$G\$W\$W\$W\$L\$R\$Q\$K\$H\$W\$D\$W\$H\$H\$H\$Q\$D\$O
 ELWLE\$H\$Q\$W\$K\$H\$R\$M\$H\$W\$L\$M

HW\$W\$D\$U\$W\$Z\$W\$K\$R\$u\$E\$W\$D\$W\$L\$Q\$H\$U\$D\$W\$L\$Q\$U\$R\$H\$Q\$D\$W\$L\$E\$V\$K\$H\$R\$H\$W\$L\$B\$O\$U\$D\$P\$H\$N
 D\$E\$N\$G\$W\$L\$E\$D\$LU\$D\$K\$D\$Q\$D\$LU\$D\$K\$K\$H\$E\$D\$M\$P\$D\$Q\$LU\$D\$K\$V
 MUM\$Q\$W\$L\$B\$O\$L\$M\$D\$O\$M\$K\$H\$O\$D\$W\$W\$H\$U\$L\$Q\$H\$U\$W\$E\$D\$N\$E\$U\$D\$Q\$E\$L\$W\$B\$O
 E\$D\$O\$D\$Q\$M\$W\$K\$U\$R\$Q\$K\$W\$E\$W\$K\$D\$O\$O\$L\$E\$W\$L\$E\$P\$H\$Q\$Q\$G\$H\$G\$D\$D\$P\$D\$W\$L\$M
 H\$Q\$H\$U\$S\$U\$L\$M\$E\$L\$W\$L\$E\$M\$Q\$W\$L\$B\$O\$U\$H\$D\$O\$L\$W\$E\$P\$D\$W\$L\$M\$U\$R\$P\$olitical Discourse Analysis
 adds to this theory an argumentative approach called for by the deliberative nature of
 political discourse: according to the authors, practical reasoning has to be thoroughly
 H[SORHG\$E\$H\$D\$M\$W\$G\$H\$W\$H\$U\$P\$L\$Q\$K\$R\$H\$O\$H\$D\$G\$L\$Q\$D\$W\$L\$R\$K\$K\$W\$K\$H\$Q\$H\$W\$W\$Q\$W

formal models of practical reasoning in order to see how they are constructed in political
 discourse – which is done here in terms of claims and counter-claims in their relation to
 goals anchored in values, to circumstances, to means of achieving the goal, with a view on
 S\$E\$O\$H\$Q\$D\$W\$L\$M\$H\$H\$M\$H\$D\$LU\$D\$K\$D\$LU\$D\$K\$S
 7\$K\$H\$U\$L\$Q\$H\$U\$O\$L\$Q\$H\$P\$H\$Q\$P\$H\$O\$D\$U\$R\$H\$Q\$U\$H\$W\$U\$W\$L\$E\$N\$R\$S\$D\$Q\$H\$G
 by a critical evaluation of the argument partly based on the normative approach of Pragma-
 GL\$D\$O\$H\$W\$L\$D\$Q\$D\$O\$O\$H\$G\$R\$E\$P\$M\$H\$W\$L\$M\$W\$G\$L\$O\$M\$S\$U\$U\$H\$O\$D\$W\$L\$E\$G\$H\$R\$H\$V
 D\$E\$D\$W\$H\$G\$Z\$W\$K\$B\$S\$L\$W\$D\$O\$L\$D\$Q\$Q\$S\$S\$U\$R\$K\$M\$W\$L\$H\$G\$E\$W\$K\$H\$L\$G\$H\$D\$W\$K\$D\$W\$E\$Y\$D\$U\$W\$R
 D\$E\$D\$O\$E\$L\$W\$L\$E\$P\$H\$D\$Q\$W\$R\$D\$H\$U\$H\$D\$O\$L\$W\$K\$W\$K\$L\$E\$S\$S\$U\$R\$K\$W\$E\$U\$R\$H\$Q\$D\$W\$L\$E\$Q\$O\$M\$V

is both explanatory, and evaluative.

W\$K\$H\$U\$Q\$H\$U\$H\$W\$L\$Q\$W\$W\$H\$P\$S\$W\$D\$W\$L\$Q\$H\$U\$D\$W\$L\$Q\$M\$M\$D\$Q\$D\$U\$R\$H\$Q\$D\$W\$L\$M\$D\$Q\$O\$M\$D\$Q\$H
 R\$Q\$W\$K\$H\$L\$M\$E\$W\$L\$B\$O\$S\$S\$U\$R\$K\$D\$Q\$K\$H\$U\$M\$Q\$W\$K\$D\$W\$U\$R
 D\$Q\$R\$D\$Q\$H\$U\$R\$H\$Q\$D\$W\$L\$Q\$H\$L\$M\$Q\$U\$R\$R\$S\$H\$U\$K\$P\$L\$G\$W
 L\$W\$U\$R\$W\$H\$U\$H\$U\$W\$D\$Q\$D\$U\$R\$H\$Q\$D\$W\$L\$Q\$D\$S\$H\$U\$M\$R\$Q\$H\$U\$S\$U\$L\$M\$Q\$K\$H
 W\$H\$P\$D\$W\$L\$K\$D\$O\$O\$H\$Q\$M\$W\$L\$E\$W\$L\$B\$O\$L\$G\$L\$W\$D\$D\$L\$P\$K\$D\$W\$U\$W\$K\$D\$Q\$R\$P\$D\$W\$L\$M
 U\$L\$K\$W\$E\$W\$K\$H\$U\$W\$U\$H\$O\$D\$W\$L\$Q\$E\$H\$G\$H\$D\$Q\$G\$H\$U\$H\$H\$U\$W\$D\$L\$Q\$W\$K\$H\$M\$Q\$W\$R\$U\$D\$W\$L\$B\$O
 R\$P\$E\$H\$W\$K\$L\$B\$O\$D\$Q\$P\$E\$D\$O\$W\$D\$Q\$D\$U\$G\$S\$H\$L\$M\$D\$G\$D\$S\$7\$K\$D\$O\$L\$G\$L\$W\$L\$Q
 D\$U\$R\$H\$Q\$D\$W\$L\$E\$W\$K\$O\$R\$B\$O\$D\$Q\$H\$W\$K\$L\$B\$O\$S\$H\$Q\$D\$W\$L\$R\$Q\$O\$M\$W\$L\$Q\$O\$L\$W\$O\$N\$W
 Ø\$D\$L\$P\$D\$U\$R\$H\$Q\$S\$U\$H\$P\$L\$M\$Q\$R\$Q\$H\$K\$H\$U\$H\$7\$E\$P\$L\$Q\$K\$G\$H\$D\$E\$P\$E\$H\$O\$R\$P\$D\$O\$L\$W

lays bare the formal *topoi* DQ\$G\$D\$U\$J\$X\$P\$H\$Q\$W\$V\$X\$Q\$G\$H\$U\$O\$Q\$J\$GL\$V\$F\$R\$X\$U\$V\$H\$P\$D\$F\$U\$R\$V\$W\$U\$X\$F\$W\$X\$U\$D\$O
 investigates stages and complexity of argumentation as well as the interdependency of
 D\$U\$R\$H\$Q\$D\$Q\$H\$Q\$U\$H\$O\$D\$W\$H\$G\$L\$W\$D\$Q\$O\$M\$V\$topoi\$D\$V\$U\$H\$F\$X\$U\$U\$H\$Q\$W\$H\$O\$H\$P\$H\$Q\$W\$R\$I\$F\$R\$Q\$W\$H\$Q\$W\$ibidem
)\$R\$U\$F\$R\$Q\$W\$H\$Q\$W\$U\$H\$O\$D\$W\$H\$Q\$oi are of the utmost importance, as they unveil world-views
 and ways of reasoning typical of a given period and place: they allow for ideological analysis
 D\$Q\$G\$L\$O\$M\$M\$H\$W\$S\$E\$W\$L\$E\$H\$O\$O\$D\$M\$W\$L\$E\$W\$L\$Q\$U\$D\$W\$H\$L\$H\$Q\$D\$P\$S\$O\$H\$R\$D\$H\$Q\$W
 related *topos*Z\$R\$X\$O\$G\$E\$H\$W\$K\$H\$D\$Q\$J\$H\$U\$R\$W\$K\$H\$S\$H\$U\$V\$R\$Q\$L\$Q\$W\$K\$H\$V\$W\$U\$H\$H\$W\$D\$V\$H\$[S\$U\$H\$V\$V\$H\$G\$L\$Q\$X\$V\$W\$U\$L\$D\$Q\$
 GL\$V\$F\$R\$X\$U\$V\$H\$D\$F\$F\$R\$U\$G\$L\$Q\$J\$W\$R\$E\$L\$V\$L\$J\$O\$S\$L\$W\$F\$O\$D\$P\$V\$W\$K\$D\$W\$L\$W\$K\$H\$R\$U\$G\$L\$Q\$D\$U\$F\$L\$W\$L\$J\$H\$Q\$L\$V\$D\$Q\$J\$U\$
 S\$R\$O\$L\$W\$L\$F\$D\$O\$D\$F\$W\$L\$R\$Q\$K\$D\$V\$W\$R\$E\$H\$W\$D\$N\$H\$Q\$R\$U\$Q\$R\$W\$L\$Q\$R\$U\$G\$H\$U\$W\$R\$U\$H\$V\$R\$O\$Y\$H\$W\$K\$D\$W\$D\$Q\$J\$H\$U\$O\$R\$U\$H\$R\$
 S\$U\$R\$S\$R\$V\$H\$V\$D\$F\$R\$Q\$W\$H\$[W\$G\$H\$S\$H\$Q\$G\$H\$Q\$W\$D\$S\$S\$U\$R\$D\$F\$K\$W\$U\$L\$Q\$J\$W\$R\$L\$Q\$W\$H\$J\$U\$D\$W\$H\$L\$Q\$L\$W\$V\$D\$Q\$D\$O\$V\$L\$E\$
 E\$D\$F\$N\$J\$U\$R\$X\$Q\$G\$L\$Q\$R\$U\$P\$D\$W\$L\$R\$Q\$D\$Q\$G\$H\$[D\$P\$L\$Q\$L\$Q\$J\$H\$D\$F\$K\$X\$W\$W\$H\$U\$D\$Q\$F\$H\$L\$Q\$F\$R\$Q\$W\$H\$[W\$L\$W\$V\$D\$Q\$D\$O\$W\$L\$F\$
 E\$G\$H\$Q\$L\$W\$L\$R\$Q\$V\$R\$F\$L\$R\$K\$L\$V\$W\$R\$U\$L\$F\$D\$O\$W\$D\$O\$V\$R\$F\$P\$E\$L\$Q\$H\$V\$D\$U\$J\$X\$P\$H\$Q\$W\$D\$W\$L\$Y\$H\$D\$Q\$G\$G\$L\$V\$F\$X\$U\$V\$L\$Y\$H\$D
 explores the linguistic means mobilised by the discourse in contexts – for example,

DQWL VHPLWLFODQJXDJHEHKDYLRXULVWXGLHGE'RGDNDSEKRDVRFORVHOOLQNV
&ZWK SUDJPDWLFV DV WKH VWXG'R I LOVLOXDWLROV DQG DOOXVLRQV SUHVXSSRVLWLRQ
LPSOLFDFWXUHVDOQVRRQ)LODOOLWLVLPSRUWDQWWREHDULQPLQGKDWKWH\$VQRUPD
insofar as its mission is to assess the cognitive and ethical validity of the respective discourse.

,QKHU ZGVW KKKOLKWWKH GHWHWLD OODEHKHUHDDLQKHEDMVKH
BDDPDGLDOHWLEOHWKLK 5HLM OGGKMMUOLNWDGGRHLOKWR
DQK\$HQWE-UHQEHUPDDQLQ\$HGHPEDWLRP\$QHWKLDOSUL\$SOHV
RXLWLDQH\$OLW\$
RKHQPDWLMDS\$SUBKHOHWYWPHQLDUEDUD-KVRWVHUHWLQ
DWWHPSW DW OLNOLWLEHAWLDWLEWVK UKHWRLFKK PDLQ\$ENQ
RRLWLVFKH\$HULBQRDUK\$KOLKHGDER Discourse analysis

RORZHGEDFROOHFWLYHZRUNHGLWHGEKHUVHVOIDQG&KULVWR\$KHU(LVHQKDUW\$HQLW
Rhetoric in detail KHLUSUHPLVHVDUHWKDWQLQJXLVWLFGLVFRXUVHDQDOVLVFDQSURYLGL
DJURXQGHGULJRURXVHVWRIDQDOWLFDOPHWKRGVIRUDQVZHULQJUKHWRULFDOTXHVW
KHERRN SUHVH\$QV D VHULHV RI GHWDLOHG DQDOVHV VKRZLQJ KRZ VWOLVWLF PRYHV D

variations, rhetorical micro-strategies, use of transitivity and naming, representation of the
WKHU\$HVDQ DOOR DQHUWDQL\$BRLWLD L\$W DWKH
construction of political legitimacy, government control, agency of disabled or disadvantaged
UKDQW\$HE\$BRLWLDQWQLWLEHMDQW KHLURDO

functions, *Rhetoric in detail* is a valuable contribution to an argumentation analysis of
SRLWLD\$GLM\$R\$DWHGEWKHHGLWRD\$WKHQOOL\$D\$SLQKHWRLD\$W\$LHV
S DWDWHPHQ WEH\$H\$W\$DDLQ WKHEDMVKH L\$WLVWLRQ
LPSRWDH\$U\$H\$R\$KHWRL\$H\$HULBQ\$GHPLW\$LHV

QKHURPDWLMDS\$SUBKLV\$H\$D\$WLRQL\$M\$D\$MODERDWHGE\
PRRUGWDLPDWLV\$H\$UDWLV\$KHWE\$R\$K\$H\$D\$H\$D\$WLM
WU\$H\$H\$D\$Q \$H\$H\$D\$V\$G\$H\$E\$H\$G E\ WUDGLWLRQ DQ \$H\$P\$S\$R\$D\ UKHWRLD\$

argumentation in discourse analysis, understood as a non-normative and non-ideological
enterprise in the wake of both the *New rhetoric*RI\$H\$H\$OPDQDQ\$G\$K\$H\$)H\$Q\$K\$F\$R\$Q\$W\$H\$P\$S\$R\$U\$D\
WUH\$Q\$G\$R\$I\$Q L'argumentation dans le discoursDUJXPHQWDWLRQLVGHQHG
LQDEURD\$G\$V\$H\$Q\$V\$H\$D\$V\$K\$H\$R\$W\$D\$O\$L\$W\$R\$I\$Y\$H\$U\$E\$D\$O\$P\$H\$D\$Q\$V\$W\$U\$L\$Q\$J\$W\$R\$H\$O\$L\$F\$W\$D\$G\$K\$H\$U\$H\$Q\$F\$H\$W\$
GLVFRXUVH KDV DQ DUJXPHQWDWLYH JRDO RU WR RULHQW ZDV RI WKLQNLQJ SHUFH
VXUURXQGLQJZRUOGDQGIHHOLQJZKHQGLVFRXUVH\$K\$D\$V\$D\$Q\$D\$U\$J\$X\$P\$H\$Q\$D\$W\$L\$Y\$H\$G\$L\$P\$H\$Q\$V\$
GHFODUH\$G\$SHUVX\$D\$V\$L\$Y\$H\$D\$L\$P\$D\$O\$L\$N\$H\$V\$R\$P\$H\$R\$W\$K\$H\$U\$W\$U\$H\$Q\$G\$V\$I\$R\$U\$L\$Q\$V\$W\$D\$Q\$F\$H\$3\$U\$D\$J\$P\$D\$G\$L\$D\$Q\$
)DLUFORXJK\$V\$Z\$R\$U\$N\$E\$R\$U\$R\$Z\$L\$Q\$J\$I\$U\$R\$P\$L\$W\$K\$L\$V\$D\$S\$S\$U\$R\$D\$F\$K\$G\$R\$H\$V\$Q\$R\$W\$P\$D\$N\$H\$D\$F\$O\$H\$D\$U\$F\$X\$W\$G\$L\$V\$
EHWZHHQDUJXPHQWDWLRQDQ\$G\$UKHWRULFQRUGR\$H\$V\$L\$W\$F\$R\$Q\$H\$L\$W\$WR\$W\$K\$H\$D\$U\$R\$I\$S\$

reasoning: *logos* is closely connected to *ethos* and *pathos*. Moreover, persuasion, as well
as *ethos* construction, value-based agreement or polemics are achieved, not only through
rational arguments, but also through the multiple and complex discursive means in which
KHPH\$U\$H\$D\$Q\$U\$H\$H\$P\$E\$H\$G\$G\$H\$G 7\$K\$W\$K\$H\$U\$H\$U\$M\$L\$D\$U\$K\$H\$Q\$D\$Q\$W\$K\$H\$
H[SORDWLR\$R\$G\$L\$M\$M\$H\$D\$W\$K\$H\$V\$P\$L\$Q\$H\$L\$Q\$M\$Q\$H\$D\$Q\$W\$L\$D\$O\$H\$Q\$H\$U\$S\$U\$L\$M\$7\$K\$H\$
argumentative patterns underlying discourse are brought to the surface, while minute
attention is paid to micro-discursive phenomena in order to see how the respective
D\$U\$K\$H\$Q\$V\$L\$P\$E\$R\$L\$H\$G\$L\$Q\$W\$K\$D\$O\$D\$Q\$H\$W\$W\$K\$H\$D\$P\$H\$W\$L\$P\$H\$G\$L\$M\$L\$D\$Q\$M\$G\$L\$Q\$
W\$H\$[W\$D\$Q\$L\$Q\$W\$H\$H\$U\$L\$D\$Q\$L\$W\$L\$W\$R\$O\$U\$D\$P\$H\$E\$H\$Q\$U\$D\$O\$S\$O\$D\$H\$L\$V\$M\$Q\$R\$W\$V\$
GLDOR\$D\$OR\$L\$Q\$H\$U\$G\$L\$M\$M\$G\$L\$P\$H\$Q\$K\$M\$W\$N\$O\$R\$U\$W\$N\$O\$U\$H\$D\$W\$L\$Q\$P\$D\$W\$L\$Q\$
U\$H\$H\$O\$D\$E\$R\$D\$W\$L\$R\$S\$E\$W\$L\$V\$R\$U\$H\$H\$[L\$W\$L\$Q\$L\$M\$W\$K\$L\$S\$H\$U\$S\$H\$W\$L\$M\$W\$K\$H\$W\$E\$R\$
political discourse explores the way interpretations of the surrounding reality are
constructed, and how social problems are framed and managed.

Analysis of an example: Israeli PM Netanyahu s address at the UN (2014)

,QRUGHUWRVKRKRDUJRHQWDWLRQWKHRUDQGSDOEHXHGLODQLOWHJUDWHGDSSUR
 ,ZOODQDOVHDVKRUWIUDJPHQWRI,VUDHOL301HWDQDKVSHHFKDWWKH81WKHQH
 VVHPEO6HSWHPHU7KHDGGUHVVSUWFLSDWHVLOSROLWLFDOGHOLEHUDWLRQLQ
 GHDOVZWKWKH81DVVHVPHQWRIWKHPLOLDURSHUDWLRQ3URWHFWLYH(GJHODQ
 E\YUDHO DJDLOQVW DP JRYHUQHG EWKH ,VODPLF DPDV ODEHOHG DV D WHUURULV
 RUJDQLVDWDOGWQH,VDHOLEONGHWHHPDWLDDNLQNWVRDP
 VDHOLEWLHVHWHGLOHWDOLDWLDNDWKHRPDPDMMERELVKHDP
 WULS7UDGLWRWDHGHGDKWKHUDWVKH[SUHMGLVKHSHHKR
 DKP&EEDVHLGHQVKKHDOHWLQDQKRLW\SHDQVKH QPH DOO
 DOHWLQDQSLWKLWHQHODWLEWKDPDYSWHPHUDQLDWDQKX
 DGGUHSWHPHUHQWKHMMVKHHEUDOMPEOLNPHDQWR
 take an immediate practical decision, the judgement passed by its members on Protective
 GHDEQWKMDQPSDWEWKNVKHLQHUQWLRQLPDHVDHOKLKD
 KWHGDPDHGEPWLSOHBHPQWLRQVKHVKHUHWLWUQ
 WKHPDQHPHQVKHLDGGOHQDWQWMMUWKHDGGUHVDOGHDOWZWK *ethos*
 construction – trying to reinforce the authority of the speaker in a period of crisis, and
 GLSODHGDSBHPLEORQDWLWVHUHODWWDHGWKHDOHWLQDQMLQHQLO
 WQHUPLELWVHGLELOLDQWQKDWDP&EEDDQWQOEHMDOLGSDUWQU
 for the peace process.

7KHD&LHDEKDOHOPHQRKHWELBODURHQDWLGHQWLRQHWURQK
 LQKHMPEODMOODLQKHLQHUQWLRQSKOLEDWKLVKSHHKRQWKH
 LQHUHW R UHGLQW LQWVWDOLWELQDPHQWVKUK WKH SUHV DQ
 NLWLQO SUBOHWLQDQSUVDHOL PHPEHUWV DORHODWLMQHWUDQV
 BHMUWKHSHURPDLBORHDOVWKH,VDHOLWVULEXHWVKHQUWLRQ
 VKH *ethos DWKRPH,Q WKLVSUVSHFWLYH WKH VSHHFK KDV WR LPSUHVV D YDULHW*
 DGGUHVHVZKRKROGGLYHUJHQWLIQRWFRQWUDGLFWRUYLHZV/HWVUVVH[SORUHWKH
 SDVVDJHRIIHWDDQKXV DGGUHVZKLOHVKRUWOHODERUDWLRQJRWKHPHDQVDQGSURF
 the analysis:

VLMLPLWLMUHDGLQSLWHRHWKHUHLWPDMDUGHDOHLWLPDWH
 ELWLENVDHORHQKLVWKH-HZKSHROHKDMEHHQHPRMGZWKQOR
 OLEHODQKDUHEHLEGH7&DWKH-HZKWDWHLGHPRMGZWKWKHDSDUWKHLG
 libel and charges of genocide.

Haaretz

2XUUVVWVDJHZLOOEHWRRNIRUWKHXQGHUOLQJDUJXPHQWDWLYHVWUXFWXUHV
 speech. Obviously, the central one is analogy, one of the two main modes of reasoning
 WRWKHUZWKORPDRGLQVRLWVWHUOPDQHELEHWLWVWV
 WRKHUWVWVWKHWKHPHGHDOWZWKKLDKDRHODULHGDCQEHWWHU
 QHUW&KHUW&VWLDLW,VDHOKHMBLDOOHGWKH *phoros*, and
 WVPLOLDUHOHPHQKHUHWKHUWUDGLWLRQDEWLDLQWVKH-HZKLDQ
 WKUOLKWVKH WKHPHEHLQGLMGHUHOPDQSS7KX
 DSDUWKHLGOLEHODQKDUHHRGHSDUHWVDHOKDWEOROLEHODQKDUHV
 RHLEGH&UHWVKH-HZKSHROH&WLDLW,VDHODUHSUHMVHGQV
 DQORWKDQLMPLWLGHDPDWLRQWKNVMOODQPRDOOZWKHKDUHV
 of having killed Christ and of using the blood of innocent children for Passover have long

EHHQKHOGDJDLOVWVKH-~~HW~~h here grounded in history: the analogy takes the
 RPKLWRLBOH[DPSOHRKDW5HLMDDQ:GDSDOOWKH *topos* of
 KLWREHDM KLWRE\WHDKHWKDW SHEPWLCDM SHEP~~W~~
 KNGSHURPRRLWDSHEPWLQDSHEP~~W~~WDLBOOHGORSDEOHWK
 WKHKLWRLBOH[DPSOHUHHUHG W~~W~~KW~~U~~ S RHU~~D~~W~~H~~R~~V~~W~~L~~K~~L~~
 HWDQK~~[~~DPSOHSUHW~~W~~W~~W~~KHUKHWRL~~R~~GL~~Q~~HU~~H~~WKH *topos* links the data
 DSDW~~Z~~R~~R~~PLW~~W~~HG~~E~~D~~U~~X~~D~~Q~~W~~KH~~Q~~W~~K~~D~~W~~LP~~O~~D~~U~~D~~W~~L~~Q~~
 proposed today by *others* VKRXOGEHDYRLGHG~~]~~

KHFRQFOXVLRQRWKHDUJXP~~H~~Q~~W~~L~~V~~J~~L~~Y~~H~~Q~~D~~W~~W~~K~~H~~E~~H~~J~~L~~Q~~Q~~L~~Q~~J~~R~~I~~W~~K~~H~~S~~D~~U~~D~~J~~U~~D~~S~~K~~W~~R~~P~~D~~N~~H
 VDOLH~~Q~~WEHL~~Q~~JHTXLYDOHQ~~W~~WRD~~Q~~W~~L~~V~~H~~PL~~W~~L~~V~~VP~~K~~D~~U~~SS~~R~~OL~~W~~L~~F~~DO~~F~~UL~~W~~L~~F~~LP~~D~~J~~D~~L~~Q~~V
 RQO~~E~~H~~D~~Y~~R~~L~~G~~H~~G~~E~~X~~W~~F~~R~~Q~~G~~H~~P~~Q~~H~~G~~D~~Q~~V~~L~~O~~H~~Q~~F~~H~~G~~K~~H~~P~~W~~D~~S~~K~~R~~U~~R~~I~~W~~K~~H~~P~~D~~V~~T~~X~~H~~U~~D~~G~~H~~V~~P~~H
 WRGH~~Q~~R~~X~~Q~~F~~H~~I~~D~~O~~V~~H~~D~~S~~S~~H~~D~~U~~D~~Q~~F~~H~~V~~X~~W~~D~~E~~R~~Y~~H~~D~~O~~O~~W~~K~~H~~D~~V~~U~~P~~D~~W~~L~~Y~~H~~X~~W~~W~~H~~U~~D~~Q~~F~~H~~H~~[~~D~~P~~L~~Q~~H
 from the arguments by analogy that sustain it, has its own force insofar as it reproduces a
 U~~H~~H~~U~~H~~Q~~D~~Q~~O~~U~~H~~D~~G~~D~~P~~L~~O~~L~~D~~U~~D~~U~~R~~K~~H~~Q~~7~~K~~H~~Q~~W~~L~~Q~~W~~K~~D~~W~~W~~K~~H~~Q~~D~~W~~L~~M~~P~~L~~W~~L~~M~~D~~K~~U~~H~~W~~V~~
 OHL~~W~~L~~P~~D~~W~~E~~D~~E~~M~~S~~L~~Q~~K~~H~~R~~P~~S~~R~~L~~W~~L~~BO~~E~~L~~W~~L~~E~~M~~V~~D~~H~~O~~L~~D~~R~~P~~R~~O~~D~~H~~D~~
 W~~H~~Q~~U~~H~~O~~D~~W~~H~~G~~D~~U~~R~~K~~H~~Q~~H~~O~~D~~E~~R~~D~~W~~H~~G~~E~~W~~K~~L~~Q~~K~~H~~D~~G~~H~~P~~L~~F~~ debates; it has become
 SDU~~W~~D~~Q~~U~~R~~H~~Q~~D~~W~~L~~M~~D~~U~~M~~Q~~O~~E~~L~~K~~G~~H~~H~~Q~~H~~U~~W~~D~~H~~O~~U~~H~~D~~U~~O~~G~~U~~D~~W~~K~~D~~W~~W~~K~~H
 U~~H~~D~~G~~H~~U~~D~~Q~~D~~M~~O~~U~~H~~R~~M~~L~~W~~R~~W~~K~~H~~E~~H~~W~~L~~D~~G~~K~~H~~U~~L~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~W~~H~~U~~H~~W~~S~~L~~BO~~M~~E~~S~~H~~P~~H~~Q~~W~~R~~W~~K~~H
 W~~L~~G~~L~~M~~U~~H~~L~~Q

On the stylistic level, a well-wrought syntactic, semantic and even phonetic parallelism
 HPSK~~D~~M~~W~~K~~H~~M~~P~~LO~~L~~W~~E~~G~~H~~E~~H~~W~~I~~H~~S~~R~~L~~W~~L~~BO~~E~~L~~W~~L~~E~~M~~V~~D~~H~~O~~D~~Q~~D~~W~~L~~M~~P~~L~~W~~L~~M~~W~~L~~Q
 WKD~~W~~W~~K~~H~~R~~D~~Q~~E~~H~~G~~L~~W~~L~~E~~K~~H~~G~~U~~R~~W~~K~~H~~W~~K~~H~~U~~7~~K~~H~~ *wish*SHRSOHDUHHTXDWHGZLWKWKH
 Jewish~~W~~D~~W~~H~~W~~K~~H~~Y~~H~~U~~=~~LRQLVWGHQLWLRQRI,VUDHOWKDW~~W~~K~~H~~3~~D~~O~~H~~V~~W~~L~~Q~~D~~Q~~V~~U~~H~~I~~X~~V~~H~~G~~W
 EORRGOLEHOVZLWKDSDUW~~K~~H~~L~~G~~Z~~K~~H~~U~~H~~W~~K~~H~~F~~R~~P~~P~~R~~Q~~G~~H~~Q~~R~~P~~L~~Q~~D~~W~~R~~U~~L~~V~~W~~K~~H~~D~~[LRORJL~~F~~D~~O~~
 FKDUJHV~~R~~I~~G~~H~~L~~FL~~G~~H~~Z~~L~~W~~K~~F~~K~~D~~U~~J~~H~~V~~R~~I~~J~~H~~Q~~R~~FL~~G~~H~~Z~~K~~H~~U~~H~~SH~~W~~L~~W~~R~~Q~~L~~V~~U~~H~~L~~Q~~I~~R~~U~~F~~H~~G~~E~~W~~K
 GHLD~~Q~~G~~J~~H~~Q~~R~~F~~L~~G~~H~~E~~R~~W~~K~~E~~X~~L~~O~~W~~R~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~K~~M~~I~~O~~O~~L~~Q~~J~~D~~W~~K~~R~~X~~J~~K~~F~~R~~Q~~W~~H~~Q~~W~~V~~F~~K~~D~~Q~~J~~H~~I~~U~~R~~P~~
 one period of time and one domain to the other, what remains the same over the ages is the
 SUR~~W~~K~~H~~S~~H~~U~~S~~H~~W~~E~~B~~O~~D~~Q~~M~~W~~L~~H~~G~~D~~W~~E~~W~~L~~R~~D~~L~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~-H~~Z~~

Q~~W~~K~~H~~OH[L~~BO~~OHMO~~W~~K~~H~~K~~R~~H~~E~~G~~H~~P~~R~~Q~~W~~L~~E~~R~~U~~E~~G~~URD~~Q~~W~~H~~U~~G~~L~~N~~M
 D~~P~~L~~O~~L~~D~~U~~W~~B~~O~~O~~L~~S~~D~~U~~W~~L~~E~~D~~U~~O~~S~~R~~Q~~7~~K~~H-H~~Z~~G~~H~~S~~L~~W~~H~~G~~D~~W~~D~~Q~~K~~H~~L~~Q~~U~~W~~L~~R~~U~~
 R~~D~~U~~W~~K~~Z~~W~~K~~W~~K~~H~~R~~Q~~L~~u~~H~~U~~H~~E~~H~~L~~Q~~K~~D~~W~~U~~H~~O~~L~~L~~E~~W~~L~~Q~~D~~M~~E~~H~~H~~Q~~U~~D~~Q~~D~~W~~H~~G~~L~~O~~R~~
 S~~R~~L~~W~~L~~BO~~Q~~V~~K~~H~~M~~O~~H~~W~~L~~Q~~U~~H~~S~~H~~W~~L~~W~~L~~E~~H~~P~~R~~M~~G~~W~~K~~L~~W~~W~~U~~Q~~H~~O~~L~~L~~Q~~
 symbolic connotations, connects the speech to a widely circulated discourse in the pro-
 ,MD~~H~~O~~L~~S~~K~~H~~U~~H~~Z~~W~~K~~L~~W~~Q~~R~~H~~P~~R~~Q~~W~~L~~M~~P~~L~~W~~L~~E~~R~~H~~Q~~7~~K~~H~~O~~H~~[L~~BO~~K~~R~~H~~M~~W~~H~~U~~P~~V
 U~~H~~H~~U~~U~~L~~W~~W~~K~~H~~K~~L~~W~~R~~D~~Q~~W~~L~~M~~P~~L~~W~~L~~M~~D~~N~~W~~H~~O~~R~~G~~H~~G~~U~~R~~W~~K~~H~~D[L~~BO~~R~~BO~~
 D~~Q~~D~~U~~H~~W~~L~~M~~D~~Q~~D~~H~~K~~R~~D~~O~~H~~L~~E~~G~~Q~~E~~H~~S~~U~~H~~M~~Q~~H~~G~~D~~W~~D~~U~~H~~W~~W~~D~~U~~K~~D~~W~~U~~H~~G~~D~~Q
 rejection, if not of murder. Let us also emphasise that in the context of antisemitism, the
 H~~R~~G~~H~~D~~W~~W~~U~~L~~E~~W~~H~~G~~W~~W~~D~~H~~O~~L~~E~~U~~K~~W~~E~~D~~W~~R~~W~~S~~N~~G~~H~~W~~P~~R~~BO~~N~~H~~W~~D~~V
 R~~Q~~G~~E~~W~~K~~H~~O~~H~~D~~O~~K~~R~~D~~U~~5~~D~~S~~K~~D~~H~~O~~H~~P~~N~~Q~~Q~~H~~H~~U~~H~~Q~~W~~W~~K~~H~~H[~~W~~H~~U~~P~~L~~Q~~W~~L~~Q~~W~~K~~H
 -H~~Z~~W~~K~~H~~D~~L~~Q~~G~~L~~M~~W~~K~~H~~U~~K~~H~~W~~R~~L~~BO~~S~~U~~R~~E~~torsion~~W~~X~~U~~Q~~L~~Q~~J~~W~~K~~H~~D~~U~~J~~X~~P~~H~~Q~~W~~
 DJDLQVW~~W~~K~~H~~D~~U~~J~~X~~H~~U~~W~~K~~U~~R~~X~~J~~K~~Z~~K~~L~~F~~K~~W~~K~~H-H~~Z~~V~~D~~U~~H~~D~~F~~F~~X~~V~~H~~G~~R~~I~~W~~K~~H~~Y~~H~~U~~F~~U~~L~~P~~H~~R~~P~~L~~W~~W~~H~~

them by those who negated their humanity.

7~~K~~H~~M~~D~~U~~R~~K~~H~~Q~~D~~W~~L~~M~~D~~Q~~G~~L~~M~~M~~H~~D~~W~~K~~H~~D~~O~~O~~K~~D~~S~~O~~H~~D~~W~~K~~D~~W~~U~~H~~W~~H~~W~~K~~H~~D~~W~~L~~Q
 E~~S~~U~~R~~R~~Q~~Q~~O~~W~~H~~U~~Q~~W~~L~~M~~E~~L~~S~~W,WW~~D~~E~~W~~O~~L~~M~~U~~W~~W~~K~~H~~G~~R~~L~~Q~~Q~~G~~L~~W~~U~~L~~E~~W~~L~~R~~O~~H~~K~~H~~U~~H~~
 ,MD~~H~~O~~L~~W~~K~~H~~R~~S~~U~~H~~N~~D~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~R~~Q~~M~~G~~D~~Q~~P~~D~~E~~H~~G~~BO~~H~~W~~L~~Q~~D~~W~~K~~H~~M~~W~~L~~P~~7~~K~~L~~M~~L~~S~~W~~
 P~~H~~D~~Q~~W~~R~~H~~U~~D~~P~~H~~W~~K~~H~~W~~E~~W~~L~~W~~E~~N~~G~~W~~R~~D~~O~~Q~~H~~[W~~P~~S~~H~~W~~L~~W~~R~~H~~W~~Z~~H~~D~~W~~L~~P~~W
 D~~W~~O~~O~~D~~W~~W~~K~~H,MD~~H~~O~~L~~L~~P~~D~~L~~Q~~U~~R~~M~~M~~G~~E~~D~~K~~L~~W~~R~~R~~D~~W~~U~~H~~G~~D~~Q~~S~~H~~U~~M~~L~~Q~~P~~L~~Q~~W~~L~~Q~~
 L~~Q~~K~~H~~R~~BO~~W,WD~~G~~G~~U~~H~~M~~E~~N~~W~~K~~W~~K~~H~~H~~O~~L~~W~~K~~H-H~~Z~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~G~~H~~P~~R~~D~~W~~L~~P~~W\

:HVWHUQ FRXQWULHV WKDW DFNQRZHGJH WKHLU JXLOW DOG YHKHPHQWOFRQGHPO DO

Pathos appears here as a powerful adjuvant to *logos*, meaning that emotions and reasoning are closely interconnected and not, as some would have it, that the presence of emotions is synonymous with lack of reasoning. On the stage of the international community, the DGGUHVHQDEKWHUWUW DQOWHUQWLM LPDH RMDHO EHWWHU KWHG WHOLEW understanding and compassion, if not indignation against an unremitting injustice.

WKHROKWHUWHUWHKHPHSDUDUDSKWKHDLPPDGHEHWDDKDEW
WKHLOOHLWLPDRSLWLBDELWLHHHGLQWLMPLWMLSRWHGEDGHMORPHQ
WKHDOUHDGPHQWLGQLHGHG7KHSDHLLWUWOSBHPLEODLW
HQHDEWRHWHHWHQGLHGLW WKHGLMMDKPKSEEDKRODQHG WKH
ROKQWLRQKHEHQWVHKLWHHKHSWHPEHUJQ
WKLMDUSURDLPHGEWKHWHGDLWLEHQUODMPEODWKHWHUQWLRQHDUR
BLGDULWZWKWKHBOHWLQDQROHMDHOKDKKQRDNLWDHDURBQZUR
HGHSHUSHWUDWHGDDLQWKHBOHWLQDSHROHJ
7WKLMDWQKHSOLHZEWKDMKHPHQWHUGLMM

HGHGKDWPRDQEMUMGRVGHLOQSHDUQKHHQPEYOLDQ
SRDWLQVHWKRDUPQVHLLQKDW WKHUHMLWVVR
KRDQWDLQGLHDKGDHMQWKQRNWDUHEHLQHGDMWWLQ
SDHOGKRLWDOWBLGWKHLURHG"

HWDQKSWHGDWLQ

7KH HGHGUDWKHU WKDQWKH KUHQ DEWLQPDMEHQ
GLYURRWLQWHHPOOHEDUHUDPLKHSUROHPLQDKLWURWKH
ROHEDWH7KHVWLQRUKHWKHU,MDHOUHDFHGLQWKHULKWPDQUDQ

proportion to Palestinian attacks, but whether it is acting with the intention to annihilate the Palestinian people. Moreover, the deliberation as an attempt to weigh the pros and the cons of Defensive Edge is replaced by a polemical exchange with its dichotomisation UDGLBOLDWLQVWLQSUHMVHG DLRSDWLEOH LWSRDULDWLQHLREQ DQDRPEHWZHQKQLWVWHPSPDWGLEHGLWLQKHYWKHUSKLV GRVPHDQKDWRPDODUKHQVUHQVRELQMGQLSHPLEODWWDNWDQKX UHWHWKHKDUHDDLQ,MDHOKHEDMQURHQVEGHQWLRRGHEHLQ the deliberate extermination of an ethnic group or a people, helping the civil population to MMDQGRVWVKHGHQWLQVHMQSSHDUDWKHDQRRGH

7KHDKHQDWLMDWHLRSOHWHGEDGLMMR7KHVWHUDEKHDYOHQ\
KHMRSOLEWHOHPHQVWHQOHLQWKHDGGUHMHWKDWWKHODWWHULDOOHG
SVRHUWHVUWLVQKH PHDQVKH GLMM7KHGHQWLQ

genocide at the basis of the argument is not formulated and the audience has to supply it from common knowledge; the denial of the accusation is not achieved in negative form, but WKUKUKHWRLBOMVWLQKDWLQGHWKHLUQDWLMDUWKDWWKHQRK has to be drawn by the audience. Moreover, by uncovering the incompatibility between the QWKHRRGHQKDWKHSUHMVWKHUHDOLWVKHUHQHWQKWDLQKLV RPHQVZKLUQROOLQWKHDEGLHRSOLEW\

7WKLMDKMDWRGGWKHVLKHSUHSRWLQDWPRDQEMUMGRV
HGHLOQSHDUQKHHQPEYOLDQSRDWLQVHWKRDUPQV
QUDLWVKHHLVQHWKHURQWKLMDUQDWOOHLLWHGLWWDNLWREUDQHG
SUHSRQKDWWKH,MDHOLGLGDMKHSRDLQVQHDMMKHSUHPLMEHREHERELQ
BHSRWLNUHMVWKHDOOHGDMVDOUHDGSHQHSLOLMMW

%W WKHGRQRWQHfHVVDULOuHORO FRPPRO NORØHGJH WKXV SERWW SS
HROORZQJULFHHPskDVLVHVWkdWwKHFdQEULQJLQDQCHZQIRUPDWLRQZLFK
WKHDGGUHVHHDfWLYDWHVDVLKHDOUHDGNOHQZw7KXVLQIRUPDWLRQDERXWWKHØVU
ZWKFLYLOLDQVFDQEHURXJKWLQGLUHFwOWRWKHNQRØHGJHRIWKHDXGLHQFH1HWDQØ
XVHVDWHFKQLTXHRILQGLUHFwLQRWROLQNWKHPLOLWDUDfWLRQVRI,VUDHOWRHWKLF
WHUPPRUDOXQLYHUVHfPSOLQJWKDWWKHJKWLOJØVDPDWWHUQRWRQORIPLOLDUNVFLHC
EXWDOVRRIPRUDOYDOXHVVKLVLVDQDOOXVLRQWRWKHWRSFRISXULWRIDUPVfHODWHGV
SUHVHQWHGLQ,VUDHODVDPRUDODUPf

Denying the Palestinian claim of genocide and replacing it by a moral representation of
,MDHODPNWBSURfPDUHSDUDWLØRWFHMQRVHDKHGZWK
the *chiasmus*RIWRQVWRQVRIKXPDLWDULDQDLGfRUWKHØJDFLYLOLDQVDQGWKRXVDQGV
URFNHWV fHG DW XVfKH KSHUEROLF WRQH HPSKDVLVHV WKH LPSRUWDQFH RI KXPDLV
FRQVLGHUDWLRQVIRU,VUDHODQGLWVfDSDFLWWRWUDQVfHQGDZDUVLWXDWLRQLQIDY
GHFHFQfDQGHQHURVLWfLVSLFWXUH HQFDSVXODWHV WKH LPDJHRI3URWHFWLYH(GJ
PDMRULWRI,VUDHOLFLWLJHQVØVZHODVODUJHSDUWVRIWKH-HZLVKSRSXODWLRQVLQV
VHHLWWKXVIXOØLOJQJDSLGHFLWLFUROHWKHFRPPXQLWfDQJDWKHUDURXQGWKHVL
,WDOVRDVSLUHVWRHQOLJKWHQLQJWKRvhZKRLJQRUHWKHIDFWVSUHVHQWHGEWKH30WfK
a persuasive role. Here again, *pathos*LQWKHJXLVHRITXHVWLRQVfQRFLGHfHSHWLWLRQVDQGV
oppositions, reinforces the argumentative structure by colouring the speech with indignation
at an accusation considered as distorted and abusive.

7KUKKLWHHKHWDQKfUWfDQ ethos targeting both the international
audience, and his home audience. His speech aims to present him in the face of the world as
DOHDGHUfHfHOGHHQLQfUDQDSULQSOHGRDWfPGEPRDOHHOLV
WKHØPHWLPHWKH,MDHOLMLHfWKHRSRWfWWRPSUNfDQPDHfNOMMUHO\
LPSDLUHGGfLQDUGfLQfK,MDHOEHLQfHfHUUNWDWWDKHØV
severely criticised in his own country. He was attacked by his right wing who claimed that
he was not reacting powerfully enough against Hamas and failed to defeat it. He was blamed
by the left who claimed that such a bloody military operation was unnecessary and,
PRHfUWKDWWKHGLDWUfWfWLRQDKØHØDUHfWfWfDQKfUHQVf
DLOKHWRDQLQHDOSHDSURVfDUHSDUWfKHSRØDWLRfSHEDOOQfWKH
south of the country – where the bombing was the most intense and where murderous
tunnels leading to civil habitations were discovered – simply felt that the government was
fDEOHWRUfHfWKHSRØDWLRQKLM[SODLQKHfHfWfRHfELKDWDUQKHGLPDH
and to project, on a prestigious international stage, an image of a leader able to confront the
world and make a vibrant plea for his people, representing them on all the topics where a
wide national consensus was achieved. Caring for his own power position, as well as for
,MDHOVfWHUQWLRQUHSDWLRQWDQKXWKfQHVQGEH SURfPDH
UHSDLULVfHQHGWRDLQDLQfHfUDQSUHfWLRHfHODWRfHfWKHf
future deliberations.

Conclusion

,KDYHFKRVHQWRHQJDJHLQDEULHIDQDOVLVRI DVLWfWHGGLVfVfLYHIUDJPHQWLO
exemplify the procedures and notions of argumentation analysis, and show how they interact
QLuHUHQfOHMOKLWLRQGHOLEHUDWLRQfRHPLOH[KDQDQH[SORWLQfios
fUWLRQLPDHUHSDUDWLQfKHOLPLWfKfWSUHMOVDWLRQHfHfDQfWHfM
survey of argumentative and discursive means is not possible, my main purpose has been to
KfKfØNULQDQWLRQWfRERUfGURGLuHUHQfWUHfQDfHf

studies, as well as argumentation theories, while linking the text to its targeted audience as well as to its context, and examining the particular management of verbal argumentation in LWNHULEDPHFNHVDWLRQLNMLLOWKHPHKDQWVKHGLMM ZWKVHDLQI|SOLEWELWLEWWDQOMWKNWDMMO

OWKK,KDMKNQR|HPSOLDQPDWLMDSURK GUDZQDWKHU WKDQGGHSLWHWKHGLuHUHFMQSSURKHVDEOLEQDWBUQLWLN DQRPLWPHQVZDQHWKDWKWBULWUHQRURKHVDWLRQOMKDUHRH

features: focus on arguments, argumentative schemes and formal *topoi* ZLWKRFFDVLRODO preference for content-related *topoi* HPSKDVLV RQ WKH VRFLRKLVRULFDO DQG LQVWLWXWLRL situation in which the argumentation is embedded; close linguistic analysis of the way DURHQVDUHSWLQVGDQWVKHGLMMPHDQDWLEH|LEOSUDPDWLFW HWPRLOLMGEWKHUUDOOOSHUNMQW HUSULMDQMLMMMDQDURKHVDWLM DQOMWVKHGOLKWBRLWLBOLMMDQWKHPDQHPHQVKOLEuDLUV

Notes

1. VREMHFVLVQHLWKHUWKHWHVORUJDQLDVLWRQQRUWKHFRPPQLFDVLWRQVLWDLWLRQEMV together through an enunciation system. Such a system falls both within the verbal and the LVLWVLRQSUHQPLHQDKRDUDGHDLNHDX EDQVHUHWLQVHUDWLRQNLWQLDORMLVURKHVDWLRQKHEMH7LQDOH ch. 4.

2. WLVKWNVLQKDWKHMHELEOLEDSKLBOLWHPVUHSKHOLQLDVLW 4 Hamas – its military wing, together with several charities it runs – has been designated as a terrorist RDDDWLEUDHO WKH QWHGVDWHVQDGD WKH KRHDQR -DSDQQSW DQLWVWODZGLQGDQ ,WLW UHDUGHG DV WHUURLW RDDWLEUDQMDRDEWHUODQ 7KNKLDQ VDLORWVWKHVDUOLHUGHMDWLRQGEWLWGHEMQDEHHQSSHDOHG EWKHKRHDQ ,WLSRQVHEDWHLQBLWLBODQDDBGHPLEUQHNKHWKHUR QWBDMPDDVWHUURLWUKLNSHGLD! ,WLMOHODERDWHGLQKHZLWLRQKHuDPKXHUQKHu QKLMKGHEDWHGWBLMH:DOWQKHOL

References

BERWWBUHVXSRVLWLRQVDVQRQDVVHUWLRQJournal of Pragmatics, YROSS± BRVVWKRVDWVKHFURVVURDGRIGLVFLSOLQHVKHWRULFSUDJPDWLVVVRFLRORR TodayYROQRSS± BRVV5KH QHZ UKHWRULV LQKHULWDQFH S|JXPHQDWDLRQ DQG GLVFRXUVH DQDOVLV ArgumentationYROQRSS± BRVVQKHIXQFWRLRQVRISROHPLFDQGLVFRXUVHLQWKHSXEOLFVSKHUMQResponsibilities of rhetoricHGV0BLWKQDUQLFN:DYHODQG3UHVVRQJURYHSS± BRVVE/DSUpVHQDWLRRQGHVRL(WKRVHWLGHQWLWpYHUSIDUHLV BRVVEargumentation dans le discours, Dunod, Paris. BRVBRHGHODSOpLM DULV BRVHUQHUMGV DDDQGLMMPHGHKNWLV Today, YROQR QJHQRW0 /DSURSDJDQGHVRFDLQVWH6|HVVDLVGDQDQOVHGXGLVFRXUV/HVpGLWLRQVDOJD Montréal. BRV0 5KpWRLM GH ODQLKDOLPH DL GKLRBUH GLMM ± Les BHMCHODMULWpDODBO BRVUH-KN2'argumentation dans la langue ODUGJD/L4H

§LVWRWQChronicWUDQVODWLRQ:KYREHUWVDK\$HUUWH[WXDQOUHVXRUFHFRPSLOHGE(HHRQHFXXWW
DYDLODEOHIURPKWWSUKHWRULJFHVHUYHURUJDULFWRWVHGLQDFU\KDFP@
DNKWLQ0 Speech genres and other late essaysWU9:0FHHLQLYHUVLWRIH[DV3UHVV
XVWLQ7
HQRW:/ \$FRXQVWH[FVXVHDQGDSDRORJLHV\KHRURI,PDJHIVVWRU,Switzerland
RHWEDQ
HMQWH(EROPHGHOLKWLHJQUDOH , Gallimard, Paris.
HMQWH@ AKHFPDODSSDUDWMDWLRQ The Discourse Studies reader.
Main currents in theory and analysisHGV-QJHUPXOOHU\DLQJXHQHDX 5RGDN-RKQ
HQMDPLOV\$VWHUGDP3KLODGHOSKLDSS±
&KDUDXGHDX30DLQJXHQHDXHGV Dictionnaire d'analyse du discours, Seuil, Paris.
KWLUHWHWSDGLUHELESHGHMPDQLMOLKWLH
KWL Slovenian lecture , ed. ,=DJDU,AKEMXEOMDQD
(HPHUHQ)YDQURRWHQGRUVWQRHNRHNPQOV) Fundamentals of Argumentation
Theory,/DZUHQFH(UOEDXPIHZ-HUVHDQGRQGRQ
)DLUFORXJK,)DLUFORXJKI Political discourse analysis, RXWOHGJH/RQGRQDQGIHZRUN
)DLUFORXJK 1OXOGHUULJ- :RGDN \$ULWLFDO LVFRXUVH\QDOVLV Critical Discourse
Analysis, vol. I. concepts, history, theoryHGRGDNQJH/RVQJHOHVDQGRQGRQSS±
)RUFKWQHUPistoria magistra vitae KH topos of history as a teacher in public struggles over
MODQWKHUHSUHMVDWLRQContemporary Critical Discourse StudiesHGV&DUW3&DS
ORRPVEXU\RQGRQSS±
Haaretz/DQOVFULSWRIHQMDPLO 1HWDQDKXVGGUHVVRWKH \$HQHUDO\$VHPEOY
Haaretz\$SWHPEHUYDLODEOHIURFPZZKDDUHW]FRPQHZVGLSORPDFGHIHQVH
DFFHVVG)HEUXDU@
DUW&3LRWU&QWURGXFWRQW Contemporary Critical Discourse StudiesHGV&DUW3
&DSORRPVEXU\RQGRQSS±
-DVLQVNL- Sourcebook on rhetoric. Key concepts in contemporary rhetorical studies, Sage,
7KMQDN
-KQDLU- \$PDOORHMHY Informal LogicYROQRSS
±
-RKQVWRQHDiscourse analysisQDFNZHOO3XEOLVKLQJ0DOGHQ2[IRUGDQG9LFWWRULD
-RKQVWRQH\$VHQKDUW&HGV Rhetoric in detail-RKQHQMPLQV\$VWHUGDP3KLODGHOSKLD
.HUEUDW2UHFFKLRLQ& /QROFLDWLRQGHODVXEMHFWLYLWpGDQVHDPDQJDIJH
DLHQD\$NMQMLWLDOY Critical Discourse StudiesYROQRSS
±
0DLQJXHQHDXLVFRXUVHDQDOVLVLQ)UDQFH&RQYHUVDWLRQWUHWLWHLQDYHF-QJHUPXOOHU
Forum Qualitative Social ResearchYROQRDUWDYDLODEOHIURPZZTXDOLWDWLYHUHVHDFK
QHWITVWH[WHHKWPDFFHVVG)HEUXDU@
0DLQJXHQHDX'AHFKHUFKHQOHVDQDOVWHV GX GLVFRXUV\$JXPHQDWLRQHW DQDOVH GX
GLVFRXQOLJQH@ _PLVHQOLJQH\$SWHPEUHFRQVXOWpOHpFHPEUH
\$DLODEOHIURPKWWSDDGUHYXHVRUJ
0LFFKHOL 5PRWLRQV DV REMHFWV RI DUJXPHQDWLYH FRQVWUXFWLRQ\$Q. An
International Journal on Reasoning, vol. QRSS±
ORXuH&KHGHPFRFUDWLFSDUDGR[, 9HUV/RQGRQIHZRUN
3HUHOPDQ&@ The realm of rhetoricQLYHUVLWRI1RWUHDPH3UHVV1RWUHDPHDQ
London.
HUHOPDQEUHKWVWHQ/The new rhetoric. A treatise on argumentation,
RMUWVWUHDPH\$H\UHDPHQQR
QDVHQKHQSDUDORMHUPY \$RHWDLRQWUKpWRLMSS±
BLDN DDMOLWpGLDERLMLMORLLGHSHUWLR Calmann Lévy, Paris.

5HLVLJ00#JXPHQWDWLRQDQDOVLVDQGWKHLVFRXUVHLEVWRULFDOS\$SURDFK\$HWKRGRORJLFDQ
IUDPHRUN!Q Contemporary Critical Discourse Studies HGV & DUW 3 & DS ORRPVEXU\
/RQGRQSS±

HLVLJ00:RGDN Discourse and discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and anti semitism,
5WOHGHRQ

5HLMOR\$DKHLMLWELBOSSURK!Q Methods of Critical Discourse
Analysis QGUHYLVHGHGHGV\$RGDN00HHU\$JH/RQGRQSS±

HLVLJ00:RGDN\$HGLVFRXUVHKLWVRULFDODSSURDFK\$Q Methods of Critical
Discourse Studies UGUHYLVHGHGHGV\$RGDN00HHU\$JH/RQGRQSS±

HOQH - /H PpULWH HW OD QDWXUH QH FRQWURYHUVH UpSXEOLFLOH ODFFY GHV IHPPHV
professions de prestige)DDUG3DULV

DJXLHu3\$DQRXYHOOHMXGpRSKRELH)DDUG3DULV

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2DNV&\$

RXOPLQ@ The uses of argument, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

BQMN\$WLGLSOLDUR\$LWLBOLEMMQOM\$SOHDEGLMUKW!Q Methods
of Critical Discourse Analysis HGV\$RGDN00HHU\$JH/RQGRQSS±

:DOWRQ' The place of emotion in argument, Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania,
\$

:LNSHGLD\$PDP\$MLODEOHURKWW\$M\$NSHGLDR\$ZNPDP\$HMG\$DUK
@

:BND\$B\$DPDWLE\$Q&LWLBOLEMMQOM\$WLGLSOLDUR\$U!Q
Critical Discourse Analysis, vol. I, concepts, history, theory, HG\$RGDN\$JH/RV\$JHOHV
/RQGRQSS±

:RGDNE\$GLWRU\$W\$QWURGXFWRQ&ULWLFDO\$VFRXUVH\$DOVLVEKDOOHQ\$JHVDQ\$SHUVSHFWLYHV\$
in Critical Discourse Analysis, vol. I, concepts, history, theory HG\$RGDN\$JH/RV\$JHOHV
London, pp. xx-xliv.

Conversation analysis and the study of language and politics

Steven E. Clayman and Laura Loeb

Introduction

&RQYHUVDWLRQ DQDOVLV KHQFHIRUWK &KDV ORQJ VHUYHG DV DQ DSSURDFK WR WK ODQJH DQG SROLWLFV DWKRK &JHVHDFK LQLWLDOORFXHG RQ JHQHULF LQWHU practices largely within the domain of ordinary conversation, a shift toward task-oriented ~~FRVLWLRQ~~ ~~ROWDON~~ ~~PHUHGEWKH~~ ~~WKSRLWL~~ ~~DOSSHKH~~ ~~HOEURGDWHZ~~ ~~LQHUHKL~~ ~~SURLHQ~~ ~~OLQKLOL~~ ~~QKXUSRLWL~~ ~~DOOH~~ ~~HOH~~ ~~DP~~ ~~WDON~~ soon became the focus of study, including radio call-in shows, presidential news conferences, ~~DP~~ ~~SDLQ~~ ~~HEDWH~~ ~~DQ~~ ~~SDUW~~ ~~LES~~ ~~DWR~~ ~~GH~~ ~~PR~~ ~~DP~~ ~~HHW~~ ~~L~~ ~~NGE~~ ~~HD~~ ~~SS~~ ~~DU~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~UR~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~V~~ ~~OL~~ ~~W~~ ~~W~~ ~~EL~~ ~~H~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~M~~ ~~LOO~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~U~~ ~~G~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~ON~~ about political matters as well as talk that is central to the *doing* of politics itself. Scholarly attention to these areas has not been evenly distributed, but there are now few politically relevant interactional forms that have ~~VE~~ ~~HH~~ ~~M~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~O~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~S~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~H~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~EL~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~ have not always explicitly addressed the political dimensions of such talk, nor even language *per se* as opposed to multimodal forms of vocal and non-vocal behaviour, many such studies nonetheless yield insight into the nexus of language, interaction and politics.

~~IS~~ ~~R~~ ~~W~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~S~~ ~~H~~ ~~E~~ ~~F~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~O~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~P~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~D~~ ~~N~~ ~~P~~ ~~V~~ ~~H~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~S~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~M~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~P~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~P~~ ~~Z~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~S~~ ~~S~~ ~~U~~ ~~R~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~P~~ ~~W~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~Y~~ ~~M~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~W~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ & approach is a persistent empirical focus on language practices in the context of *direct interactional encounters* ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~Z~~ ~~H~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~V~~ ~~R~~ ~~P~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~P~~ ~~E~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~R~~ ~~I~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~F~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~J~~ ~~X~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~ ~~P~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~S~~ ~~U~~ ~~R~~ ~~I~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~ ~~V~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~G~~ ~~R~~ ~~U~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~S~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~S~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~Y~~ ~~D~~ ~~F~~ ~~R~~ ~~U~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~R~~ ~~I~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~V~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~F~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~I~~ ~~R~~ ~~F~~ ~~X~~ ~~V~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~J~~ ~~X~~ ~~D~~ ~~J~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~F~~ ~~X~~ ~~Q~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~V~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~R~~ ~~G~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~K~~ ~~R~~ ~~X~~ ~~V~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~Z~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~X~~ ~~U~~ ~~Q~~ ~~V~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~N~~ ~~S~~ ~~U~~ ~~R~~ ~~G~~ ~~X~~ ~~F~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~Y~~ ~~L~~ ~~F~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~I~~ ~~V~~ ~~S~~ ~~H~~ ~~F~~ ~~D~~ ~~F~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~V~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~E~~ ~~R~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~V~~ ~~L~~ ~~Y~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~S~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~F~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~V~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~F~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~V~~ ~~H~~ ~~T~~ ~~X~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~I~~ ~~R~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ follow.

7KH ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~V~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~I~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~V~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~I~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ language use, but it is otherwise wide-ranging and has a variety of substantive and ~~P~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~R~~ ~~G~~ ~~D~~ ~~F~~ ~~V~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~M~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~V~~ ~~S~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~O~~ ~~R~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ production of action, for displays of understanding of action, and for the exercise of agency ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~L~~ ~~A~~ ~~H~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~O~~ ~~R~~ 7KH ~~M~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~P~~ ~~H~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~

XQGHUVWDQGLQJDOGLQXHQFHUHWKRURXJKOLQWHUWZOHGLOWKHPRYHERRYHXQIROG
interaction, as each contribution simultaneously displays understanding of what came
EHRHDWFKDWKHUWDQLDQKDSHKDWKSSHQWEGLOEH[DPLQQ
how language is put to use within interaction, it is possible to gain a lively sense of the utility
VHESUDWLHKKWKHSHUDWHQULRDFWLQURNGEWKHULQHUWDLRO
SDUWLESDDVQDUHQQWLDORKDWKSSHQWVWKHDPHWLPHLWLDORREOH
to gain a sense of the social meaning of such practices for the interactants themselves, with
WKHSHDNUSHUWDQLHGHQWQKHSHEKWKHGHSONDKSUDWLHDQ
WKHUHESLHVSHUWDQLHGHQLQWKHUHQ(DPLQWKHMQR
language practices in interaction thus provides a means of justifying and validating analytic
claims.

EHUWKLVMHMDUKKDMHOGHGLQHUONQDQSDWLMQLDEWVKHLQU
workings and norms of conduct in a wide range of interactional arenas, which together
comprise an important part of the contemporary mediated public sphere.

7KLVKDSWHU SURGHV EULHILQURVLEWRVKHNUDWLQDOWLEDSSURK WR
language and politics. We begin with a discussion of some of the methodological principles
characteristic of this approach, and we then review some exemplary research studies relevant
WDDHHDQSDLWLEWHDUMPSKDWKDWKGLKRWKPHWKRBDQQLQ
are far from exhaustive, and readers interested in delving deeper into the approach are urged
to consult other relevant literature.

CA methodology

Getting started

Conversation analysis is concerned with the detailed study of interaction as it naturally
occurs. Experimental manipulations and role-playing are avoided on the grounds that such
circumstances almost always impose motivations or simplifying constraints on the
participants, resulting in interactional conduct that bears on uncertain relationship to
ordinary talk. Within the parameters of naturally occurring interaction, primacy is placed on
data that have been audio- or video-recorded to enable repeated scrutiny, and systematically
WUDQLEHGHVWRSWKHWHKHWLQKDWQDQWNOOPLGDQGRWUDQLSWLQ
conventions in general as well as those utilised when analysing examples below, see
HSEKQGHQ

QHUWDLRODQWLEWLHDEHLEWLDWHGDWDLQHMORDDQDULWVDEURG
level are overarching *tasks* and *norms* VXFQDVWVWKSROLWFLDQVLPVSHXVWRDSSHDOWRERW
SDUWLVDQDQGFHQWULVWYRWHUVDQGWKHMRXUQDOLVWVREOLJDWLRQWREHQRQSDUW
Such tasks and norms typically serve as a vernacularly familiar starting point for analysis,
KLVKWHKQWKHOHMPLOLDUSUDWLHWKUKKLVKWHKDUHHQWVHG,PH
settings, there may also be specialised *turn-taking systems* that specify how opportunities to
speak are distributed between the participants, imposing constraints on participation and the
production of action. Specialised turn-taking systems tend to be operative in settings that are
EPDQHQZVHUMHDPSDLQGHEDWHELOMPQWLSOHSDUWLESDDVHJ
HQHUHVSUDWLESDEWGHPEDDQWQHHLWLDLWLDOSHHKHV

WDQOUMORDQDULWPUHGLMHWMMHWLQV which may be analysed for
WKHLU UHODWLMOHQULMQLDQSDURHUWLHVDSLUHGDFWLEWVSHSHEF
KDUDWHULWLDLWLRQUMHQGLMUHHPHQMMHQMQK
SRLWLDQ UKHWLHDQDELHQDSSODM HWHH[W RH WKH actions that comprise

VHTXHQFHV DQG DUHRIWHQ DFFRPSOLVKHG WKURXJK D VLOJ OHWXUQ DWWDON VXFK DVT
SUDLVLOJRUFULWFLVLOJUHVSROGLQJWRWKHVH YDULRXVDFWLROVDQGVRRO)LQDOOM
practices mobilised within turns, such as lexical choices, prosodic features and non-vocal
behaviours, which may be relevant to the action in progress, or more overarching tasks and
norms.

WNG EHDSSDUHQ URWKH SUHGLQLW LUWBOOHMUWKLWKDW KDSSSHQ
interaction is fair game for analysis. Contrary to the assumption that much interactional
conduct can be dismissed as random noise, conversation analysts proceed from the premise
that all elements of interaction are *potentially* orderly and meaningful for the participants
DKLDDWWLWGHSHNDIDOWKRRELOLWLHRDQOMHEPLR
LQUPDEHPWLDWHGEWKHROKOGLOUHMHMDUKQLQISORLO
new forms of interactional data, or explicating new practices.

EQ WKH ODWWHU WSH RLUUHMUDUK WLPDWHG E\SUHMLWHLG DQ
NIDPLHGLQHUDWLDOSUDWLHMDKDOOPDUFWUHODWLMOPDULQOWKDO
science more generally, we dwell on this at greater length. Purely unmotivated observation
is, of course, an unattainable ideal, as analysts necessarily approach data with a conceptual
NDWLRRHGLSUHMHMDUKKLDuHWKDWWKHDUHLQLGWRMUM
HMUWKHOHMWLSREOHWRWLDHQEHLQULHGESUDWLHWKDWDUHQGLUHWOUHODWHG
WRSUHH[LWLQHMUDUKHQDKLEPSURSWWKHDQOWWRISOLBWHKDW
LIDQKLVKH SUDWLH PLKW EH GRP DRSOLKLOKLVSLBOO/LQMV
examining where and how it contributes to the stream of interaction, and with what
NRQ

7ROOXUDWHHULWDHQHLGWKDWMEQOLWEGRHWLPHGHSDUWURWKH
PRHRPBDHUDDPPDWLBOBPDWESBDUKWLESRDWDLQDDWMLQR
WKH RND HJ *Isn't it..., Aren't you... HWF* 6QFH WKLV SUDFWLFH WHUPHG D QHJDWLYH
LQWHUURJDWLYHLDQRSWLRQDOJUDPPDWLDFOFKRLFHLQWKHGHVJQRISRODUTXHVWL
LPSRUWRIWKLVKRLFHFOXHPDEHJOHQGIURPWKHUHVSRQVHVWKDWQHQJDWLYHLQWHU
WHQGWRDWWUDFWLQZKLFKWKHUHFLSLHQWFODLPVWRDJUHHRUGLVDJUHHZLWKWK
IUDPHGEWKHQHJDWLYHLQWHUURJDWLYH)RU LQVWDQFH 3UHVVLGHQWLOO & OLQWRQ U
QHJDWLYHLQWHUURJDWLYHDERXWFDPSDLQIXQLQJLUUHJXODULWLHVLMXVWVKL
ZLWKWKDW

- ,5 : 0LVVHU3UHVVLGHQWLRQXORRQKLO
- : WKHODWBPDLQKGLGQVWKHLEHMLGHQ
- DQLHDQDOOWKHWKHUMDGPLQWUDWLQ
- 4 top side .hh in a very vulnerable position, hh
- & : ,GLMUHHZWKWKDWKKEUHHMQUDEOHEHDM<
- QLWRRUHFDUK

7KHQDWLMLQHUURWLMUHNHUQOUHHLMWKLVSHRHSMLQVHUHMQ
QUUHNDQLWLVKHQUDPPDWLBOBPDWESBDUKWLESRDWDLQDDWMLQR
MWKDWWKHRPLHODWLMODMUWLMZWKNWLPDWWHGLQKLDWUHDWHGDV
opinionated and as straddling the boundary between seeking and expressing information.
EUHSLQWKHUHNQWKKLKDWLMLQHUURWLMUHMGLQKHGMR
HQLDQDWHUMUMGDQQH|WKHSURHQWEMQOLWVGHSDUWUR
WULWQWUDOLWQHSUHSRQVHQUHUVKHKMPMFWLQDPDQ
HULWDHDDPDPQWDOHULWDHQDPDQ

Grounding analytic claims

,QWKHEURDGDWUDGLWLRQRILQWHUSUHWLYHRFLDOMLHQFHSHNDQDOMWKDWDUHHPFLDQG hence grounded in the understandings and orientations of the participants themselves. Within interaction, the understandings that matter most are those that participants display, DW DQ WKKXHQHU RHOVLDO R WKH LQHUWFLWEMHQ GHMORPHY KHORON

SHQUDOUHNRHWSSLOVKKOHUWWDQLDOUHDGOLPSMGLH(HUSW DENLNPBRLHGLKQKHESLHQVHSQWVKHSUDWLHLQWLEWLEWULEWLN to interaction are, to some extent, directed to or conditioned by the previous contribution, HDKQULEWLEWROORPDQOGLSODWKDWSHDNUQHUWWDQLQDWDMXDLG DQGRQWVKHSULRSHDNUKHOR-HuHUMVHUWWDQV WKHPMOMV rely on such retrospective displays of understanding to ascertain whether and how they were QHUWRDQWKLPUKLVHWHRLQHUWMMHWLWPHULWDHELORUHHH for grounding and validating analytic claims.

RLWDRQDPDQDGRHGWKHDLPWKDWKHMQLQOLWLVHUMHUKLV WLEWLEWULEWLVKHLUHPDUWVWKLUGSDUWHLWKHUMVOLA say that...RU ELPOLFDFWLRQIHis said thatWKLVVHUYHVWRPDQWDLQDIRUPDOOQHXWUDORUQHXWUDOLVW SRVWXUHKHPRVWVWUDLJKWIRUZDUGHYLGHQFHIRUWKLVFODLPLVWWDWUHFSLHQWVLQ DWWULEXWHGWONRIWHQWUHDWVXFKWONDVEHORQJLQJWRWKHVDPHWKLUGSDUW)RU discussion of nuclear waste, the interviewer expresses the view that waste disposal is a readily XOH SUOHPL OLQGLUHFORUDGLWLVKH SHMPLWLEHZ(SUHNG MX SUHMEDELWLVKHOHDULQWUOLQKHLQURHWKLSRWLRO viewpoint, he makes a special point of indicating that it belongs to another interviewee from HDUOLHULQKHSURDPPHWRDOLGKHURLQHMHPWHOR and he also refrains from endorsing, rejecting, or otherwise commenting on that view.

- 6 QLKok et- simply the record in the lowOHMODWHHOGHNUWKHODWVHHQR WQyeDUWKHUHEGLWU\ goD DWGRWLMQDME optimism.=
- ,5 : KHDUGKDWWRDOLGHDUOLHULQ
- : WKLEUoaGDWKHQOKMDRSEWQWWR
- : H(SUHKHURLQgain, but she seems to HHOWKDWLWLDQHQVXOHSUROHP DQWKDWMmately that radioactive material DQHUHducHGWRDQHDEOHEWLVLHW LQKHEWWRDOWPLH
- 6 : 7KHSWKpoint that she was making earlier DENUHSURMVKHOURMV righWWWKHKHDUWVKHDDOWWD SHROHONWWKLSYDUWLENG KWOLH-HEHDU:DW

7KLEWUDOLVLSWKHPDMEHDDoDGHEWLVWLEWLEWVOPOLGDWHGDQ UHLRHEGWKHUHSVKHSROKHDNDNUOLHUQLQ -W DUHSVHLHOG LQKW LQRHESLHQVSHUWWDQLQVKH SUDWLH LQ WLVWVKHSHEWVKHSUDWLHCHSORHQ DUHWHQHMDOLEVKHSHDNUV

Radio phone-in shows

SRWKHU GRPDLQRI S KOLF SDUWFLSDWLRQLWKH UDGLRSKROHLQ SURJUDPPH 7KHM WSHRI SURJUDPPH KYHEHHQUHMDUFKHGEDQREHURIMKRODUWFKEDQOHO 7KRUQERUURZ 7KRUQERUURZ 7KRUQERUURZKDWDPLQHG YDULRZKROHLO UDGLRLQWHUYLHVZRPWLDWLQLOQSULRUWRDJHQHUDOHOHFWLRQ8VQWHLKJOLJKVV how the institutional structure of the radio phone-in programme shapes the actions available to the citizen callers, as well as the politicians.

QKHSURDPPHDOOHUUDHSUHFHHGCKDWQWKNZWKNWLNSSUNG EWKHKYUBWLDQHDPDUHJUDQHGDLUWLPHWBMWLEKHKWWDNQKH URHRSWHDNULQUBKQKHDOOHUKLKSUNURRHHWLDQHWZHQW DOOHUUDQSBLLWLBOMW 7KRQRUBDQWKHQWKHDOOHUDEOHWRQUGN WKHLUHWLQWKHDOOHUWKLWKLHUPDLRSFQWVWHDHWKHSBLWLEDQLUHWQ\ MHHQDQHGWKHWKQDHLKQWNUWKHSBLWLEDQOOHUMHQR MVLWKHLUHWLQWKH[KHUSWEHOK

- 0 Q/DNEUWBOOLWLP ,QDPSWHDGKQVW/DONEW/KHWHDKHUV RPRQP
- 4 Caller: good morning 0 KKRPQU DOOHURPRQULPHPLQWHU 0 RPRQ DOOHUKPWLRQORWKHKMHW MEHHQ/DONENQWKHSDUHQWER PWLRQBUHQRVWKHWHDKHUV EDNENQHWSBLWLNWKHODVR ,507KRQRUBS

HUHWKHKW/LQLDWHKDWWKHWRLZOOEHDWOLHEW WKHWWWLOOGRVWR UNWKHLUHWLRQKHLUH[SHULHQDQLGHQ/LWQLHYRQKLVKHNW GUDHMHVWGHWKLPPHGLDWHLQHUHWH[WWWLWKHLUUDHDMWLRU 7KRQRUE 7KHM SUDWLHWDSDH KWLQDUHDMGDQMWWKDW QRHWWLQKWEHMHZGDMWLDEOHLQKLVH[W QWKHWWWLRQMGDKW/PDRPDR/DROKHWLR WKHWLRDWKHDOOHUWCKW/KHDOOHUDDGLUHWKHSDWKWKHWDN7KRQRUE DLDQO/WKH KW GHEGHVHQVPHWBNWKHDOOZWKWKHDOOHUQ SDUWLESWLDQVWLVHQLQWLVHUMHZKRQRUB 7KRQRUE research shows the power of interactional structures to shape political moments. Here, although the phone-in is a place where members of the voting public can interact with the PDME SBLWLBOKHVKHGD/WKHLU SDUWLESWLDQVWVWLDQO/WUDLHG E/WKH interactional structure of the phone-in programme.

WKEVHMDUKNRDGLRURDPPHKHUHDOOHUCLKMMF LPSEWDEZWKWKH KW QWKKWKHM LQHUHXLuHU URWKH WELHG E\ 7KRQRUEQHUPKDUWLESQVHWKHSUDWLHMGEEWKHWVQKVV are similar. One such practice is callers using their personal experience to justify the stances WKHDUHWDNQD SURVKHDOOZVMMKE\LN 7KRQRUE Hutchby is interested in the power dynamics between callers and hosts on radio phone-in

SURJUDPPHVH XVHV & \$VRH[SORUH WKHFRPPRO SHUFH SWLRQ W KDWKRVVW KDYH VLJQL E DQW
 more authority and power in these situations, allowing them to control the call. His work
 shows how the structure of the call allows hosts a measure of power in determining the
 GLUH W L Q K H D O O Z O O W D N , Q K H M L Q H U D W L Q D O O H U D U H H [S H W H G W N D W H W K H L U R L Q
 J W K L S O D H W K H K W L Q K H U H S Q M R M Q S R W L R R W K L M Q S R W L Q
 K W D U H P R H D E O H W E L W L R R S U R O H P D W L M W K H D O O H U W N Q W H Q L D O O Q S H U P L Q Q
 W K H L U R M U D W L W K E \

, Q K H D O O Q [D P S O H D D O O H U K D P D G H D S R Q D E W W K H G L V W W M K L Q
 K L O G D U H O L Q Y K H K W U H S Q L W K D Q Q H U U B W L M W K D W D O O L Q W W L Q K H
 U H O H D W K H D O O H U S R O L H D Q R O L H W K H D O O H U W B H H Q K D W W K H K D M D L G
 O L A Y

DOOHU :K H R N W H U W K H K L O G D U H D E O L W L H M Q
 W K L W U K K K W H M U M U Q R R
 W K H O H D W D E O H L R R H I
 W U W H W D K L O G L Q R B M U L W W U \

GLV W L Q K L W U K K Q W L W Y
 H W W L R M
 W :K D W W K D W W W B E W K L W
 DOOHU SKK:HOO,WKL K K D W W W W D G G R
 Z W K L W L W L Q V

WKE\$

7K L M W R H [D P S O H R B K W D W K H U H S Q M R M Q S R W L Q R D O O H H
 D D O O H U S H U S H W L M W D O O P D U L M W K H L W D D O O H U W H P D U D O O R Q
 W K H P W W O K D G H K D W W K H D O O H U K D M L G W K E S G L W L R O O K W D N

this second-position slot to undermine the use of personal experience, problematising a
 DOOHU W K W M W K E H M U W K E D O R H W K D W K L O H W K H
 typical structure of a radio phone-in call favours the host, the caller can take steps to turn the
 W D E O H V K L G H P W U D W H W K D W S H U U H O D W L Q U H Q H [R W R Q H U D W L Q W D U H
 enacted through the practices of talk and are in the same way transformable.

Political speeches

Political speeches constitute yet another domain of direct public involvement in the discourse
 of politics, although here, public participation typically takes the form of simultaneous
 B O H W L M E H K D M U H S Q K D V S S O D M E R Q Q O D K W H U W N Q
 Q D P D H U L W D H U H D W E D W K W U H M D U K L Q K L M U H D K D M G Q K H
 R D Q W L R S S O D M D Q K E W P D E H L W H G E S R L W L D O S H D N U K L S L R H U L Q
 U H M D U K K D E H H Q H U W D N Q Q L W D L Q Q W K H G H P R D W L R H W L H K H U H D S S O D M
 plays a key role in shaping perceptions of the popularity of both politicians and their views
 and policies.

7K D W D S S O D M E H K D M L M D O O R D Q M G L N S S D U H Q L Q K H D W W K D W E K W R S S O D M
 W S L B O O E H L Q W K L Q Q R O R Q K H R S O H W L Q K H P H M H W K L W K H \

DUHUHSQMDQULMWRD[LPRDPSOLW&HLQHWKDRQSWNKH

timing and placement of applause indicates that many audience members decide to clap
 independently of one another, while also suggesting that certain points within a political
 SHHKQRSUNSSODMEW DORUEGHRLW&GLQWHGNW5HMDUKHUV

1RWFHFKDW%VKLVUHLVWDQWWRWKHOLQHRITXHVWLRQLJZLFKXHFUHFVWLGH
XQOLNHWSLFDOLQWHUYLHZXHVWLRQV([FKDQJHVOLNHWKLVDQEHH[WUHPHOCHZRUW
DOVRFQWURYHUVLDO5RWKFRUGLQJOMRXUODOLVWLOWHUYLHZUUVKDYHPRUHVXEWOH
RIWHVWLRQJFDQGLGDWHV[NQRDGHGJHDVZOODVSHUIRUPLOJRWKHUWDVNVUHOHYDQW
FDQGLGDWHVIRUHOHFWLYHRvFH&ODRDQ5RPDQLXN

Other interview genres relevant to politics and political campaigns have also been
LWLDWHG7KHHOHEULWWDONKQHUHHTThe Tonight Show, The Late Show, The
View ZKLFK LV JHQHDOOVHHQ DV DQ H|HUFLVH LQ LQIRWDLQPHQWUDWKHU WKDQ V
journalism, is becoming an increasingly important arena for politicians on the campaign

WUDLODKR-DPLQURWKLKWHU-EDQD
NUDWLRQOWLEWLDWLREREKLOHUMHOUH
KDUDWHULMGEDGLWLDLMPDWUL[RPDQSUDWLHZWKWKHKWVWHUMHZO
SUDWLHVDPDOHPELLEOLWLHVSUOLDWLDWUDWKHU WKDQWUDOLFQ

congeniality rather than adversarialness. However, when politicians appear on such
programmes, the resulting interviews become a hybrid of the political and celebrity interview
forms, with statistical analysis documenting a blend of interviewing norms and practices
RELSUHYKLVHWWQDMEPPSDLDWUHMHOCQDGLWLDLMDUHQ
in which politicians appear before the public.

News conferences

1HZROIHUHQFHVDYHDORREHHDHPLQHG IURP D \$HUSHFWLYH HUH WKH IRFXDV
EHHQRQIRUPDOTQWLWDWLYHDQDQMRIDJUHMYHRUDGYHUUULDOTWVLRQLJZWKLOLWLDQ
work focusing on the US context and tracing historical trends in the aggressiveness of

NWLQLUHFHGWGUGWKHSUHMGHQDQDPDQWDOQDPDQWDOQDPDQ
HWDOQDPDQWDOHULWDHQDPDQMLPHQUMHMM
NWLQDMEHHQ[DPLGLQGLWLDWLMGLUHFWDMUWLMQDGMUULDOHQDQ
DQDELOLWDOGLPHQDMH[KLELWHGDULMQUHQLQUHMMQMRWR
QDPDQW DO ZWK GLUHFWVULMQUHODWLMQUJDNQOQKLOH WKHU
GLPHQDMEHQERHNDWLOHNU WLPHQDPDQW DO NWKHU UHMDUK
ONQWVKHSHENWLRPRKHQDWLMLQUHUURWLMXSEWHGDQWUHQKHG
WKLQLHULWDHQDPDQKHMQLQWNSUEGHDPSONHHEGHR

growing press independence in the US and an increasingly adversarial relationship between
the press and the presidency.

KMHUUMDUKDKDMWHGWKDWKLLWQDGLMQDUWEDRDPDWLMLKLW
WKDWWNODHROKQKHHUDREGLDQWKWKL[RGLQWUDWLRLKHUUDPHG
KINQOLWVHODWHWVKHSUHMGHQDQDPDQWDOVKHUUMDUKDKDMGHQLHGD
UDHVKHUEURWDQLDODFRDQDWHGZWKPRHDUHMHNWLRQWKH
OHMOMQOLWLDWWULEXHQDPDQWDOHPDOHMMQOLWUHPHHDUHM
WKDQDOHMMQOLWLRDOWKWKHGHUGLHUHQKDWVWHQWHGMQ
WKDW WLPHQUDW WKDW KD\$HULWHGLYHWHHQINQOLWKRUH UHODUVDW SUHV
QUHMQWKNKBSHSHDUOHMMHQOZWKWKHRPHUEHLQDQVOPRH
DUHMMDPDQW DO HQ WKH OHMOMVKHLQLGNO MMQOLW NWLQ
RHQVLDONHPNUDEONQVLDQZWKGRHWLRLNWLQHDUHM
WKDQWLQHDOLQWKEHLQDLUHQWLRQMKLWQDPDQWDO7KH
HRLH[WLDONQDQZWK NWLQRHUHMKHNPSORHQ
UDWHVQQLVHUHW UDWHVUHQKH ULMQDPDQW DO 7KLVHMDUK KKR
NUDWLRQQVQURGH WKHNDWLRQRPDOQVLPWLQDQH

practices, which, when applied to news conference data can shed light on the dynamic and evolving relationship between press and state.

Conclusion

7KHUHVHDFKVVGLHVUHYLHIGKHUHGHPROQVWUDWHKRDIRFXROODDJDJHSUDFWLW interaction can inform the study of politics from the vantage point of direct encounters EHWZHSRLWLBOKHMHGLDSHURQODQRGLQUSHROH

While a variety of politically relevant interactional forms have been investigated, progress KDW EHHQIMQGLWULEXHGPRVHUDFWLQHWHZHSRLWLBOKHVQPHGLD professionals, journalistic interviews and presidential news conferences have until recently MUKDGGKWKHWRERDLDPHVWDOMMMWKKWKHODWWHUDUHEHRLQ DQGHMDQLPSRWDQMHRSKOLESSHDUDHVEVHOHFWHGREDODQSRWLWLBO EQLGDWHPROVHUDFWLQHWHZHSRLWLBOKHVQPHGLDQUSHROHSRLWLBO speeches involving collective audience behaviour have, until recently, overshadowed contexts in which members of the public participate as individuals in governmental and SRLWLBO SURMWWKHDPHWNQZHMUKLQWLDWLMWKKHWRERHEULWWDON shows, direct democracy meetings and other environments of public participation 7KRERUKDM EHVVRHWLWKLWVKHUPRH WKH DGGLWLQVWDLWLWLBO WHKQKWKBLWHPKOWSRQDOLGDWHGESHULREROLWDWLMUHMUKKDV begun to add range and depth to this work, enabling the study of distributional patterns and ENODVDWLQHWHZHQDQHSUDFWLWLDQRRLWLBOH[WBDOWKLN has yielded expanding insight into the diverse interactional arenas in which such language is deployed, and the political processes and institutions to which it contributes.

Notes

)RUPRUHWKRURKGLVFXVLRQVRI&BHWKRGVHHWHQDHYHHULWDJHDQG&ODRDQ LOO)RU PRUH FRPSUHKHQVLYH UHYLHZ RI SROLWLFDOO'UHOHYDQW UHVHDFK VVGLHV VV &ODRDQDQGWFKEL 7KLVVHFHUSWDQGWKHQH[VWWRWRIROORDUHIURPQHWRUNWWHOHYLVLRQQHVLQWHUHYLHZURJ in the US.

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ENPDONV KHW:KSUHLGHQLDQDQLGDWHKLVWVKHWDOMKUKW American Journal of Political ScienceSS±
DXPOS\$PLVRQKH OprahHuHFWRZVRIWQHZVKHOSVLQDWWHQWLYHFLWLJHQVYRWH FROVLVWHQWQJournal of PoliticsSS±
&ODPDQVSDQLQJHXWUDOLWLQWHOHYLVLRQQHZZVLQWHUSLHZNproblemsSS ±
&ODPDQ6JHZVLQWHUHYLHZRSHQLQV\$SHFVVRIVHTXHQWLDORUJDQLJDWIBROQDast TalkHG36DQOHODJH/RQGROSS±
&ODPDQJRRWLQJLQWKHDFKLHYHPPHQWRIQHXWUDOLWKFVHRIQHZVLQWHUHYLHZGLVFRXUVH in Talk at work: Interaction in institutional settingsHG3UHZAULWDJH&DPEULGJHQLYHUVLW 3UHVV&DPEULGJHSS±
&ODPDQ6 E &DYHW RUDWRU XGLHQFH GLVDVOLDWLRQ LQ WKH SUHVLGHQWLDQ GHEDWHV Quarterly Journal of SpeechSS±

& ODRDQ 6 (RRLQJ 7KH DQDWRP RI D GLVDVOLDWLYH UHVSQVH¶ *American Sociological Review* SS±

& ODPDQ 6 HULWDJH - D KHVWLRQLQJSUHVLGHQWV - RXUQDOLVWVFGHIHUHQFHDQGDGYHUVLDUHQW LQWKHSUHVVRQIHUHQFHVRI 8UHVLGHQWV (LVHQKRZHUHQGDG¶ *Journal of Communication*, SS±

QDPDQ 6 HULWDH - E 7KH QZVHUMHZKQOLWVQSKOLKH¶ KHDKHDLU, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

QDPDQ 6 HULWDH - E WHNHSLDQWLRLWLDQ¶ UHQHQDMMHQV¶ *American Sociological Review* SS ±

& ODPDQ 6 RPDQLXNHVWLRQLQJFDQGLGDWHV¶ *Q Talking politics in broadcast media: & URVVFOWXUDO SHUVSHFWLYHV RQ SROLWLFDO LQWHUYLHZLQJ MRXUQDQGLMP DQG DFFRXQV WUPDWUR - KQDPLQW HUGDPSS±*

QDPDQ 6 OOLRW 0 HULWDH - FNWW 0 DWHUKHG LQKLVH¶ M¶ KQOLF (SODLQWKH SW ULM RDUJMM SUHMGHQWLDQ H¶ *Political Communication* SS±

& ODPDQ 6 (OOLRW 0 1 HULWDJH - OFRQDOG//LVWRULFDOWUHQGV LQTXHVWLRQLQ SUHVLGHQWV¶ *Presidential Studies Quarterly* SS±

& ODPDQ 6 HULWDJH - (OOLRW 0 1 OFRQDOG//LKHQGRHVWKHZDWFKGRJEDUN" & RQGLWLRQVRIDJJUHVVLYHTXHVWLRQLQJLQSUHVLGHQWLDQ¶ QHZVFRQIHUHQFHV¶ *Review* SS±

& ODPDQ 6 (OOLRW 0 1 HULWDJH - FNHWW 0 . KH SUHVLGHQWV TXHVWLRQHUV FROVHTXHQWLDQDWUULEXWHVRIWKH:KLWHRXVHSHUHQFRUS¶ *Journal of Press/ Politics* SS±

(NVWUP0XQGHOOFRQGWKHEURDGFVWLQWHUYLHZSHFLDOLJHGIRUPVRIQLQWHUYLHZLQJ LQWKHPDNLQJRIWHOHYLVLRQ¶ QHZV¶ *Journal of Mass Communication Studies* SS±

(NVWUP0 (ULNVVRQ *RKDQVVRQ %LNVWUP 3 DVHG LQWHUURJDWLRQV¶ *PXOWL± PHWKGRGRORJLFDQDSSURDFK RQ ELDV LQ HOHFWLRQ FDPSDQJLQJLQWHUYLHZV¶* SS±

DURWK 6 LKWHU 6 *The nightly news nightmare: Television's coverage of U.S. SUHVLGHQWLDQHOHFWLRQ¶ RZPDQ/LWWOHQOG3XEOLVKHUV/DQKDP0' QLVFL \$ -ROOR 3 3HUXJLQL 0 L & RQJ D \$FRPSDUDWLYH VWXGRIRWRXJKQHVVDQG QHXWUDOLWLO, WDOLDQDQG (QJOLVKSROLWLDQ¶ QHZV¶ *Journal of Mass Communication Studies* SS±*

UHDWEDWFK¶ XUQWDNLQJVVWHPIRUWLVWLKQHZVLQWHUYLHZV¶ *Age in Society* SS±

HSEXUQ \$ROGHQ *KH FROYHUVDWLRQ DQDOWLF DSSURDFK WR WUDQVFULSWLRQ¶ *Q handbook of conversation analysis* HGV - LGQHOO WLYHUV:LOHQDQFNZHOQ 2 [IRUG SS ±

HULWDJH - DFKDQJHRIVDWHWRNHQDQGDVSHFVVRILVWVHTXHQWLDQSDQDFHPHQW¶ *SS&Q Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* HGV - 0 WNLQVRQ - HULWDJH & DPEULGJHQ¶ LYHUVLW 3 UHVVDPEULGJHSS±

HULWDJH - E DUNHODQGHWKQRPHWKRGRORJY Press, Cambridge.

HULWDH - KHOLPLW¶ WLRQDQDQWLVWUURWLVWLDQ¶ K¶ WLOH¶ WLVQHQ¶ *Journal of Pragmatics* SS±

HULWDJH - & ODPDQ 6 *Talk in action: Interactions, identities and institutions*, Wiley

QDHOOWR¶ *Journal of Pragmatics* SS±

HULWDH - QDPDQKHKDDQHQH¶ WLRQWLVPH7UDN¶ WLVQ¶ *Journalism Practice* SS±

HULWDJH - UHDWEDWFK¶ QHUDWLQJ DSSODXVH \$WXGRIRUKHWRULFDQGUHVSRQVHDWSDUW¶ SROLWLFDOFROIHUHQFHV¶ *Journal of Sociology* SS±

XOV (9DUZLMN - ROLWLFDOELDV LQ LQWHUYLHZV¶ *Discourse & Society* SS±

XWFK¶ *Media talk: Conversation analysis and the study of broadcasting*, Open University

BHMMN

-ROHV - 3 *Entertaining politics: Satiric television and political engagement* RZPDQ
 /LWWOHJHOG3XEOLVKHUV/DQKDP0'
 .DWJ - (PHUVRO 3 D DOWLF LQGXFWLRQ \$WKHRU\RI TXDOLWDWLYH PHWKRGRORJ\Q
 &RQWHPSRUDU\HOGUHVHDFK: DYHODQG3URVSHFWHLJKWV,/SS±
 /RHE/\UHVLGHQWLODQGLDQGLGDWHVDQGWKHFHOHEULWWDONVKRZ\SDSHUSUHVH\QWHGDWWKHID
 &RPPXQLFDWLRQV\VRFLDWLRQ&KLFDJR,/
 /RHE/\HFHOHEULWWDONVKRZIRUPVDQGSUDFWLFHV\FRXUVH&RQWH\WOHGLDSS
 ±
 /RHE/LQSUVV\ROLWFLDQVRFHOHEULWWDONVKRZ\&RQWH\WDQGOHGLD
 QDGD / \KHLQHUDWLRQ SURWLP\WLSOH SDWLDOLWLHVWKLQ SDUWLESDW\N
 GHPEDPHHWLQ Social semioticsSS±
 ORQDGD / (\PERGLHG DQG VSDWLDU UHVXUFHV IRU WXUQWDNLQJ LQ LQVWLWXWLRQDO PXOWLS
 LQWHUFWLRQV3DUWFLSDWRUGHPRELU\HGHEDW\W\fficsSS±
 ORQWJRP\HU0The discourse of broadcast news: A linguistic approach RXWOHGJH/RQGRQ
 ORQWJRP\HU0 \H DFFRXQWDELOLW\QWHUYLHZ SROLWLFV DQG FKDQJH LQ 8SXOLF VHUYLFH
 EURDGFVWLRQ\Qing Politics in Broadcast Media HGV 0 (NVWUP 0 3DWURQD -RKQ
 HQMDPLQV\VVHUGDPSS±
 RPDQLX\XUVXLQJDQVZHUVWRTXHVWLRQVLEURDGFVWMRXU\QDQ\VR\h Language
 & Social InteractionSS±
 RWK \$ \RSTXLJ]HVRQ WKH FDPSDLJQ WUDLO -RXUQDOLVWV FDQGLGDWHVDQGWKH OLPLWVRI
 TXHVWLRQLOJ\The Harvard International Journal of Press/PolisSS±
 DFNV \RWHV\RO PHWKRGRORJ\Q Structures of social action, HGV-0 \WNLQVRQ -
 Heritage, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. ±
 DFNV\KHJORu(\$HuHUVRO\LP\SOHVWV\WHPDWLFVIRUWKHRUJDQLJDWLRQRIWXUQ
 WDNLQJIRUFROYHUVDWLRQ\SS±
 DQDQ\HOO3Radio, television, and modern life DFNZHOO2[IRUG
 \KHJORu (\$ \TXHQFH RUJDQLJDWLRQ LQ LQWHUFWLRQ \$ULPHU LQ FROYHUVDWLRQ DQDQ
 Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 \HOB\HOB\RY SemioticaSS±
 WHQ\YH3Doing conversation analysis: A practical guide , Sage, London.
 7KEFUD\HWL\URDQWKHRDQDWL\NDON\OOWRUDGLRKR\Q
 Discourse StudiesSS±
 KRUQERUURZ - E \WKHQWLFDWLQJ WDN\LOGLQJ SXEOLF LGHQWLWLHV LQ DXGLHQFH SDUWFLS
 EURDGFVWLRQ\Q Discourse StudiesSS±
 KRUQERUURZ - The discourse of public participation media: From talk show to Twitter,
 5\OHGHELOQR\EN

Politics beyond words

Ethnography of political institutions

Endre D'Enyi

The politics of words

HPRFUDWLF SROLWLFVLVHQYLVLROHGSULPDULO DVDSROLWLFVRIUGV1RWKLOJLOOM
EHWWHU WKDQ WKH HWRRORJRI WKH WHUP S DUOLDPHQW FLFK FRPHV IURP WKH 2OG
parlementi QGUHUVWRVSHDNLQJR UW DONHWDVWKHLPSRVLQJSDUOLDPHQWEXLOGLQJVD

the world show, the politics of words is highly dependent upon a complex, well-aligned infrastructure that involves bodies, texts, symbolic objects and many other entities. Using WKH QULDS DUOLDPHQW DSYHEPMWKLKDSWHUKKAWKRD SKPLKWKHOS in tracing and describing such alignments in practice, pointing at what could be called a SBLWLEHQEGMRHGROKDWKEMUDKEWKLWELBOGHWRLOHMU\

Ethnography as a research method comes from anthropology, and its development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was strongly intertwined with the internal and H[WHUQORRWLQRUMHWRRHDQEWKPHULB QQLHHRH WKHLU ODRHVLWBOYQUHODWLEDDRDQLQLuHUHQEHWZHQKHLU¶
NWKHDQENKWKODWWHU DDDQSRQ RHHUHQ:EGSODHG DQ important role in this undertaking in at least two ways: they were used to record cultural GLuHUHQWHDOLN QDUWLESDDRMUDWLEDDQ WKHKHOSHGW RDN sense of cultures as if they were texts waiting to be read, compared and analysed by a RSHWHQUHDGHUMHHUWQKHLQHUSUHWDWLEWKKHV

WHUWKHE:ROG:DUZWKPDQDOWHUULWELHEHRLDQSHHQHWDWHV WKHDUWLEDDOGLWLELBEHWZHQDQWKHPVEHRLQHDEOH:KLOHPDQ indigenous groups were eager to develop understandings of their own cultures, a number of RDODQENKODODQKURRWLQRHDQEWKPHULB WURLNHE\ poststructuralist theories concerned with the complex relationship between knowledge and power – began to argue for a radical reconceptualisation of *ethnography as a mode of carrying out research*. Possibly the most important attempt to do so was the Writing Culture ENRKHOGLEDDHLQLLQUBWLEWVKHHGLWHGRRHWKDWUHWK
WKHEMR-DPHLU RGDUNGWKDWWKHUHQSWOLDWLEWKRDSKPHGHG WRHLQZWKSDUWLESDDRMUDWLEWZWKENKODOWH[WKWDEOHRLOHUSUHWDWLEQ EWZWKZLWLEW KHPDNQVH[WQLuRG DUE 7KLVHKUHG WKH

SUREOHPDWLVDWLRORIVXFKWDNHQIRUJUDQWHGQRWLRQVDVWKHREMHFWRUIHVHDFK
WKHQDWLYHVWKHJOGZUNHUQOGWKHDXWKRUI

,W LV GLVFXOW WR RYHUHVWLPDWH WKH VLIQLEDOFH RI :ULWLOJ &XOWXUH ZWKLO F
DQWKURSRORJDOQLWVLPDFWRQVHYHUDOQHJKERXULQJGLVLSOLQHVDOQLQWHUGLVFL

5DELQRZWDQ6WDUQ2YHUHFHQWGHFDGHVHWKQRJUDSKKDVEHFRPHDSRSXODU
mode of carrying out research, from medicine through organisation studies and human

geography to cultural history. When it comes to the empirical study of politics, ethnographic
KNDMPDGHMDDQVULEXLRQWOHDWWKUHHZMUWWUHDWLSRLWLDD

distinct domain of modern life, several scholars have focused on the ethnographic analysis
BULRRLWLBDOLVWLWLRDRRBDODQSRLWLBDQEHVLSRQVHZ

this approach is based on the recognition that certain aspects of the workings of those
WKDWEGROHFWLMOEHUHHUHGWRBLSRLWLBDQVWKHSPQHUEDMHDR

institutions cannot be fully captured by formal descriptions of political systems – aspects
NURWDO KDWJ/KHLPSEWDFRRLWLBDQVWKHKDEHHQOHDQO\

demonstrated, for example, in detailed analyses of the architecture and infrastructure of
ORONODQWLROSDUOLDPHVPOVHZDUGHWKH

complex ways in which bureaucracies organise themselves and the world around them
DUUHOOWO 5LOHVKHuHU WKHHPEGLHGSDUFLHFRQ

SRLWLDDVWLWVDEHEU DQHOHFWHGSRWLWLEDVLOHWDO :BDN
WKHWHQMEOHKWKDW HVVRDNRBLEHVPHDQDER

and the discursive and material tinkering that goes into the constitution of such supranational
GLuHUHQV SODHEDUNHWDO UHHPDGRH :ULKW DR

HOVLWLHVWKHNRHDQpO\U\U] *DEHUKKHU
:BDNBDNWDO :KDW WKHMDQWKHUHWKRDSKLDQOMR

SRLWLDDGRDLR WKDW SRLWLBDQVWHLW MPSODQGGVSRWLWLBDQ
WHPVWVHWKHQUDURVWKLQDENWHPDQWHPHKEGEH

MHQWKHUHWKWLWLBDQDQVWVNDQO\SHEGHMORPHQV
7KMRDQLKHWKRDSKLEKDMQULEXWHGWRRGHEDWHVQ

political science and political sociology is concerned less with politics as a domain than with
SRLWLBDQ SURMVR WSW LW GLuHUHQV\ SURMVKUK KLK WKLGRHRH

SRLWLBDQ7KHPDLRHRNUDWLQV KLVHDUGDUHEHHDQ7HKRQVGLHV
SDQVGLDNUPHQDOLWVGLHKLKDMENKEHHRUAGZWKWKH

SRLWLBDQHuHVMHPLQDSRLWLBDQSDUWLHVDWHKQRBDQVWLQPDQ
EHVLSHGHSURVLRUHWLQDWNQDWN

:BDUDQWKHSHURPDRDUNWHRHDOORW
DO DNDH HW DO WKH UHEDQVWLQDQLWVU

WUDWKHUQKHRDQVWLQHDOWKBUHDDHWDO DQHGFWLR
PHQVUUDQVWKHQRVMDODQSHUQOOLH5M5M

DOOHU7KHMDDMPLQDUSUDVLSYDUWLESWVHLSRLWLWUHEMOEGHQV KHLU
being political. Studying them ethnographically does not only show how sciences,

technologies, economies, and so on work, but also provides new possibilities to articulate
KVKHNRGENLuHUHQV\

7KLSRVVW WKH WKLUGVQLKHWKRDSKLEKDMHQHGZWK SRLWLW
KLVROVWKHUPDQKLRKHU DQOLWHUDUFLWLFDOWHUHQDPLQ

NG EH BOOHG WKH SRLWLWVRWHOOLQMMUDO HWKRDSKHUVNQVW
HQDPLQSWDQVQVHWKWKDMDDQVGHVWKRDSKLDQV

DUHGLVWVWRVWHQVMDQSHQVLEHQVGEENKDWVQVWLQDWHV
KHQVHEDUWVVR7KVRWLHWKHLUPDLQ

seriously, but the political system fell apart sooner than anyone could imagine, and throughout the twentieth century, there were hardly any periods when the grandiose Party, a few hundred metres north of the parliament.

stated that in the new republic, all power belonged to the people, who exercised their democratic politics.

democratic politics has often been described in theatrical terms – as a spectacle where the public is allowed to see and hear all the debates, but it is not supposed to directly participate in them. In the exception of the Palace of Westminster in London – take the shape of a semi-circle or a horseshoe, creating a theatrical setting in which political speeches could come across as

ethnography as a method that could be used to explain how politics really works, its main contribution to empirical analyses of democracy lies more in its capacity to shift the attention from an ongoing oscillation between front- and backstages to various staging processes. Minister had decided to sack the liberal Minister of Health for her failed attempt to reform the healthcare system.

QDSULO

,WLQDPNQKHPRDQWKHDFWLRQRGLQWHPHHLQ
LQKHDWLQHLQKHDSUOLDPHQDPEHUWKHDWLQDUHSUHSULQWKH
upcoming plenary sitting. Péter Gusztos, deputy faction leader and party whip, has a

double role to play. On the one hand, he has to make sure everyone understands and point he asks the faction whether they should make anything of the attack against a cocktail at the shop. Péter thinks it would be important to publicly condemn the event, but others in the faction argue the party should focus on the coalition crisis instead. regulation of hate speech, which has for a very long time been a source of controversy between socialist and liberal politicians. Péter volunteers to give a short speech in the parliament.

7

is almost completely empty. Only a handful of MPs are present when the Deputy Speaker opens the sitting, and even they look like they would prefer to be somewhere politicians have been having for almost two decades about hate speech and political extremism. One of the cases is an implicitly antisemitic opinion piece published in a politicians condemned the two events, but strongly disagrees with those who think the solution to the growing problem of political extremism lies in the stricter regulation of hate speech. He shares the view of those who argue that further regulation could only be introduced at the expense of the freedom of speech, which would be unacceptable. He continues:

that politicians discuss not only what can and cannot be done in terms of legislation, there is for social action for politicians, journalists, intellectuals when they encounter such phenomena.

speech ends with weak applause, and a member of the Government stands up to give a short response. He speaks on behalf the Ministry of Education and Culture, but his position is exactly the same as that of the Hungarian Socialist Party: it is the moral duty of the state to protect all victims of hate speech, and he believes the best way to do it is through strict legal regulation. Of course, he adds, no regulation can be successful Once again, there is weak applause in the chamber, and the Deputy Speaker calls on the next MP on the list.

)JULGDSULO

3pWHUWVSHHFKRO7XHVGDRRUQLOJZIQWODUJHOXQQRWLFHGDQGHXOGKDYHFHUWD
IRUJRWWHQDERXWLWKGDMRXUQDOLVWQRWFDQOHHGKLPWKLVRUQLOQJWRDVNLIKH
DWWHQGDQDQWLDVFLVWGHPRQVWUDWLRQLQROOIQ6WUHHW\$OHJHGOLWLVRU
civil organisation, and the Prime Minister has already announced that he is going to be
there, along with former German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, who happens to be in
KDSHWβWHUKDQVHWKHDUGDENWVKHGHPPUDWLRQDWHUKLVVHHKLVKH
parliament it is clear that he, too, has to be there.

QOIQ/UHHWLMWVHQLVHPONRWKHSDUOLDPHV/DUOLOVKHWDWHUR
WKHVKHUZMKHW DUHD LFWWLQMEOWHQBHMUDO DUULKWURVQ&LQ
-RELMPHVFDHWWWHUQVUKDGDQGWKHβGKβGDVHU
demonstration just a few blocks down the road, and given the heated political situation,
,βGQEHMSULMGLWKHUHβUHΘDKHEHWβHVKHPDQWKHKHDYDUPHG
SRLH,VKHKQUUW/UHHWVUQVWKHWLNWRβFWKHUHDUHDKOHHHQRQ
to large television channels.

WKH WLPHβDUULM WKHUH DUH DOUHDG\Wβ Wkuhh WkβQ SHROH DWKHUHG
WβWKHULQVKHWUHHWβHWKHPDUHKβGLQβββVWKHUHUH
GLWULEXWLDQOβULDQVKKHHMQLDQMGEDYOLVWKHUHDUH
βRLWLBOSVHHKHMQKHSURDPPHEWβKWHDHKβDOLWDQOLEHUDOSβLWLEDQ
can be spotted in the crowd, along with Gerhard Schröder. Showing up is already a
SRLWLBODWβWHUWHOOPHβORβGHQUKβHUGHPPUDWLRQSSHDUV
at the far end of the street, but the police successfully block their way to the ticket
RH7KH DUULKWUKDUHΘHDUQWβEHUHGEXWKLGRV SUHMQWKHP
URPDNDQVβWβLWβEWKHSURDPPHSDUWURWKLMGHQKβMU
HMUWKLβMSODQGDQDUβSPWKHGHPPUDWLRQHWββQVKH
evening, the event is leading news on all television channels.

QDSULO

,VKH DWHUQVKH RULGRVHDGLQVWKH GHEDWLQDPEHU LQVKH M R
5HSUHMQDWLMDUHNORHROH7KHONQDUWKHβEHWDULDWβKHβHWKH
DWLRQMPQOLVUQHGQWHOHMβPHUDVWOLKWβDQPLERKβ
WDQQRGDQZWKWKHDFWQHEMβQββWHULQVβRDNDQKHU
speech in the parliament related to hate-speech regulation. He enters the debating
chamber, occupies his seat in the middle of the horseshoe and waits for his turn. When
WKHSHDNUDQVWKHWLWOHRLVHHKβULDQDLQVβLWβWHU
WDQXQDEHLVβGGUHWKHSOHNQVKHLQUGβLQHEULHβPDULMV
KDW KDG KDSSHQ DW WKH WLNW RH LQOIQ/UHHW DQ βOOVDW βHN
demonstration the victory of freedom and democracy. He then says:

we, liberals, have argued countless times that no hate speech regulation can be as
HuHFWLMDKDWβDQDQDWULGDQ

{WUHLW UβV[LW HMuKHUH βRLVSSHDU LQOPW DOO βRHQDQ
countries, and let me tell you, antisemitic articles are published outside the borders
βUWβKLMQWKHβWLRKHβWLRKββUHSQV
WβSKHRHQ@

Last week Hungary, this tolerant, inclusive, freedom-loving and freedom-protecting country, knew what needed to be done. What needed to be done and how it needed

there will be many similar situations – we have to demonstrate ourselves in a strength of a courageous and inclusive Hungary.

connects the arson attack to the larger issue of hate-speech regulation and emphasises the importance of social action in the face of political extremism. However, there is a disagreement with their socialist partners, now he uses the term to denote those freedom-

iQHOGRHV

crisis, and the demonstration after the arson attack certainly did not stop the far right from gaining more ground in Hungary. My purpose for recounting this series of events, however, constantly involved in staging processes that connect party meetings, plenary sessions, street demonstrations, media studios and other locations in inventive ways. What such constitute a political market of parties and their programmes, the value of which are determined at regularly held elections.

The political and the technical in the legislative process

inherently unstable system: governments change, politicians come and go, parties appear in at least three distinct ways.

on WH/WV. Proposals for creating new laws or for modifying existing ones – so-called bills – are typically documents that need to be formatted in a particular way to be recognised by

KDYHWRFRQWDLQWKHWLWOHDQGWKHW[WRWKHSURSRVHGODDMXVWLEDWLQRIRULV
 DOG D EULHI GHVFULSWLRQ RI LWV DQWFLSDWHG HFRQRPLF HuHFVW DOG VRFLDO LPSOLF
 HSDUWPHQWRI)LOH5JLVWURKHFNVZHWKHUWKHQHDOUOWKXCGUHGELOOVKDWUHV
 HDFK MDU PHHW WKH IRUPDO FULWHULD SO SURSRVDOV EHLQ WKHLU SDUOLDPHQWUO
 department, where – if everything goes well – they get a sticker with a bar code, and within
 KDODQWVKHLUDQGMURSSHDUWKHOHLQDWKHWUDQWVKHSDSHU
 version is then forwarded to the Speaker, whose responsibility is to decide whether bills are,
 LQHHGKWDQDEOHRGHEDWH,WKHDUWKHSHDNUDGGWKHPWVKHDLWLRQMPQW
 WHQDWLWKHGØHKLKLLQHW DGHWDLOHG WLPHWDEOH WKDW GHWHUPLQKHQDKF
 KNGEGHEDWHGEWKHDWLRQMPQWKBRQLQDWREGHU

7KH GHEDWHW\$SLBOOWDN SODHLQWKH GHEDWLRQDPEHU WKH SDUOLDPHQW DQDUH
 RDMGLQWVWKHJWU\$LDENWKHHUDOSULQSOHDELOODQWKH
 WH[WKHSURMGODZKHEHWKGGHEDWHWVWKHHE\$ULQSDOSHDNUV
 URHDKSDUWDLWLVWKHWKHLQLG\$OWKORPHQWKHELOODOWHUQWLQ
 EHWZHOVKHUPHQDQWKHSRWLRQSDUWLESQKDMQKDFWKHDN
 DQLQKHHQWKHSULDOOGWRHSQWKHGHEDWHDKRHEWKHJW
 UNLNUWKHDWLRQMPQEGHEGHZHWKHUWKHELOOLMHDGRWKHMUR
 which focuses exclusively on various amendments submitted by the MPs and the relevant
 WDQLRPLWWHHVKLWHQSSHDUWHHDEQOHSUREW\$WRHSRQHMQ
 WKHORWGLYWHRWBHQDQWKHQKSHDNUNQWKHDWLRQMPQO
 to decide the fate of the proposed law.

WGHEHQHGDMPSOHPDMRLW\$WKHPRLWLRQHODH[DPSOH
 WKHDPHQPHQWKHVLWLRQKUHDEOLHGPDMLW\$PLODUWVKHGHEDWHWKH
 VHQDELOOKDSSHQWREWLOUHMURGHUJWVKHDWLRQMPQO
 GHEGHQOODPHQPHQDQWKHSWKHSURMGODDKRHEWKHDWLRQ
 MPQ\$DM\$ODWKHDOMURWKHWH[WLQWVKHSHDNUKRWR
 certify that everything during the legislative process went according to the rules and
 procedures established in the Standing Orders, and forwards it to the President, who in turn
 examines the content of the new law and decides whether it is in harmony with the general
 SULQSOHWKHWLWLRQWLVWKHQDZSURQDWHGLQKH EDQDHWHR
 the Republic of Hungary.

7KHSHDNUPQEHMGHVDQWKHQOOD\$MGEWKHDWLRQMPQO
 indicate a second way in which texts play a stabilising role in a parliamentary democracy.
 7KHWDQWKHSRQDWWRHWDGRHQWKHWDLQGHUNQWKHVLWLRQ
 WKDWWVKHUGHWHUPLQWKHUSHDUOLDPHQWHDWLRQKPLVHGHWDLOV
 the length of speeches, and by doing so perform an important distinction between the
 political and the technicalKHIRUPHULVJXUHGDVDVHULHVRIGHEDWHVDERXWZHOOGHQHG
 objects between the government and the opposition, which end with clear decisions made by
 WKHDWLRQMPQOKLOHWKHODWWHUGHQHDQOOWKHEKHDKDWLWVKDWLWVKHUGWR
 HGHWKDWDOOELQWKDWHQUSDUOLDPHQWHDWHDWHGHQOQVHQODQWUDQ

7UDNUHQQLBWHQWKLUGDLQKWH[WSODPHQWUDU\$HLQKHOHLQDWLW
 SURVWKH SUHMLWLS ,QGWHH[HUSW\$BWHUWR
 because his speeches, along with all the other speeches made by all the other MPs in the
 Hungarian legislature, are publicly accessible. 7KHWUDQLSW\$DUOLDPHQWU\$VHHKHV
 DUHSUHSUHQGEWKHDWLRQMPQWHRDSKHUKBYHEHGE,PUHWHLQO
 EDNQKHHDUQWULKWLQKHHQVHWKGGHEDWLRQDPEHUEHWZHOVKHUUW
 and the desks of the members of the government. Working in ten-minute shifts, their task is
 WRURNDLWKNUHREGDUOLDPHQWDUGHEDWHVHDEOHWRVKHQHGHGW\$DN

§WVKH#UPDQIRUFHVZIUHORVLOJJURXOGWKHUHJDOLDZIUHWDNHQWRXVWULDZHUHWKH
ZIUHFDSWXUHGEWKH86\$P\$WUWVKH2UWKHRO&URZDVWDNHQWR)RUW.QR[WR
WKH8QLWVG6WDWHVROG5HVHUYHLQ.HQWXFNZHUHLW2VKHOGDVD\$URSHUWRVSHF
VWDWXVTRU PRUH WKDQ WKUHH GHFDGHV ,W 2V ROO'LQ WKDW 3UHVLGHQW -LPP&DUW
DQQRXQFQHGWKDWWKH862XOGUHWXUQLWWRXQJDU2Q -DOXDUWKUHUJDOLDROFH
DJLQDUULYHGDW%GDSHVWDQGDWUHUDEULHVVRSRYHULQWKHSDUOLDPHQW%XSRO
ZIUHSXWROGLVSODLQWKH1DWLRQDOOXVHXPDPVREMHFWVGHYRLGRIDQSROLWLFDOVLQLE

Many Hungarians, especially those who were born after the Second World War, might
KDMWKKWVKHDWLRONR2WKHQW2DOSODH2WKHUR2OMH2O2KHQQ
WKH2UD2WLM2MUPHQ2D2G WKDW 2 WKH WK2QWK2QMUDU2V
2VHSH2R2WLR2W22VHG2W2UD2UWKHP2W2KHSDUOLDPHQ2WKH2DOL2W2DQOLEHUDO
R2K2WLR2W2UDHG,2WKHSDUOLDPHQ2DUGHED2WH2KHELOPHPEHU2WKH2R2K2WLR2
objected that the transfer would reinstitute the Holy Crown as a political object, which
2G2DL2WKHORR2DUOLDPHQ2DUGHP2R2M2R2H2DPSOH2W2HU,2Q
WKH7KLUG5HSH2KOL2U2WKH2DL2PHGL2WL2KHB2H2M2GH2Q2K2R2BL2M2WKH2W2
of the state, not the crown, or any other object. Unlike kings, the President is elected by the
parliament, which in turn is elected by the people – this logic of sovereignty is based on the
rejection of the logic the Holy Crown stands for.

On these grounds, the opposition considered the draft law unconstitutional, and asked the
Constitutional Court to determine, whether the Holy Crown had any political function in the
7KLUG5HSH2KOL2U2W2HUR2HG2HOLEHUDWLR2K2H2LW2WLR2O2W2GH2DUHG2WKDW
the Holy Crown had no political function and *therefore* the government could place it
KHUHMU2LW22VHG2HM2Q2WK22D2DOO2WKHSDUOLDPHQ27KL2V2KHUHLW22V
WUD2U2UHG2WR2D2U2DQ2LW2K2V2H22KOL2GL2SOD2WKHUH2HMU2M2
2L2DUOLDPHQ2W2R2SUB2K2UL2R2UL2D2W2WH2V

The politics of storytelling

,WR2GEHSRVVLEOHWRWHOOG2U2HUHQW2WRUL2H2V2DER2GH2PR2FUD2WLF2SROL2WLF2V2WKUR
SDUOLDPHQW2KOG2LO2DQGL2WR2GEH2HT2DOO2SRV2VLEOHWRWHOOW2KH2V2DPH2WRUL2HV2GL
SRV2VLE2LOL2WL2HV2KR2Y2HU2DUH2QRW2HOG2HV2V27KH2SDUOLDPHQW2EKOG2LO2DQGL2YDUL
associated with it, make some stories more tell-able than others. One of the purposes of this
chapter has precisely been to make such entities and their involvement in storytelling more
MEOH2UD22KHL2Q2W2W2K2DOD2Q2KUR2R2W2HUW2KH:2L2WLR2W2KH2GH2D2WH,
22VHG2W2KL2D2W2WH2VLR2R2DS2L2WLR2GM2GH2D2WH2V2HK2H2DPS2KOH2W2KH2G
SL2H2V2Q2DLO22D2SHU2WK2DW ,KDM2BOO2HG2D2S2L2WLR2EH2Q22G2WK2DW2L2WKH
politics of settings responsible for making words meaningful in a political way.

2WHUE2L2H22U2G2K2KH2UL2DS2DUOLDPHQ2EKOG2L2D2W2K2DOD2Q2KL2WLR2L2BOO2
2HE2W2WL2K2DM2GR2KHUR2H2V2L2WLR2D2R2L2H2GL2U2HUHQ2N2Q2WH2W2DQ
symbolic objects play in the constitution of a political reality called parliamentary democracy.
While the material practices associated with regularly held elections, the legislative process
DQW2KHP2DN2L2WLR2L2BOGL2L2WLR2L2H2L2K2WEH2MH2Q2GL2U2HUHQ2D2SH2W2D2H2K
W2KL2V2L2WLR2BOU2HDOL2WK2DW ,KDM2WUL2HG2W2K2K2K2PH2WK2R2D2SKL2WLR2UD2PHQ2V
that they do not necessarily add up. Staging processes might be crucial for individual
S2L2WLR2D2W2UR2WKH2OH2L2D2W2KH2SH2SH2W2L2M2WKH2DUH2H2E2OH2HM2Q2WK2DW2K2DUG2OH2MU
E2HR2M2E2OH2G2L2WKH2OH2L2D2W2L2M2SUR2G2H27KH2WUD2MH2W2R2D2ELOOL2WKH2OH2L2D2W2L2M
machine might be measured in weeks, but it is shaped by the trajectories of thousands of
W2KHUE2LOO2WK2DW2K2D2G2SD2M2G2WK2K2WKH2D2PH2DKL2H2M2WKH2PL2G2Q2W2HH2Q2KH2Q2W2KH

)8WRPVXSHUYLVRUVDQGH[DPLQHUVLQ/DQFDVWHUDQG/RQGRQ-RKQ/DZXF\
6XFKPDQ @GUHZZUUDQGRNH6XP:RQJ#RUWKHLUFDUHIXOHQJJDJHPHOWZWKPK\
RUNDWYDULRXVWVDJHVDQG7KRPDV6FKHuHUDQGWKH3ROLWLFDO(WKQRJUDSK\RUNLQJUR
LQ%UOLODQG)UDQNIXUWIRUVXVWDLQHGGLVFXVVLQVDERXWWKHOLPLWVRIGHPRFUDF\

Notes

2vFLDO -RQODO RI WKH R\H RI 5HSUHVHQWDWLYHV -DP \$ULO -P\
translation.
2EDO -RQO RWKH R\HSUHVHQDWLWVSP \$ULO -P\
translation.
DLODEOHURZDUODPHQKEDPHMQSONORRKHOLDGDWDL

References

EpOqVOQuiet days in Burgundy , Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
EpO\H\WLGHQD\UOHPHQ\H\K\pHQ , Hachette, Paris.
@PQ\HUED\the civic culture , Sage, London.
RURMSKDKOHUO New perspectives in political ethnography6ULQJHU9HUODJ
IHZRUN
DUU\Political machines , Continuum, London.
H\QDPLQ ‘7HVWRW\HOOH\H\K\QWL\Q\QUH\H\W\Q\H\N
SS±
H\QDPLQ 7KHDUEGHSUMIH\W\DU\UG\RMUMW\H\H\PEULGH0
R\U\Memory practices in the sciences KH0,3UHVV&DPEULGJH0\$
&DOORQ00LOORQ\XQLHVD) Market devices,:LOH\QDFNZHOO&KLFKHVWHU
&ODUNH-DLQWRQ\HQGYDL\XEEV3 Making policy move3ROLF3UHVV\LVWRO
&OLuRUG-0DUFXV\Writing culture QLYHUVLWRI&DOLIRUQLD3UHVV\HUNHOH&\$
&UHZH(Lords of Parliament, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
R\H\The House of CommonsORRPVEXU3XEOLVKLQJ\RQGRQ
iQL(H\PRFUDFLQ\XLOV\Q The Inhabited Ruins of Central EuropeHGV\DMFJXN
DHU3DOJUDYHODFPLOODQ\RQGRQSS±
LVFK/- ‘5HSHVH\QDWLQV\SRNHVSHV\ROKS\EDWR\RSROLWLFDO\H\ROD[,
R\RS±
JDKL\Imagined democracies, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
DUHOOD\Discourse and democracyRXWOHGJH\RQGRQ
)UHHPDQ\WXUG6 Knowledge in policy3ROLF3UHVV\LVWRO
)ULHGODQG3 Political actors: Representative bodies and theatricality in the age of the French
Revolution&RUQHOO\LYHUVLW3UHVV,WKDFDI<
R\ERU(9HU0 KHKRXVHRIWKHQDWLQ\Q3DUOLDPHQWSODQVIRU%GD3HVW±
pSP\W\W\H\K\SDSHW
DUGH\Le linge du Palais-Bourbon /H\UGGHO\DX\RUPRQW
HHUW]&The interpretation of cultures DVLFR\RNVIHZRUN
HUS 3XEOLFVSDFHLO\%GDSHVW\KHKLVWRURI.RVVXWK\TXDUH, East European Monographs,
R\RELDQ\MUMW\H\H\N
RPDQ\The presentation of self in everyday life RXEOHGDDUGHQ&LW\<
E\DHEDUDirect action, \$UHVV2DNODQG&DQG(GLQEXUJK
LUVFKDXHU Q\XWWLQJ WKLQJVLQWRZRUGV(WKQRJUDSKLFGHVFULSWLQDQGDQGWKHVLOHQ\FHRIW
VRFLDQ\Human StudiesYROQRSS±
R\OPHVEconomy of wordsQLYHUVLWRI&KLFDJR3UHVV&KLFDJR/

RQLJ94FODUDWLRQVRILOGHSHQGHQHF\$HOGWDOGHUULGDRQWKHSUREOHPRIIRXQGLQJD
 UHSXEOLF74 American Political Science Review YROQRSS±
 XOOOGovernment of paper QLYHUVLWRI&DOLIRUQLD3UHVV4UNHOH&\$
 .DQWRURZLF](The king's two bodies 3ULQFHWROQLYHUVLW3UHVV3ULQFHWRO1-
 .QRUU&HWLQD.The manufacture of knowledge , Pergamon Press, Oxford.
 .RUKWLD.Epistemic cultures BUYDUGQLYHUVLW3UHVV&DPEULGJH0\$
 .U] *DQRZVNL 0 ßROLWLFDO FRPPXQLFDWLRQ LQVWLWXWLRQDO FXOWXUHV DQG OLQHDULW
 RUJDQLVDWLRQDOSUDFWLFHGLVFRXUVHHWKQRJUDSKLFDSSURDFKWLQVWLWXWLRQDOFKDQJ
 QLROQCritical Discourse Studies YROQRSS±
 .U] *DQRZVNL02EHUKXEHU) (Un)Doing Europe: Discourses and practices of negotiating
 the EU constitution3HWHU/DQJLXVHVHOVDQGIHZRUN
 /DWRXU\$cience in action BUYDUGQLYHUVLW3UHVV&DPEULGJH0\$
 /DWRXU% Pandora's hope: Essays on the reality of science studies, Harvard University Press,
 DPEULGH0
 DWK7The making of law , Polity, Cambridge.
 DWK %DDU 6 DERDWE\OLH 7KH QUNLWLEHQLDQJLWVPrinceton
 DMULWBEHMLQWQ
 DZOrganizing modernity:LOH0DFNZHOO&KLFKHVWHU
 /QFK06LHQWLF\$UDFWLFHDQGRUGLQDUDFWLRQCambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 DHHQHEHDX Do economists make markets? On the performativity of
 economics3ULQFHWROQLYHUVLW3UHVV3ULQFHWRO1-
 0DOLQRZVNL6JRQDXVWRIWKH:HVWHUQ3DFLFRXWOHGJH/RQGRQ
 0DQRZ3In the king's shadow, Polity, Cambridge.
 DUKKQDSKLQKHROGWHP7KHHPHUHERQWLVWHGHWKRQDSK¶
 Annual Review of Anthropology YROSS±
 0RO\$The body multiple, XNHQLYHUVLW3UHVVXUKDP1&
 0RO0RVHU,3ROV-Care in practice,VDQVFULSW9HUODJLHOHIHOG
 0XQWLJO 3 :HLVV *:RGN 5 European Union discourses on unemployment -RKQ
 HQMDPLQV\$VWHUGDP
 1DGHU / ß WKH DQWKURSRORJLVW 3HUVSHFWLYHV JDLQHG IURP VWXGLQJ\$S1Qing
 anthropology.HGPHV9LQWDJHRNV1HZRUNSS±
 3pWHU/ KH KROFURZQRIXQJDUYLVLEOH DQGLQYLVEOH¶ Slavonic and East European
 Review YROQRSS±
 3RZHU0The audit society , Oxford University Press, Oxford.
 5DELQURQKLQ 5HHV Designs for an anthropology of the
 contemporaryXNHQLYHUVLW3UHVVXUKDP1&
 DwHVInsectopedia 9LQWDJH1HZRUN
 EOHVDocumentsQLYHUVLWRI0LFLKLDQ3UHVV0Q\$ERU0,
 RVH1The politics of life itself 3ULQFHWROQLYHUVLW3UHVV3ULQFHWRO1-
 RVH10LOOHU3Governing the present. Polity Press , Cambridge.
 KDW[Political ethnographyQLYHUVLWRI&KLFDJR3UHVV&KLFDJR/
 6KHuHUAdversarial case-making ULOO\$DGHPLF3XEOLVKHU/HLGHQ
 KHORWQ&Dreamworlds of Alabama,QLYHUVLWRI0LQHQHVRWD3UHVV0LQQHDSROLV01
 KHORWQ& Where the North Sea touches AlabamaQLYHUVLWRI&KLFDJR3UHVV&KLFDJR/
 KRUH&:ULJKW6 Anthropology of policyRXWOHGJH/RQGRQ
 6HQVHQ(The materiality of learning , Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 WDUQLWLQW\$HEDOHGLWRVQURGLQ Cultural Anthropology YRO
 QRSS±
 WHZDUW.2UGLQDUDüHFVWXNHQLYHUVLW3UHVVXUKDP1&
 WRQH3ROLF\$DUDGR[::1RUWRQ&R1HZRUN
 WUDWKHUQ0Audit cultures RXWOHGJH/RQGRQDQGIHZRUN

6XFKPDQ/ XPDQPDFKLOHUHFROJXUDWLRQV3ODQVDOGVLWXDWHGDFWLRQVQGHG&DPEULGJH

University Press, Cambridge.

7DM DOWHUBMDPLQDM QMUMWKLDFHKLDR

9IUUD Science and an African logic, QLYHUVLWRI&KLFDJR3UHVV&KLFDJR,/

:RGDNJURPFRQAFWWRFRQVHQQVXVKHFRFRQVWLWXWLRQRIDSROLFSDSHU European
Union discourses on unemployment HGV 3 0XQWLJO *HLVV 5RGDN -RKQ HQMDPLQV

8VWHUGDPSS±

:RGDN The discourse of politics in action: Politics as usual , Palgrave Macmillan, London.

8DN .UPHOKWQU %KHLQHUSODQDQH LGHRRHVQ

contextual cues in multilingual interactions: Language choice and code-switching in European
BRQLWXLQ Language in Society YROQRSS±

8QRZ How does a policy mean? Georgetown University Press, Washington, DC.

Part III

Genres of political action

Parliamentary debates

Cornelia Ilie

Parliamentary institutions: systems and functions

Parliament is a democratically elected, representative political assembly that ensures responsiveness and accountability of government to citizens by performing two vital

SRWLBDONLWERNLDDHDCRHSRLWBOGHEDWHUHDUGLWUPHQ
 OHLDDWLDDDOUHRGDLPSOHPHQDWLDRLEHMRREUHSUHMQLDQ
 KDPSLRWVKHLQHUHWELHQQJLQVKHLUGHDLQWKNUPHQ7KH
 RDDWLSEKUVQHuHFWLMQVSDUOLDPHQWU\ZGHO\GSHQLQVKH
 surrounding governance context, the relations between the state, the market and civil society, the extent of political space and support for active citizenship, and last but not least, the parliamentary culture, including motivating and constraining beliefs and

SUDFLHMPEHURDUOLDPHQKHFRWKDQSDUOLDPHQDUWduDUUNWVKHLU
 tasks in four main lines of activity: the parliamentary chamber, committees, party caucuses
 DQWLVWHDHOOHUDDOHOGQHWPLWUWHPSDUOLDPHQWKH8
 SDUOLDPHQDQWKHSDUOLDPHQRPFDOWKNULHUPHQDDELOLW\
 concerns the relationship between government and opposition parties in parliament, with
 MPs and parliamentary committees controlled by party discipline. Whereas in
 :HWPLWUWHPSDUOLDPHQGHEDWHVQKHSOHQKDPHUGLSODLQWWDH
 SDUOLDPHQDU\SHURPDEWHQWDMHDPKH SURLQQUH WKDCGHEDWHVQ
 SDUOLDPHQDU\RPLWVHHDUULQKUHVEDNDHSDUOLDPHQDU\WLEWLHWKH
 RSEWHVWELWLSUHELOVQRHDPGHO SDUOLDPHQVWHPWVKHKH DQ
 focus of parliamentary procedures, two categories of parliaments are distinguished,
 namely *debate parliaments* and *working parliaments* DOODJKHU/DYHU ODLU
 7VKHJW DWHFEHORHWPLWUWVSH SDUOLDPHQV DWKH8NR
 RPKLDUHQRKWKHSDUOLDPHQVMSRLWLDORQWLEWVKWKH
 government, and to function largely as an arena for lively adversarial debate and display
 RIKHWRLBOMOOQUDWPNRKHDDQDUOLDPHQDGHUHDUGHGDENQ
 parliaments, with less spectacular and less confrontational interactions or statements,
 placing the emphasis on legislative proceedings and committees, rather than on the
 political struggle with the government.

through its oversight of the executive by parliamentary committees whose task it is to track investigations into salient aspects of their policy and administration. Crucial to the Hu addressed to the government with recommendations, which is laid before parliament as a accountablity in that they impose on ministers the obligation to explain and justify their

deployed in intra-party and inter-party politics. Parliamentary debates constitute discourse and rhetorical patterns of parliamentary debates display ideological visions, party as representatives of citizens in terms of their social, professional, gender and ethnic backgrounds. Essentially, parliamentary debates are prototypical instantiations of

das Machbare

of translators and interpreters. Moreover, the EP is a parliament in development: it has presidential systems, since it interacts with a dual executive: the European Commission and parliamentary committees, it is through these committees and the key functions of committee Despite ongoing formation of EU-level political parties, MEPs are in general more of Lisbon strengthened the role of national parliaments within the EU, especially by draft EU laws to see if they respect the principle of subsidiarity, participate in the revision of EU treaties, or take part in the evaluation of EU policies on freedom, security and justice.

democratic, and as a parliamentary assembly in that it does not follow the process of bargaining behind closed doors, but the process of deliberation.

7KLKDSWHU WOLVLOOXUDWHV DQ GLM WKH BOKPDMR LMVUHODWHG
WBSDUOLDPHQDU\GHEDWHVSDUOLDPHQDU\GHOLEHUDWLSUDWLVH S DUOLDPHQDU
GLMMHQHDQLW VHQHS S DUOLDPHQDU\GGUHMHDQ S DUOLDPHQDU\
D&LHVS S DUOLDPHQDU\SDUWLES DQ URHS N\UHMDUK WRLR
S DUOLDPHQDU\GHEDWHVSDQOUPDUN

Deliberation in parliament

7KHSULPDU\RDQVRISDUOLDPHQWDU\GHEDWHVVDUHWRQHJRWLDWHSROLWLFDOV
DJUHHPHQWV DQG WRPDNH GHFLVLRQV WKH UHV\WVRI KLFK DuHFW SHRSOH VHYHU
7KHGHOLEHUDWLYHGLDORJKEHWZHQ03VH\KLELWVERWKKLVWULRQLFIHDWVHVWK

of a theatre scenario, and agonistic features, that is, elements of a competition scenario
,OLH D XOGLOQ Q WHULGHPRDWLSURMBSRLWLBO GHOLEHUDWLR
RLQKOGLOQ Q GHEMRDNDQ KHSKOLFKHUHSDUOLDPHQDUUHRRQV
KHUHHOHVWHGUHSUHM\DWLMMQHLQRKHV\NUSRLDQSDUOLDPHQDUGHEDWH
LV D QDPHQDO SDUW RGHPRDWLFODZDNEE ODSLQS

Parliamentary debates are audience-orientated in that they are enacted by fellow
S DUOLDPHQDULDQHRHDZGHSUHM\DQMUW\BOD&LHFWKDWLRSULMGNR\
of parliamentarians, but also of members of the electorate, the general public and the
PHGLD, ZHQDHWKHGHEDWH DUKHWRLBOHQVHUSULMSDUOLDPHQDUGHEDWHV
be regarded as institutionalised rhetorical modes of action for collective decision-making.

KDEHHQUNGLQLH ES WKH GLMM\PHDQ WBOOLVR
HWLR\KHRSRQV ethosLHSROLWLFDOFUHGLELQW DQ GPRUDOSURPHZKLOHHQKDQF
their own *ethos* in an attempt to strike a balance between *logos*, i.e. logical reasoning, and
*pathos*LHHPRWLRQHOLFLWLQJIRUFH

Parliamentary debates display interaction patterns characterised by two apparently
contrary, yet complementary, principles: in some ways, a spirit of adversariality, which is
manifested in position-claiming, opponent-challenging acts, and polarising argumentation,
and in others, a spirit of co-operativeness, which is manifested in joint decision-making and
cross-party problem-solving processes in order to reach commonly acceptable goals
UHDUGLQWDEOHOLHFWLQW DQWLRO OHMO, WLSUHEMO\WKHM GLPHQ

parliamentary practice that prompted theoreticians of deliberative politics, such as Habermas
WBUH WKDW S DUOLDPHQDUHDQPSRWDQ VKHUHEHOLEHUDWLRQ WKH
essential legitimising and social integrative functions. His two tracks of political deliberation
BQHLGHV\HGLODUOLDPHQDUGHEDWHV\SUROHPMSURVQDSEU
HQUDWLQURWKRELQSKG WKHSUHSWLQWLRQ LWRWVKHWRHV
DQDWKHPHWPWRDLQDLQKHOHLWLPDQOLWLBOGHEM

WKHDEHUPDMQVHUSUHWDLR HOLEHUDWLRWLHUKDMQMGWKH
extent of deliberative action in three legislatures: the US Congress and two parliaments with
GLuHUHQV\HLODWLMMWHPWKHEDQWKHFUPDQKHEV\DUOLDPHQLVHDUGHG
DV S DUOLDPHQDU\WHP WKH HUPDQSDUOLDPHQ LVHDUGHG DV
competitive parliamentary system, whereas the US Congress is regarded as an example of a
RSHWLWLSUHM\GHVLDOWHP7KHQLRPPWKDWWKHEDQROLWLQWWLQ
HQDEWKH UHSHW\EHKDMR QUDW HUPHQVSRWLQWWLQ
such as the German parliament and the US Congress are conducive to zero-sum games,
undermining respectful behaviour and constructive problem-solving activities.

Parliamentary discourse genre and its subgenres

)URP D SUDJPDOLOJXVWLF SHUVSHFWLYH WKH SDUOLDPHQW DU\GLVFRXUVH JHQUH EHO
ZGHUJHOGRISROLWLFDOGLVFRXUVHGLVSODLQJSDUWLFODULQVWLWXLWRQDOGLVFRXUVLY
FRPSOLQJZWK D QREHU RI VSHFLU UOHV DOG FROYHQWLQV 3DUOLDPHQW DU\GHEDWH
PHDQWRDFKLHYHDQREHURILQVWLWXLWRQDOOVSHFLU SRSRVHVQDPHO SRVLWLQROF

persuading, negotiating, agenda-setting and opinion-building, usually along ideological or
SDUWOLHVKHLGLMMLOVHUWLFSDUOLDPHQW DULDQW DQOPDUNG E\WKHLU
institutional role-based commitments, by the ongoing dialogically shaped institutional
RQDWLQGEWKHDZHUHQDWLQQRQRQRWKHEHQWDPQWL
ODHUHG DKLHQ :KHGHEDWLFSDUOLDPHQW DULGHQWLWLHV DUHQWUHQGEV
complying with institutionally established communication constraints, while they resort to
SDUWLFSDU OLVWLFRHVGLMM WUDWHLHQVQ HPWLROUDWLRQ DSSHDOWR
EURMQWKHLWLWLWLRQWUDLQVQLHE

URD UKHWRLDO SHUSHWLM SDUOLDPHQW DU\GLMM HMQLDOO\EHORVWKH
deliberative genre of political rhetoric, targeting an audience that is asked to make a
GHEMQRDQWLFQKHDGDDDHQGLDGDQDHDQWKHEMQRDQWLFQ
the same time, it also displays, even if rather occasionally and to a lesser extent, elements
WKHRHQDQHSGLHLWLHQHKLKRPWKHDKWLQDQHWKDWHQHQDUH
heterogeneous. One of the major responsibilities of MPs is to contribute to problem-solving
WDMHDUGLQHDODQSLWLQDOGHOLEHUDWLRQMOODGHEMQRDQURMY
PDMRLHQWLRMSDUOLDPHQW DULDQW LMSDUWLESDWLRQHEDWHLWKHQWQHQHGWR
promote their own image in a competitive and performance-oriented institutional
interaction.

7KHSDUOLDPHQW DU\GLMMHQHGLSODMMUDOKHQHWKDWLSURGKHEDMG
RQDWLMLQVHUWLFMWRWKDWDUHQKGLQWHGWRHEFSDUOLDPHQW DULQWKH\
LQSHRORLHQVDWHGEPHPDQRUHQWVWDLQHDWLRQRLQPDWLQ
as well as confrontational exchanges across party-political lines. Some of the most
representative subgenres of parliamentary discourse are *ministerial statements*, *inter-
pellations*, *parliamentary speeches*, *parliamentary debates*, *Parliamentary Questions* *oral
and written*) *DQQuestion Time*.

,QWPLQHUW\$HSDUOLDPHQW HUPHQVPLQWUHQDQGGUHVZLWWHQHQMOODV
oral, statements to parliament. *Oral ministerial statements* often regard major incidents,
policies and actions. *Written ministerial statements* are normally used to put the day-to-day
EKHQUPHQWKREDOUHQGDQLQKHSKOLEGRDLO
*Oral ministerial
statements*DUHPDGHQWKRXVHRI&RPPRQVDIWHUTXHVWLRQVDQGXUJHQWTXHVWLRQVEH
WKHSXEOLFEXVLQHVVRWKHGDKHLUSXUSRVHLVWRDQQRXQFHQHZSROLFLHVRUWRSU
VSHFLFLQIRUPDWLRQDERXWFXUHQWRUXUJHQWSROLWLFDOPDWWHUW

\$RPPRQIHDXUHRI PDQSDUOLDPHQWV LQVWFKHationDIRUPDRIWHQZULWWHQ
UHTXHVWIRULQIRUPDWLRQRQRUFODULFDWLRQRIWKHJRYHUQPHQWV SROLFLHV, WLX
instrument for the scrutiny of government, whereby a group of MPs can call for a debate on
DWRLDOLMRDPDWWHURKOLHUQVHSHOODWLRQHUHQPDQGLWLRKHKGUR
RGLQVWLVQWKHLUPHEHLWLQDQHQHWHQVHQVQKDWWKHWHQWRGGUHV
PDWWHUQWLRQOLPSEWDE7KHSURGKHROVHUSHOODWLRQLuHUDEFKSDUOLDPHQW
,QMUODSDUOLDPHQWVHUSHOODWLRQREHLMGEDUHQEUHQMG
parliamentary political groups.

*Parliamentary speeches*DUHWUDGLWLRQDOOHVWDEOLVKHGIRUPVRI03VGLVFRXUVH, QPR
SDUOLDPHQWVSSHFKHVDUHQDGGUHVHVGWRWKHSUHVGLQJRvFHUZKRLVPRVWFRPPRQ

the speaker in unicameral parliaments, or in the lower house of bicameral parliaments, and introducing the annual parliamentary session, and in many parliaments, it is given by the speaker usually followed by debates.

\$ *parliamentary debate* style of debate, which exhibits a notorious rough-and-tumble debate style, accompanied by loud shouting, cheering and heckling.

are used by MPs to hold the government to account by criticising about various government policies or recent events to ministers of any government score points and attract publicity, whereas are normally asked when the attack, if asked by opposition MPs, or to praise the government, if asked by government

Why are her
DUGHEDWHMSWHPHF

Question Time
K47 *Question Time* in the Canadian Parliament, *Fragestund* in *Questions au Gouvernement* (UKH) *Questions* *Prime Minister's Questions* is also a session called *Prime Minister's Questions* political climate and of the power balance between the representatives of the major political

Parliamentary addressees and parliamentary audiences

,Q DOO SDUOLDPHQWV 03V HQJDJH LQ SDUOLDPHQWDU\LOWHUFDWLRO ERWK DV VSH interlocutors or audience members. MPs are involved in an institutional *co-performance* KHUHEWKHEWKDGGUHMQLMRHWLPHMMQ *co-act* ZLWKDQDXGLHQFHRIIHOORZ MPs as active participants, expected to contribute explicit forms of *audience-feedback*, such DWLQHSRPHVEGLVSWLMLQHUHQLEKHDULEDWHRLHR GLUHWOF LQLUHWOFWDUHWHG DGGUHMHVLSDUOLDPHQDU\SHDNULQHUHQLEDUH UHSUHMVHGKHPDWLDOOLQKH,OLHS

:KHQVDMVKHNSHDNWDUHW WKHLU LQHUONFESULPDU\DGGUHMHV KLOH DW WKH DPH WLPH WKHDGGUHV PAVLSOH SDUOLDPHQDU\DELHQ HOON PHPEHUWKH SUHPHEHUWKH SKOLDW ODUH DQ 7DELHQMMU

according to parliamentary conventions, MPs can only address their fellow MPs through a PHUDWRWKDWLWKHSHDNUESUHLGHQWKHSDUOLDPHQDU\SHQWKHSHDNUR SUHLGHQLDGGUHMGGUHWOFVSDUOLDPHQGLUHUZWKUHSHWWKHDLQ KKLWKHNUHQ LQHUONFELDGGUHMGWKDWLVQLUHWOLFQHWKLUKUGSHUQRE GLUHWOLFQKHMRSUHKHMUDOSDUOLDPHQKDWKHUHQDQWKH ,WDOLDSDUOLDPHQDUHPPDOODGGUHMGLQKHMRSUHSUOLDPHQ DWKHGLK5LNDWK WUDWHLHSDUOLDPHQDU\DGGUHVUHMGDOWKWKH REDOOHRPHQHGRPRGGUHMWKHWKLUKUGSHUOLH,DKHUK

as the UK and Canadian parliaments, for example, MPs consistently follow the rule of addressing fellow MPs in the third person.

Parliamentary participant roles

SDUHVWRIWKHLQFUHDVLQJPHGLDWLVDWLRQRISDUOLDPHQWDU\SURFHGLOJV03 major part of their work in the public eye, namely in front of several kinds of audiences PDGHXMKQLWVRLWLEDQODSHUOHU DDOHOG Q examining the nature of multi-party dialogues in comparison with two-party dialogues, it is HMQLDOWRNGHUDWRKDRPQKRRQLWKHWHUQLW\

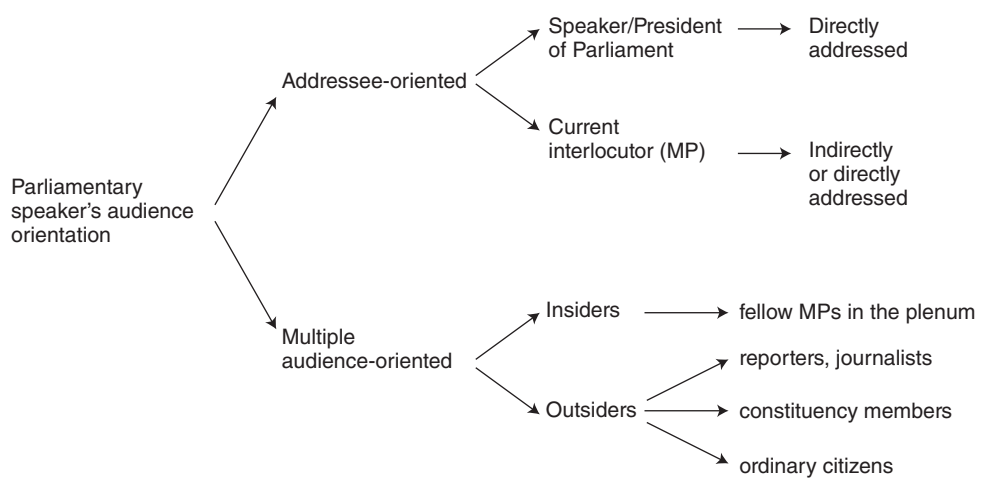


Figure 20.1 Addressees and audiences targeted by parliamentary speakers (Ilie 2010, p. 66)

GLDORJXHFRQYHQWLROVDVZHOODVSDUWFLSDQWUROHVDCGLGHQWLWLHV,QDWBSDU
 WKHUHLVDODVDVSHDNHJDGGUHVHVDQGDKDHUHDGGUHVHHERWKRIKRPDUHUHJD
 DVUDWLHGSDUWFLSDQWV,QDPXOWLSDUWGLDORJXHVVHYHUDOSDUWFLSDQWUROHVF
 RuPDQLQWURGXFHGDXVHIXOGLVWLQFWLRQEHVWHQ*participants*VSHDNHUVDQG
 DGGUHVHVVHGLUHFWOLOQROYHGLQWKEGLDORJXHSUHVHQQWEXQRWGLUHFWO
 LOQROYHGLQWKHGLDORJXHSUHVHQQWSDVVLYHREVHUYHUVVRQORRNHUVKLVFODVVLFDWLRQ
 ZDVIXUWKHUGHYHORSHG&ODUNZKRSURSRVHGWRDGGWKHGLVWLQFWLRQEHWZH
participants and *non-participants*KHSDUWFLSDQWVLOFOXGHWKHVSHDNHUVQWKHFXUUH
 addressed hearer, as well as other co-locutors taking part in the conversation, but not
 currently being addressed, that is, *side-participants*,QSULOFLSOHVLGHSDUWFLSDQWVKDYHD
 choice: they may or may not actively contribute to the dialogue. Overhearers, who are
 regarded as non-participants, fall into two main categories: *bystanders* and *eavesdroppers*.
 WDQHUVUH WKN KRUH RHQ\SUHMW EX W SDUW WKH MUEDO LQHUWLRQ
 DMGURSHUVDUH WKN KROLWHQWQWKN WKH SHDNUPDUHQWUKHDUHUV
 HQUODOODMPRHOLPLWHGDHWRHOHVDQLRDPDWLRQWKKWKPDLQWUHQWRY
 mutual understanding because they have no opportunity to intervene and negotiate an
 SHUWDLQEDULFDWLRQWKHLMWHUHGHUDWLRQKHMURHGLWLRQ
 apply to multi-party dialogue in general and can be used for mapping parliamentary
 SDUWLESUWUHQSRBLWDLQGHQWLWLHDEOHPSWKHPDLQWHLHSDUOLDPHQWU
 participant roles and institutional identities.

QWLDWLRQDUOLDPHQWUHQWLRQHWZHQHEDWLRQHMDOVRHKLWV
 between their institutional roles as elected representatives of part of the electorate and their
 non-institutional roles as members of the same electorate they represent. MPs who are
 current speakers, as well as their fellow MPs acting as targeted addressees, can be regarded
 as *direct participants*KHDXGLHQFHRIOLVWHQLQJQGRQORRNQJIHOORZ03VDUHDFWLQJ
 side-participants. Unlike certain kinds of non-institutional multi-party dialogue,
 parliamentary interaction exhibits a supplementary institutional role, namely the role of
 dialogue *moderator*RUFKDLUSHUVRQDVVLJQHGWRWKHVSHDNHURUSUHVVLGHQW\$IDU
 FDWHJRURIRYHUKHDUHUVLVFRQFHUQHGLWLVUDWKHUGLFXOWWRGHVLJQDWHDSURWR
 in parliament. However, the category of parliamentary bystanders can be seen to consist
 both of *insiders*SDUOLDPHQWUHQSRUWHUVDQGSROLWLFDMRQWGHQWUWMDQG

Table 20.1 3DUOLDPHQWU\$DUWFLSDQWUROHVDQGLQVWLWXWLRQDOLGHQWLWLHV,OLHS

Multi-party dialogue roles	Parliamentary roles	Institutional identities
Direct participants	QUHQVSHDNUNWLRU UHSQH	Government or opposition member
Moderator	SHDNUSUHMGHQWKHSDUOLDPHQW DUOLDPHQWDUKDLUHHUHH	
Side-participants	HOO	Government or opposition members
Overhearers	Parliamentary reporters and political journalists Occasional visitors	QGHUMLLQWLVWLRQ LGHQLW Outsiders = ordinary citizens
Eavesdroppers	7HHUSDUOLDPHQWUKDHO viewers	QGHUWLGHU institutional, institutional or semi-institutional identity

RI WKH HOHFWRUDWH RUGLODUFLWL]HQV YLVLWRUV :H FDQ DOVR GLVWLQJXLVK WKH FD
SDUOLDPHQWUDUH DYHVGVRS SHUV DVUHSUHVHQWHGEWKHPRUH UHPRWH DXGLHQFHRI79
KRPDEHHLWKHUSROLWLFDO LQVLGHUVRSROLWLF DORXWVLGHUV DQG PDQRQVHTXHQW
non-institutional, institutional or semi-institutional identities in relation to parliamentary
interaction.

,DOOSDUOLDPHQWUHLRMLGLQRHURPDHFKDWLWLFHQWWRWKDGGUHV
DQHQRHRLWLPMMRWZWKDQELHEDWFLMSDUWLES DQKDW
is important for MPs is to consistently promote a political line that meets the general wishes
WKHWHUHM[SUHMGDWHHQUDOHOHHLWLVWVWUWDLQWV KHSRLWLBDODHQD
DMOODWWDNGHMUDEOHLQWLDWLMQHuHFWLMPHDMHV

Key research topics on parliamentary debates

Ever since the latter half of the twentieth century, parliamentary discourse and parliamentary
UKHWRLKDMUDGBOOEHRHDWRLBORMHWRBDUOUMDUKLVKHHOGBLWLBDO
sciences and sociology, several of which showed an increasing interest for the usages,
WLDQHuHWSDUOLDPHQWUDUODHEDQWKRDUOWULEXWLUH
made by political scientists, philosophers and media scholars, who specialised in
SDUOLDPHQWUWELHWHWUWRDQLQWRRHG
out institutional and language-related aspects of parliamentary debating strategies,
emphasising the interplay between parliamentary procedures, socio-historical traditions and
political speaking styles. However, it was only recently, in the past few decades, that the
WRDUOLDPHQWUGLMMKDDKUHGWUOLQHUGLESOLQWHDUHWWR
WULEXWLDGHEKDUVRWKH HOGWKHWRLDQOLWLESUWLESDUO\
SUDPDWLWKHWRLGLMDQMWLWLBQGLMDQMDQWLMOLEWLF
several of whom have developed and used integrative analytical tools in multi-disciplinary
DQEWWDODSSURKHWHOH,OLHKDODLQQLH BQRQ
7KHGLMMGUHMDUKLVWRDUOLDPHQWUSUDWLDQLQWUDWLVWUDWHLHKDV
EHQWHGUREMUWLOLDWLRQLWLVWELHZZWKEDODQSRWLWLBQEHHE
in-depth exploration of shifting and multi-level institutional uses of language, interpersonal
behaviour patterns, interplay between institutional and non-institutional language use, as
well as interdependence between language-shaped facts and reality-prompted language
ritualisation and change.

Since it is during debates that most of the parliamentary confrontation takes place, it is
hardly surprising that several studies on parliamentary discourse have focused their analysis
WRLBOLMGLMLGLQDUOLDPHQWVH[DPSOHRWKHUHUHQWKHPHKDV
EHHQWKH GLSWH QPPLUDWLRBNDQMNQ PRH SHEPOO\
OHLWLPDWLVWKH H[SMMOHDOLPPLUDQVQWKHSDQKSDUOLDPHQWUDUWtQR
WKH DUKHQDWLDQWVHUDUKHQDWLVWUDWHLHVQWDOLDQSDUOLDPHQWUD\
GHEDWHQPPLUDWLVWU:DODQWKHGHEDWHQPPLUDWLRQQWLRBOLWQ
WKHJHQSDUOLDPHQWVQHUDON

7KHGLMMMDQDURHQDWLVWUDWHLHGLSODHGLQDUOLDPHQWUGLMMPDN
UHQWNR *metadiscourse* ZKLFKDFFRXQWVIRU UHVKDSLQJLQVWLWXWLRQDO UHODWLRQ
DQGIRUSURGXFLQJVKLIWVLQWKHEDODQFHRISRZHUIURPWKHPLFURWRWKHPDFUROHY
D3DUOLDPHQWUDU\PHWDGLVFRXUVH LV DOVR LQWHQGHG WR HQDEOH LWV PXOWLSOH D
VSHFLDQDGGUHV VHG 03V OLVWHQLQJ 03V MRXUQDOLVWV SDUOLDPHQWUDUHSRUWH
SXEOLF 9YLHZHUV WRLGHQWLVVLJQLFDQW VKLIWV DQG RYHUODSV EHWZHHQ LQVWLWXW
LQWHUSHUVRQDOOHYHOVRIGLVFRXUVH6YHUDOPHWDGLVFXUVLYHVWUDWHLHVKDYH

SURFHGXUHWKHRFFXUIUHTXHQWODVDSUDFWLFWDFLWODFFHSHWGHEDOOSDUWFLSDO
based analysis provides evidence for the fact that interruptions perform a double function:
to legitimate the pluralistic ideology of the Mexican regime in a strongly presidential system
where one party has monopolised the power, and also to allow the manifestation of genuine
GLDuHFWLPHWLPPLHQURDOD\

5HDUGLSDUOLDPHQDUWLRDQULWUDWHLHVQQHWLDWLR7LQ
WKH\UDOLDQUDOLDPHQ5DMDKQUHQUHQDMMRMRHUHEV
JHWLWQULWLRHSQWKDWZUHRGHUHGWRHHHMLUHQWKHU
analysed to determine the levels of evasion, whether they were covert or overt in nature, and
WKHWSH\PHQDKLWYKDWUHGLOQKHHLRHSQMMHV

DUULVGHV\HGDP[L\WHRDRLWLSRLWHQVQSRWMLLPSRLWHQDV
HOODVWUUDQWLQRSRWMLLPSRLWHQSRWMLLPSRLWHQVQLWLK
SDUOLDPHQDUGLMMHUQLUHQPHGEKMQUHMUKHU\DV
MQMKSROVHGKWKDWHPDWLEPSRLWHQMMQVQLGEX
UHZUGHGLQEGDHWKWKHH[SHWDLWLLWLKQRUHQDOLMGLVQDQ
H[WUHPHODGMUDULDODQDQDWLROSUDOLDPHQDUWVXKH7KHMRFHWKUHDWHQD

acts is counterbalanced by a wide range of politeness strategies, including strategic uses of
SDUOLDPHQDURPQGGUHYOLHD7KHW\UWQMUWLPSRLWHQV
strategies in parliamentary debates has also focused on the use of *unparliamentary language*.
KDEHHQRQLHDQ\UHGH\ODSDUOLDPHQDUGHEDWHV
exhibit systematic face-threatening acts articulated through unparliamentary language and
EHKDM7KHMDFWUDQLWQWKDWUDHVRPLOGHUPLWLDWHGDFW\DV
reproaches, accusations and criticisms, to strong ones, such as insults.

7KH\ULWQDLDWLRDUOLDPHQDUODQHSURGHLPSEWDQDNDEN
PRDODQDOWDQDUGSUHM\ELHQWDEMMOODMM\GHPHQVLUHUHQ
KDOSRLWLBOUKVHOODVQLGNOV\WLOHMOENW\DODQVR
several cognitive and rhetorical aspects of unparliamentary language in the UK parliament
DQV\KH\GLK5LMDUULHGVEOLHSURGHGHYGH\RWKHDW\WKDWWKH
preference for certain types of rhetorical appeals is rooted in political traditions, such as
KLKHUROXUOHMORSHWLWLRQMMW\HUHQK\KHUROXUSRLWLBOUR
of societal developments, tendency towards open or closed confrontation, and process- or
UHQWRLHQDWHGMMKHUHQW\KHUUDWLM\DQVQLQLEWHWKDW\WLWLK
unparliamentary language is marked particularly by pathos-orientated logos, whereas
Swedish unparliamentary language is marked particularly by *ethos-orientated logos*.

QW\WKHQUWLW\KHDGGUHMULQKH\WMMSDUOLDPHQDUMV
H[DPLQG\WKHM\RDUNU\SHUROGHL[L\QKH\UWLQGLMM
voices and of the relationships between addressers and addressees in the Portuguese
SDUOLDPHQHUQLMMUHQW\KHMM\W\SHUNNDUSUN
DQV\SHUNKDOSUMLK\ULEW\HWRPSKDM\KHEULNDQHWDLQ
of collective and individual voices and to indicating relationships of group proximity
anchored in the delegation of political power.

5HQUHQLV\DFK\K\K\QDQLURSSSHDUWRHWKHKDOOPDUSDUOLDPHQDU\
GHEDWHSDUWLNDUOL\SRWLWLBO\W\KH\KHUHWKHG\LSOD\KWDQMUEDOHOM\LV
expected and praised as a sort of histrionic co-performance in a rather conventional and
strictly regulated institutional setting. Exchanges of parliamentary joking and sarcastic
statements, often based on recycled stereotypes, are meant to reinforce in-group solidarity
and inter-group dissent, for example, through a combination of unparliamentary language
DQLW\W\KH\SDUOLDPHQ,OLHRLKWO\QOD\PRDOLMURQ

WKH6ZGLVK5LNVGDJ,OLHDQGRISXQQLQJDOQLURQLFDOLQWHUUXSWLRQVFKDOOHQJHVLQ
UHHNSDUOLDPHQW7VDNRQD

7KURXJKRXWVKHLUORQJHURUVKRUWHUKLVWRURRVWSDUOLDPHQWKDYHXQGHUJRO
stages, with more-or-less-dramatic metamorphoses regarding parliamentary norm
reinforcement, gender-representation balance and degree of tolerance to MP rule violations.

:KLOH HDK LQLYGO SDUOLDPHQ H[KLELWVWVWDWRLBO SUHHUHQVQ SHEF
debating styles, a closer look at their overall evolution reveals comparable dialectics of
interconnectedness between patterns of parliamentary continuity and change, and sometimes
even of continuity *inFKDQJHHJ,OLHGRQPDQDJLQJGLVVHQWLQRPDQDQSDUOLDPHQWU*
GLVFRXUVH2UQDWRZVNLRFKQJHVLQGLVFXUVLYHSUDFWLFWVDQGEHKDYLRXULQWKH
AMPBWHULQWKHSRVWFRPPXQLVWSHULRGWKHAGJOLQJGHPRFUDFLHVRI&HQWUDODQG

Eastern European countries have undergone similar or comparable processes of reinvention
DQ UHDWLDWLDWLRWKHLU UHSHWLM SDUOLDPHQVE\UHPKRPQW SM&R
SDUOLDPHQWU\UDLQVUHDWLDWLDWLRWRLBO SDUOLDPHQWU\SUDWLHVULWBOVQ
WUDGLWLDQGEUHLQVLDQSRPQWSDUOLDPHQWURPQVQLQ
H2QWVWKHLKSDUOLDPHQWVHLWKHKKSDUOLDPHQW
QWKK WKHM QULHV[SHULHG D UHODWLMQ\PLODU SRLWLBO WHP GKLQWKH
RPQW HUD WKHMUMWKHOHGLSODMDQW GLuHUHQVW WRWKHLU GLWLDLW
KLWRLBOOQVHGSRLWLBOVWKHLKLDUHWLQOOUHAWHGLQKHLUSHEFSDUOLDPHQWU\
SUDWLHVH[DPSONWVWKH5RDQDQWVWKHLKSDUOLDPHQWVUDHGWKHH[SHULHG

of communist censorship that did not allow actual debates, but only well-rehearsed speeches
BO&G E\SSODM QPDQ W WKH DPH WLPH DYOLH DQ VQWV
QOKKLOHWKH5RDQSDUOLDPHQW7KHUHDWLDWLRQMPQUMNG
PDLQD\SRLWLBO SODWRPQWKH5RDQDQWBUVHSHEDOOGLQWKH
WLPHEHSHUQOLWVWKHLKSDUOLDPHQWAMPQWVBOOPRHWKDQ
PHUHUKEHUWDPSSHEDOOWKUWKHVKHUWHOOLH[DPSONLSUKGHGE\
WKHGHEWVWKHUPDQSDUOLDPHQWVHWKLDKHUHQVMDQWVUDQWLRQ
URGLMSDUOLDPHQW MD ENQSDUOLDPHQW VVWVDPHGLDRLHQVHG GLSOD\
ZQSDUOLDPHQW DULPKDUGW

DUWVRRHMDUKSDUOLDPHQW DUGLMMKDEHHQHWHGWWKHQV
LQKQHQUURHVDUHLQVQVLDWHGLQSDUOLDPHQW:EDMQM.DUDP
,OLH D Q H[DPSON QHUWDNQ RSDUDWLM DSSURK VUDOLDQ
BQGLDQ8HWPLQHUWQHEKHDEHEDSSHOQVWKDWWKHUHOLDQ
on masculine gender norms in institutions such as parliament, made them hostile to the
SUHMQRHQ OHG WVKH SUBLQHQHULQVWLM ODVOK
SRVHG VWDWVWKHMUDOOVWKHVKHPRQHMPEOHMQV OHPDQK
KHUHDVQVBU BUULHG VMMWKDW LGHQLHG LQDQV
MUEDOM[BOKDUDMHVQHQRSUDUDWLMVWVWKHOLEVWLEHKDM

of male and female politicians in the House of Commons and the Scottish parliament, Shaw
VWKDWLEWVKSUOLDPHQWDOHQVNDPRHLQVHUMQVQKDRHQ
overall, and this practice constructs male MPs as more powerful participants as they assume
WKHHQLWOHPHQW VEUHDWVKH UQHW WKH DPH WLPH KLOH LQKH MRPQ
KRM[LWMMNDQGLEWHULQVUHLGHQLHGMDQHUHGOLEVWVUDWLHMVQKH
VWLKSDUOLDPHQWKRNDVHNOVSURNGEHPDOHDVMOODVDOHDQ
no sexist jokes were made.

DMGRHMDUKH[SORLQDQHMDDQHULQVKH,WDOLDQSDUOLDPHQVQPDWR
QWKDWEMKHPDOHDQPDOHWLQO WHQ VVHUHVSLBOOMPDMLQ
NDUNGWHUPVQNDUDQSO&DORPKHQGGUHMHPDOHSRLWLEDQVWKH

VDPHWLPHRQD PRUH SURPLVLQJ QRWH KHU UHVXOWV LQGLFDWH WKDW WKH XVH RI VHPLPD IRUPV RIDGGUHV VEERWKJHQGHU VLVDJGXDOO PHUJLQJ LQ W DOLDQSDUOLDPHQW DUGHE

DOVLOJ JHQGHUHG GLVFRXUVHV LQ WKH &DPHURQLDQ SDUOLDPHQW ZWKLO D PDVF VRFH WZKSDWULDUFKDOLGHRORJLHV WDOJD ORRNHG DWWKH DRHO VDOG ZPHQV LGHQWLWLHV DUH FRQVWUXFWHG XVLOJ WUDGLWLRQDO GLVFRXUVHV RI JHQGHU GLUH

some of these discourses get challenged, appropriated or subverted using progressive HGHUHGGLM WKDW DGEW H HORSF W W LHDQ HGHU H BOLWKHLGH V LHG OLQWLSUDWLHWKDW UHAW DPHWULDO SUUHODWLQ WKH ZHPDOH DQPDOH UHHDGGUHM GGLuHUHQOENUHQV PLOWHU WKHSHDNUDQWKHU

,OLH RSDUHG WKH DVQLK HPDOH DQ PDOH PLM DGGUHM Q WDWHLHV QWKH 8SDUOLDPHQV DQ WKH HGLK 5LNDJEH[DPLQKHGHU LGHQWLWLHV UHAWLWLDWHGUHLRFGDQRKDOOH HGERMUMPHRDLQWLWLRQ RPROHUDWLQULWcWKHRRDWHUSUHMVHKQENGWBN

for interpersonal discursive behaviours whereby debaters are being acknowledged and DSSUHEDWHG RDUHEHLRPHGULGLRHHGDQGHUUDWHGcVKHQLR

that subversive uses of addressing strategies can both reinforce and challenge the power balance between MPs, both within same-gender and mixed-gender interactions. While the WSDUOLDPHQV GLSODHUWDLQ PLODULWLHWKHUH DUH DOKL uHUHQVWK UHDUG W SDUWLNDU LQWLWLRQ DQ QW XHSHEHDW XHVXQWK DQONG W LWLK 47

MMWKH EMCHU DGMUULDO RRDWLQVODUHOULW BOLWLSDL DQ

consists in consistently and openly challenging the power balance between female and male LQHUONV,QWKH HGLK ,QHUSHOODWL RMMWKH EMCHU DGMUULDO confrontation appeared to be more subtle and apparently more subdued, although it also involves challenging the power balance.

SDUWURDREHU RPLQDULWLHMRHDSUOLDPHQV GLSODUHDW MULDWLQWK ZWKUHSHWWRWLWLRQRPSURGXHQQRLEMSUDWLHXKHUHQVHUHW

in the structures, functions, discourses and roles of national parliaments in Europe has stimulated the research into the rising role and the discourse practices of the EP. One of the targets of these complementary strands of research is the ongoing debate about changing GLMSUDWLHDQWKHGLMUMHGURHRWLRQSDUOLDPHQV LQGLQKHLUURHDV KRHDQWLWLQRMGLRHDQHEMRNDQDPHDW]

:HMOMRSDQ(DPLQWKHFLRQKHSDR QWKDWSDUOLDPHQVUWLRQUMDVWLRQPDWLROKDO± MRLQVWRWDLQRPDWLQW DOWKLKOLKWSUROHPWRWKH RQDQPLMQPRHUHQV ELWLDOHWK RDSKWKH RDN

explored the discursive and social practices of MEPs and showed how politicians construct DQDUHQV UHGGGLMMOEDW DHDQV W DHLGHQWLWLHKLGHV LHGWSLDO EGHU DQGLNGHUM LMMWKDWLQOUDWHWKHGLMMPHKDQWKLSRLWLF LNDQGLQKLUWUDQWLRODQVWLQWLRODUHQVBOGDQVWBUULHG

a multi-level analysis of debates on climate change in the EP, using a Habermasian perspective DQDUKHWRLBODSSURKPDMSDUW WKHLUDDQMHU DUGHGWLBO LMMHODWHGWRWKH UHODWLQLSEHWVHQVWLROGHOLEHUDWLRLWLBOGLMMLWLQKHSKELOLW\ of systematically measuring the role of emotions in political debate.

Final remarks

Many of the recent and current research studies on parliamentary debates point to a number RSDUWO\RPDQ SDUWO\SHKDOOHQWKDW DUH DEISDUOLDPHQVQWKH

post-modern world. We are witnessing changing discourse practices and institutional relations that parliament maintains with the public, the media, the executive branch and the international organisations. However, there is a growing representation in parliament of GLMUM SDUWVRHW\PHOQ RHPLRLWLHVQ PDULQOLMG UKW SDUOLDPHQ\DU\GHEDWH\DUHD\RLQ\Q\HDMQ\GHEMMUR\HLQ\HKDSL\RLWLBO confrontation practices and in articulating the most topical social, economic and political issues on national and international agendas, further empirical research is necessary. KWKHUPRHLR\GHUWR\RGH\LDQ\EHWWHU\SHUWDQWK\HRP\K\OODWK\HGLWL\MLM features of parliamentary practices in national parliaments, more cross-cultural studies need to be carried out.

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cVHersketeknikker [DWHUSSUHM\HKQ\MMHUULO\G\MUQ
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 Studies HGV\DUWLO\DDOIHOG.:WUP2[IRUG\LYHUVLW\UHVV2[IRUGSS±
 DWHV\W\HSHKHQ\SHU3HWHU\UQH&KULVWRSKHU\WDQOH\LDP\AHVWLRQVWRWKH3ULPH
 OLQLVWHU\FRPSDUDWLYHVWXGRIS\WURPKDWFKHUWR&D\PHUQ\PHQWDU\SDLV
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 D\OH\3 HG Cross-cultural perspectives on parliamentary discourse -RKQ HQMDPLQV
 BVWHUGDP
 HYLWRUL&HJRWLDWLOJFRO\AFW,QWHUUXSWLRQVLO\WLWLKQDG,WDOLDQSDUOLDPHQW\DU\GHED
 Cross-cultural perspectives on parliamentary discourse HG 3 D\OH\ -RKQ HQMDPLQV
 BVWHUGDPSS±
 U\XWHLJQ&JHFKSDUOLDPHQW\DU\GLVFRXUVH3DUOLDPHQW\DU\QWHU\DFWLRQV\DOGWKHFRQVWUX
 RIWKHDGGUHV\H\H\Q\ean Parliaments under scrutiny: Discourse strategies and interaction
 practices HG&OLH -RKQHQMDPLQV BVWHUGDPSS±
 X\OO3:HOOV3\YHUVDULDOGLVFRXUVHLQ3ULPHOLQLVWHU\Y\XHVWL\H\Q\al of Language
 and Social Psychology SS±
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 DUULV\G\MLQJ SROLWLFDOO\PSROLWH ([WHQGLQJ SROLWHQHVV WKHRUWR DG\YHUVDULDO SROLW
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 behaviour)UDQN&DVV/ROGRQ
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 0DMRULW#OHLQ:HVWHUQ(XHSLQJ&DPSXV9HUODJ)UDQIXUWSS±

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Government communication

Sten Hansson

,QPRGHUQGHPFUFLHJRYHUQPHQWSURGRHYDWDPRQWRWHTWWDONDOGLPDJHWKDWDUH made available to the public: news releases, social media postings, policy documents, WHOHMMGSHHKHEURGDWLVQHUMHDMUWLMPHQVQKWK,WKLVKDSWHU, provide suggestions as to how communication practices of executive government institutions NG EHSWOLMG DQ RHUDWLRQLMG R D GLMMDQOWLWV, GHOLQDWH several competing ways in which scholars have written about government communication, HMMWKUHHH[DPSOHDQOMMUPHQVHKGGHUWUDWHLDDQHMDDQ SRQDWRHQVODSHVWUPHQVPEWLVQ/KDWKGPULWVWVKHU linguistic study.

Introduction: government, communication and communicators

)URP D OLOQJWVWLF SHUVSHFWLYHJRYHUQPHQW FRPPDLFDWLRQFDQ EH FRQFHLYHG RI DV F ZLWWHQDQGYLVODODQDJHMHGEDQGRQEHKDOIIRYHUQPHQWRVFKKROGHUVGLUHFV the general public or particular groups in society. Hence, government communication belongs WKHDUHQERLWLDODWLRKHGSRWLWLDOKDMUDOPHDQGLPHMMH RLWDFDORQVLEURGWHPVWLVQHJUDWHWVUDGLWRMMV

On the one hand, politics is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to DMUWDQPDQVLDQKHLUSKUDQWKMMHWRHLWLVQKHWKHUKDQ politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for UHMMDKHRVHUHWVUPHQVHOLEHUWDQWKHOLN

KLOWR

.MUPHQVPEWLVQVSRWLWLEHHUDOODQHLMGWUDWHLDDOOWKDW LWHWWDONDQLPDHJDUHHPSONRGZWKDQDWRDQHWKHLVHUHWVKHSHDNU writer. LMMDQOWDOKLOWESSRWWKDWODQHMLSRWLWLF DMUMWKUHHEURGDQVHQVHUWZQGWUDWHLVLEQVHOHLWLVPLDWRQ DQPLVHSUHMVWLVQKLVKUHHRGGLWLVLDQVHMODSSOLHGWKGH thinking about the functions of language in government communication.

SUHVHQWDLRQRIDJRYHUQPHQWPHVVDJHVDQGLQWHUDFWLQJZWKWKHSUHVVDQGWKHXOOWLPHMRE RILQVRPHFDVHVIDLUO'ODUJHWHDPVRIFRPPXQLFDWLROH[SHUWVVSFHDGVLVHUVSUHVVRVHVHUVDOGVSRNHVSHUVROVQRKDYHEHQVSHFLDOOKLUHGEJRYHUQPHGHSUWPHQWVIRUWKVHVWDVNV,PSRUWDQOWWKHLUDFWLRQLVERWKHQDEOHGDOG various regulations and institutions that determine what they can or cannot do and say H[H[DPSOHUHHGRRLRPDWLQDZDHWDEOLK KDW NQR government-held data should be made public, and civil service legislation may stipulate that EYOMUDWRPQDWRKGDODZVHPDLQPSDUWLDOQDQKWDNQGHVQ party-political struggles. Hence, professional government communicators may try to cast WKHPMOMDQWUDOWUDMLWWHURGPLQWUDWMLRQPDWLQVHGSHU 7KHWDKURMROHUPHQRPQDWRW\$LEOOLQGH\$SUBKQOQ publicising texts about policies, public services and institutional arrangement of the incumbent government, and giving advice and orders to people, for example, on how to KPLWDQOWD[UHWKQKWRHKDMLQMLMKDQSDQHPLE MHRLQVDEHUPHQRPQDWLQVUMH 7KHUPHQRPQDWLQGRDLRLWLBOQDWRWNOOGRV *not cover distributing* LRPDWLQDQDQKQDORRLWLBO\$DUWLHVQGLQOHVWLQPSDLQO SDUW\$RLWLBO\$DGMUWLQRPQDWLQVWLWLH\$HLODWHKWDSDUOLDPHQV and congresses, and communication of the heads of state who are not heads of executive UPHQDQ MUM LQDLQHUHPRDOURHVJSUHMGHQVLSDUOLDPHQDU\ GHPRDEHWDQO\LRSDULQVSDUW\$RLWLBO RQDWLQO HOHWLQ DPSDLQHUHWKHWUHR\$ULSHUKDSRHHQUDODQH[SOLEWUPHQ RPQDWLQQWVDEKMDVHMLMGRHKDWOHQRDUODWWHQVLRQO DQHU

Ways of conceptualising government communication

Scholars who study government communication position themselves in relation to the KMHW PDWWHU RVKHLU UHMDUK LQLuHUHQ DVKLVLMVPRHROHM[SOLEW perspective-taking: looking at communication either from the point of view of government WKHU\$HU RHKRGHULQVWLWLQRLWLBOOHDGHU DPSDLQDQHURDUPHQV WVGHWUWKHU\$HGEWLHQQLG\$ORSUHMGRKXRPHUSHUSHVWLMLDGRWHG by authors who write instructional literature on how to govern or how to run public services. 7KHODWWHUSHUSHVWLMLW\$LEORWKRKBUHPRHLQHUHWHGGLQ be governed R KVEH MUG WKHUZM\$WKHM OLQVQDWRWV\$LHV\$EDMF GLWLQVLRQDEHHPDGH EHWZHQDGPLQWUDWLMQDQFLWLBOUHMDUK DDUMOG PRHGWDLOHG UHMHRLWHUDWKHZWKLQWK RVKHM GLWLQVLM WUHDPR research reveals that government communication in modern democracies has been conceptualised by scholars in four competing ways: as a policy instrument, as a commodity, DFDQSDWLQDQDWRLQHQHPRDQWKRLQR WKHM\$DQDQVUPHQRPQDWLQDQHMHQVH\$VWLQVLM historically sedimented sets of normative ideas about political life that its proponents subscribe to.

Government communication as a policy instrument

ODQD\$KRU\$GRS\$W\$K\$SHU\$HFWLYHRIDJRYHUQPHQWRUDWRSRvFHKROGHUDQGFROFHSW\$OLM FRPPXQLFDWLRO DQ QHFHDUWRROVWKDW WKH JRYHUQPHQW MWRH[HUW D\$KRU\$W\$DQ

School that focuses on the often subtle cultural and psychological factors that limit the

Government communication as a factor in doing or undoing democracy

Some authors recognise that public communication on the part of the government is an integral component of policy-making and the provision of public services, but they also

Much of the literature under the rubrics of critical linguistics and critical discourse studies – the administrative conceptualisations – are more or less explicitly adopted by applied processes in society as inevitable, and normalise a particular business-centric understanding Managerial discourse in government is characterised, not only by the use of lexis that is government agency and increase agency for others: they portray government as an overseer, Linguistically informed critical studies of government communication have also involved non-democratic.

Critical discourse analysts have made substantial contributions to our understanding of expressions of social and political exclusion and discriminatory prejudices in government consolidate public support by exploiting xenophobia, ethnocentrism, racism and prejudices in their language, thereby normalising the omission of certain groups of people from political

OLIH.U]DORZNL :RGDN :RGDN.KRVUDYL1LN OUDO :RGDN
7KHKDYH DOVR SURYLGHG GHWDLOHG DQDOVHV RI WKH GLVFXUVLYH FROVWUXFWLRQ RI KI
QDWLRQDOLGHQWLW\NDUWLQ:RGDN\HUODORVFKHN3ROODN:RGDN:RGDN
GH&LOOLD5HLVLJO/LHEKDUWGLVHFWHGWKHODQJXDJHXVHRIWRWDOLWDULDQJRYHUQ
:RGDN.LUVFKDQGFDUULHGRXWHWKORJUDSKLFWVXGLHVRIKR\DOQJXDJHLVXVHGLQWKH
EDFNVWDJHRISROLWLFDOLOQVWLWXWLRQV:RGDN

Analysing government communication: examples

7KHODQJ\DJHRULHQWDWHGUHVHDUFKHUVRIJRYHUQPHQWFRPP\LFDWLRQRIRIWHQIRFV
RQDSUWLF\DUJHQUHRUPHGLR\XHG\ERV\FHKROGHUV)RUH\PSOHVRPHVFKRODUVKDY
VSHFL\EDOO\GGUHVHVGWKHUKHWRULFRISUHVLGHQWLDORUSULPHPLQLVWHULDOV
.LHQSRLQWQHU WKHGLVFR\HVH\HGLOSKOLF SROLFGRF\RHQWV6FROORO
:RGDN WKH SUDJPDWLFVRI SUHVLGHQWLDOSULPHPLQLVWHULDORUGHSUWPHQW
SUHVVFROIHUHQFHV\DWLD (NVWUP (ULNVVRO -DFREV DQG SUHV
UHOHDVHV-DFREVHSHQGLQJRWKHUHVHDUFK\WVWLRQDQGGDWDDWKDQGVFKROD
DGRSWYDULR\YDSSURDFKHVPHWKRGVDQGWRRQV\KDVGLVFR\VHKLWVRULFDODQDQ
:RGDN VRFLRFRLWLYHDQDOVLVYDQLMNHWKORJUDSKLFFHOG\RUNRER
DUJ\HQWDLWLRQDQDOVLV5HLVLJO YDQ (PHUHQ :DOWRO FRUS\X
DVVLVWHG GLVFR\VH DQDOVLV O\GHUULJ D E FROVHUVDWLRQ DQDOVLV 7ROVRO
(NVWUPDQGVRIUWK

YVKR\G EHFOHDIURPUHDGLOJWKH SUHYLR\VHFWLRQV VWUDWHJLF\XRI ODQJ\DJ
FROVWLW\LYH SDUW RI JRYHUQLOJ DGPLQLVWHULQJ DQG RWKHU DVSHFWV RI GR
FRUGLOJ\DEDVLFRLHQWDLQJ\WVWLRQIRUDQHPSLULFDQOOLQJ\WVWLFVW\RIJRYH
communication could be: DUH\DU\DL\WLF\H\H\WUDWHLHWHKQ\H
GH\H\MPSONGEH[H\WLM\K\KGHUW\K\LMHUWDL\Q\WLBOROV

Depending on the apparent goals of the participants in a particular episode of
RP\DWLRQWKDQLWPLKWDO\H\W\KDMQ GR[H\WLM\K\KGHUV
use language to claim and maintain their right to be obeyed? RZGRH[HFXWLYH
R\FHKROGHUVXVH ODQJXDJH WRH[HUFLVH WKHLU ULJKWREHREHG";ZLOOH[SDQGRQ
TXHVWLRQVLQWXUQDQGSURYLGHVVRPHH[DPSOHVRIGDWDDQDOVLV

Using language to hold on to power

HNLQJ\DQDQJ\UWRWKH\JWRWKH\W\W\WLRQVQYROYH\QDQDQJ\WKHODQJ\DJHRI
self-presentation and self-legitimation of government actors. How do governments and
LQLY\G\ON\UHQV\RHK\RGHUSUHM\QWKHPMOM\OL\WLB\OO\ER[H\WLM
RHK\RGHUMOD\QHW\W\W\WLRQDQGH\H\W\WLD\QDOO\KDUHGUSUHM\QDWLRQ
WKH\UHQV\W\W\WLRQDQGH\H\W\WLD\QDOO\KDUHGUSUHM\QDWLRQ
ZWK\DU\UHQV\W\W\WLRQDQGH\H\W\WLD\QDOO\KDUHGUSUHM\QDWLRQ
PHPEHU\W\W\WLRQDQGH\H\W\WLD\QDOO\KDUHGUSUHM\QDWLRQ
RP\W\W\WLRQDQGH\H\W\WLD\QDOO\KDUHGUSUHM\QDWLRQ

SUDWLBOPHWK\ER\DO\U\GL\Q\OOD\MM\W\WLRQDQGH\H\W\WLD\QDOO\KDUHGUSUHM\QDWLRQ
WKHM\NQ\W\W\WLRQDQGH\H\W\WLD\QDOO\KDUHGUSUHM\QDWLRQ
KLWLB\OO\WUDGLWLRQ\GL\MM\W\W\WLRQDQGH\H\W\WLD\QDOO\KDUHGUSUHM\QDWLRQ
DQ\W\W\WLRQDQGH\H\W\WLD\QDOO\KDUHGUSUHM\QDWLRQ

for a linguistic study by focusing on the following set of discursive strategies:

- B *Naming and attributing* by establishing in-groups and out-groups, and labelling actors, actions, and outcomes of the use of linguistic membership categorisation devices and references to stereotypes.
- B *Argumentation* argumentation schemes and warrants that lead to the conclusion
- B *Perspective-taking* government actors who praise the government.
- B *Intensifying and mitigating* modify the epistemic status and illocutionary force of what is being said or written, to emphasise the positive and de-emphasise the negative utterances about the government.

... argumentation: using argument schemes to support the standpoint that the negative event or outcome has been brought about either unintentionally, unknowingly, involuntarily, or by someone else; such defensive argumentation is often characterised

- B *argumentation*: using argument schemes to support the standpoint that the negative event or outcome has been brought about either unintentionally, unknowingly, involuntarily, or by someone else; such defensive argumentation is often characterised
- B *framing*
- B *denying*
- B *social actor and action representation*
- B *legitimation*

Example 1: eradicating waste in Whitehall ²

... overspending published in *The Times* ...

EJUDQFLVODXGH0LQLVWHUIRUWKH&DELQHW2vFH#UH DUHWKHJVVWWKUHHVHQWHQFH
his statement:

:KH#DUULMGL#MUPHQ#ZSOHGHGWRHUX#KOHM#WLRQ
HUDGL#DLW#LQ#LWHL#KLW#HKDOODQ#W#KDWL#SUHEMOK#DW#KDMGR
-#LQ#KHJ#W#WH#K#W#D#W#DUK#Z#M#G#E#L#O#L#K#D#O#H#W#R
WZHWKH#E#H#W#K#H#H#L#H#R#W#L#M#V
7KL#K#D#E#H#H#D#H#Q#L#K#R#V#H#H#L#D#W#L#D#U#D#W#D#L#H#W#H#G
L#V#H#U#H#W#D#Q#D#U#H#S#O#L#H#U#D#W#L#D#H#H#Q#W#D#Q#D#Q

7 advertising does not make for glamorous or headline grabbing work.

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,QL#H#Q#W#H#U#R#W#K#H#D#E#L#Q#W#2#H#M#W#K#H#D#U#K#H#Q#D#W#L#M#W#U#D#W#H#R#D#U#D#G#L#Q#K#H
#M#U#P#H#Q#W#O#L#W#L#H#*Argumentum ad verecundiam*EFODLPLQJWKDWLWKDVI>XO#O#H#G
LWVSOHGJH,PSRUWDQWOWKLVVHQWHQFHDOVRLPSOLHVDWRWDODDFWGHQLDOWKH0LQD
WKHJRYHUQPHQWKDVI#UDGLFDWHGZDVWH#KDWL#VKHDQ#G#K#L#V#R#O#H#D#J#H#V#K#D#Y#H#G#R#Q#H#V#
R#I#Z#D#V#W#L#Q#J#H#0#L#Q#L#V#H#U#H#S#U#H#V#H#Q#W#V#Z#D#V#W#L#Q#J#R#W#D#V#D#Q#D#F#W#L#R#Q#F#D#U#L#H#G#R#X#W#E#K#L#V#
R#v#F#H#K#R#O#G#H#V#E#X#W#D#V#D#Q#R#P#L#Q#D#O#L#V#H#G#H#Q#W#L#W#D#V#W#H#L#Q#K#L#W#H#K#D#O#O#R#U#H#R#Y#H#U#K#H#G#L#X#V#H#V#
E#S#R#U#W#U#D#L#Q#J#W#K#H#J#R#Y#H#U#Q#P#H#Q#W#P#H#W#D#S#K#R#U#L#F#D#O#D#V#D#F#R#Q#W#D#L#Q#H#U#W#K#H#Q#Z#H#D#U#L#Y#H#
J#R#Y#H#U#Q#P#H#Q#W#D#W#K#H#U#W#K#D#Q#D#V#S#H#F#L#J#U#R#X#S#R#I#K#X#P#D#Q#D#F#W#R#U#V#Z#K#R#F#R#X#O#G#E#H#K#H#O#G#U#H#V#S#R#Q#V#I#
H#I#U#D#P#H#V#Z#D#V#W#H#D#V#D#9#L#O#O#D#L#Q#R#U#S#H#U#K#D#S#V#D#V#R#P#H#L#Q#G#R#I#D#G#D#Q#J#H#U#R#X#V#Z#L#O#G#D#L#P#D#O#D#Q#G#V#
J#R#Y#H#U#Q#P#H#Q#W#D#V#D#H#U#R#S#H#U#K#D#S#V#D#J#X#P#D#Q#Z#K#R#K#X#Q#W#V#L#W#G#R#Z#Q#D#Q#G#H#U#D#G#L#F#D#W#H#V#W#

,QOLQHV#W#K#H#0#L#Q#L#V#H#U#E#D#F#N#V#X#S#K#L#V#F#O#D#L#P#E#X#V#L#Q#J#D#S#D#U#W#L#F#X#O#D#U#F#R#Q#F#O#X#V#L#R#Q#U#O#H#
of numbersE#V#X#J#H#V#W#L#Q#J#W#K#D#W#D#J#L#Y#H#Q#V#W#D#W#L#V#W#L#F#D#Q#J#X#U#H#...E#L#O#O#L#R#Q#D#O#O#H#J#H#G#O#V#D#Y#H#G#L#Q#
P#R#Q#W#K#V#V#H#U#Y#H#V#D#V#S#U#R#R#I#W#K#D#W#W#K#H#J#R#Y#H#U#Q#P#H#Q#W#K#D#V#Q#R#W#Z#D#V#W#H#G#P#R#Q#H#D#Q#G#V#K#R#X#O#G#
blamed. However, the Minister does not directly counter the central accusatory claim put
forward by *The Times*W#K#D#W#P#R#U#H#W#K#D#Q#...E#L#O#O#L#R#Q#R#I#W#D#S#H#U#V#P#R#Q#H#K#D#V#E#H#H#Q#Z#D#V#W#H#G#
D#F#U#R#V#V#J#R#Y#H#U#Q#P#H#Q#W#G#H#S#D#U#W#P#H#Q#W#L#Q#W#K#H#S#D#V#W#Z#R#H#D#U#V#K#V#K#H#P#D#E#H#V#H#H#Q#D#V#F#R#P#P#L#W#
D#W#U#D#Z#P#D#Q#D#O#O#D#F#D#Q#G#Y#L#R#O#D#W#L#Q#J#D#S#U#D#J#P#D#G#L#D#O#H#F#W#L#F#D#O#U#X#O#H#R#I#U#H#D#V#R#Q#D#E#O#H#G#L#V#
U#H#T#X#L#U#H#V#W#K#H#G#H#E#D#W#H#U#R#X#V#H#F#R#U#H#F#W#U#H#I#H#U#H#Q#F#H#W#R#S#U#H#Y#L#R#X#V#G#L#V#F#R#X#U#V#H#E#W#K#H#D#Q#

,QOLQHV#W#K#H#0#L#Q#L#V#H#U#H#S#U#H#V#H#Q#W#V#J#R#Y#H#U#Q#P#H#Q#W#D#F#W#L#Y#L#W#L#H#V#D#W#D#K#L#J#K#O#H#Y#H#O#R#I#D#E#
W#H#Q#H#J#R#W#L#D#W#L#Q#J#F#R#Q#W#U#D#F#W#V#W#D#F#N#O#L#Q#J#Y#H#V#W#H#G#L#Q#W#H#U#H#V#W#V#F#X#W#W#L#Q#J#E#D#F#N#R#Q#V#S#H#Q#
P#D#N#L#Q#J#L#W#P#R#U#H#G#L#v#F#X#O#W#R#X#Q#G#H#U#V#W#D#Q#G#W#K#H#H#D#F#W#Q#D#W#X#U#H#R#I#W#K#H#D#F#W#L#Y#L#W#L#H#V#K#L#V#

evoked a sense of mystery and awe among his audiences and therefore function as a kind of
D#S#S#H#D#O#W#R#W#K#R#L#W#Q#G#G#L#W#L#R#H#D#W#W#K#H#M#U#P#H#Q#W#D#M#O#H#M#U#R#D#L#P#L#Q#K#D#W#
the work of the government has been neither easy nor glamorous.

7R#O#O#W#U#D#W#H#K#E#O#D#P#H#E#G#D#E#P#D#L#Q#M#H#D#W#L#M#W#K#H#U#S#U#H#M#Q#D#W#L#R#H#D#P#L#Q#
D#Q#K#H#U#H#W#U#D#F#U#R#W#K#D#W#H#Z#H#O#H#D#M#Q#L#W#D#W#H#P#H#Q#L#Q#W#H#U#R#W#K#H#D#E#L#Q#W#2#H#
says:

Q#D#P#Q#D#O#R#L#K#L#K#O#L#K#W#L#D#O#O#W#K#H#E#E#K#D#M#G#R#R#U#
W#K#H#K#O#L#W#P#L#W#H#H#U#H#Q#O#U#H#R#M#G#D#Q#H#O#R#H#G#
W#U#D#Q#D#U#H#Q#D#S#S#U#R#K#W#M#Q#

- 4 Meanwhile other countries, especially in troubled Europe,
- 5 are now looking to us for how this is done.

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,QWKH8.LOOHJDOO\
DUUHVWVODVWZHNLQRXUDUHD
220(25)&(\$5(67
7H[W20(WR

- 5 for free advice, and help with travel documents
:HDQHOSNRHWNQRHBNVDULOZWKWHDURUUHWRGHWHLR
RH2H

,QLQDHWLQMGWROLEWMO LGHQLPWLRSWHQLDOLQLYGBOMBOWR
LPPLUDWLQOHYDVGGUHMHVWKH DGMUWLMPHQ ,QLQ D QLHQ WKUHDW LV
WUWVHGSHELQKDW WKHDGGUHMHPWRSOZWKDGHPDQVKNHR
KRHRHOMMHUDWLAHWHGEWKHWKUHDWHQUPHDUHWVWHULBOGDWDDW
SUHMHUHWVWUHMVHGLQLQWRQHDMMWKHDGGUHMHSUHLMGULMHULO
DNLQMSOLDH,QLQDQHWHRGHWLZMQKHDGGUHMHPW
MQSDUWLNDDUWH[WPHMHWBHUWDLREHULHQQLQSHOH[LWKDWMPHWR
LQLDWHWKDWRSOLEQWKWKHLMRGHWKDSRWLMMHFWKHDGGUHM
WHHDGMRKHOSDQZWKWHDU

,QKLEMODQHMLM[SOLEWOEDNGSERUERQGHULBOHGED
SURLMWRKWKMKRQRH,QHHGLWLDREDDOWNWKHRH2HWR
HMHWKDW WKHLPPLUDWLQOHYDUHRSOLHGZWKDQWKDWLPPLUDWLQHQUHUUH
UHPNGURWKHREGLOVWKHUHSEVSKOLKHGEWKHRH2HWKHLU
SLOWDPSDLQWKDGDQHWVHGLQWVDOEMBNDDUGHSDUWKHDQ
helped to save money, because the campaign cost less than enforced removal.

MMULQCHUFLWLBOGLMVKLDPSDLQLEMDQOW5WK:BDN
SSEUHMVQWKDWWKHPROHDGDPSDLQNGEHMHQMDU
PRULQKHGLEMMUWLRKHWUDHUPQHMDUWKHWUDHUPQWKX
as an attempt by the UK government to win favour with certain kinds of voters who share
[HQRLEQDQVLLPPLUDWLQVLPHQVKLQMUWLRQHOSBOUHPLQWKDW
when we analyse a particular instance of instrumental-language use by a government, we
should also study its broader socio-political context: only then can we understand how the
WH[WRVWHUDDHWRVLRGEHLQVHUSUHWHGEDULMHGDGHUKHDUHUNQKZWPD\
have been designed to simultaneously serve multiple political goals.

Example 3: managing actions

LVFRXUVHDQDOVW-DQH0XOGHUULDGHVFULEHVZWKPFKLVQVLJKVVRPHRIWKHVXEWOH
ways in which modern governments use language to attract rather than coerce people into
EHKDMQQUWDLQVHKHVKDWVHKRGHUWUWDRSOLKWKLEWH[WBO
PHKDMQWKDWKHBOOPQLVLPDQLHUEKDV *let, allow,*
help, enable, UHKUH andH[SHV SUHMVQLQQUWDLQVLEWRHVYGHMUDEOH
SUHXSRYKHLUQHMMWDQDNLRLWLRKHPDQHGDFRVMUQHVV
R PDQSNHHVVDWKHU WKDQMVKHP GLUHW RGHUVKH BOKV KUHH KRW WH[WBO
examples are taken from her corpus of public policy consultation papers on education issues
EHWZHQQ LQDQDQ :DOHVGHUULD VHWKDW LQWKHM
MWHVWKHSHUROSUPLMGWRHHUWVKHMUPHV

:HZOOHMHKDWVNRHOHQKLMDWLRQKULNRHOHO
NGHUULDS

, QWKL VH [DPSOH WKH JRYHUQPHQW] FROVWUXHG DV DQ BYHU VH HU RLV LQ FROWUROR
WKH EHKDYLRXU RI WKH PDQDJHG DFWRUV ZOO HQVXUH WKDW PDQDJHG DFWRUV
completion of the activity is assumed semantically, the outcome seems inevitable, and the
independence of the managed actors is comparatively limited.

: HHDH ERW ERWK HULQR OD PLOLH WKH OSKDUHEHW
SUDWLH@

GHUULDS

, QKLM RH [DPSOH WKH HUHQW] UNGDDPHDGHU KRDDWKRLV
WRVLDWH WKHU VLH HHDH PDQHG DFRWRWKH DWLQV
UHSUHMVHG DGHUDEOH R LPSRWDQ DWUDWLM EX WKHUH LV OSWLQV
RSOHWL WKHU OLQWLQ UWLQKDWKDM DPLODU HuHWLQGHRLQD
WKUH PDQHG DFRWR [SHW PDQHG DFRWR

7KH HUHQW LUHG WR DEOH WKH HWKQPLRLWRPWLHWBOD
their full part in contributing to the education of ethnic minority pupils

GHUULDS

HUHWKH HUHQW UNGDDPEOLWDWRKNDWKRLW HUWKHU VLQV
assumed, but completion of the action is not necessarily assumed. Most importantly, the
BLWL WKHPDQHG DFRWKQPLRLWRPWLH DGHGKHUH WKH DUH
UHSUHMVHG DWKHDVHGWRBODWKHLUBOSDUWLVHGHGKHOSESRWUR
WKH HUHQW RIDEOH WKDW WKHU OLQWLQ UWLQKDWKDM DPLODU HuHW
LQGH R H [DPSOH SRW PDQHG DFRWR PDQHG DFRWR HH
PDQHG DFRWR NLW HDMHU R PDQHG DFRWR SURGH WKH RSEW VLHV
RPDQHG DFRWR

Suggestions for future research: con ictual aspects of government
communication

RYHUQLQLVPDUNHGEERWKH VHUQDOPRUHYLVLEOHDQGLQWHUQDORIVHQQHVYLVL
WHQGHQFLHV 7UDFHV RI YDULX VWUXOHV DQG GLOHPPDV FDQ EH LOOLQDWHG EY
JRYHUQPHQWRV FHKROGHUV VWUDWHJLV HVRIVSRNHQDQGLVWHQDQJH1HV, O
WKHPHV DQG TVWLQV WKDW PDSURYLGH D SDUWLF DUO VHUWLOH JURG IRU XV
discourse studies.

Intra-governmental strifes

, WRGEHDPLWDNHWRUHJDUGJRYHUQPHQWD KRPRJQHRYOJURX LWLQDOONLQGV
of government organisations, including the ones at the very top of institutional hierarchy,
interpersonal clashes and tensions often rise for various reasons and interdepartmental
ULDOUPDHDMOHPHUHU DOORWLH UDQUHMHQOLWLH HUHQV
where top executive power is shared between ministers from two or more political parties,
HUQLV WKHUPRH DuHWHG E\LVHUSDUW RSHWLWLQGLMHH LQSLF
preferences within the cabinet, and struggles to make compromises with coalition partners,
KLOHPDLQ DLQV HULWLQ KHHH WKHSDUW SRWHUVUPOOHUHU PDQ
7KHUH DUHQDOLQWLQDOORPHGHPSLULBOWGLHWKDWNDQOQ

EDFNVDJHDFWLWLSQROLWLFDORUJDQLVDWLRQHJ:RGDN 7KHTXHVWLRQRRIKRZ
RvFHKROGHUV XVH ODQJXDJH WR PLWLJDWH RU DJJUDYDWH YDULRXV FROA FFW LQ WKH RUM
construct in-groups and out-groups, make decisions, and address and persuade several
audiences at once, would certainly merit further research.

Compromised impartiality of non-elected administrators

,OPDQHWHUQFRWULHWKHUHLQOLPPDQHQQWWHQROEHWZHQWKHZGHOREMUYHGWUHQG
RISHURQDOLWDLRQISROLWLFWJWWHOOW/DQMU DQG WKH WUDGLWLRQDO SKOLF
expectations and norms that demand formal impersonality and impartiality of public
DGPLQWUDWLQHEHU RH[DPSOH WKH RDUWLDOLOMUDWRPQDWRV
KNDUHQHQGHSDUWPHQVNUHDHGZWKDGLvQVWWDKHKDMWRURGH
advice and support to their ministers, who are routinely engaged in personalised politics and
a struggle for electoral support. However, as civil servants, professional communicators
KDMWRHWDLQPSDUWLDOLWVKDWLWRKGSRLWLBOELDQVQKHLUEHKDMKDSWQDWHC
by the UK Civil Service Code. While professional government communicators tend to claim
neutral or impartial status by casting themselves as mere disseminators of messages about
policies, they are, in practice, often engaged in formulating or reformulating government
SRLHWHBQGHU7KHUHEHLWMHPQHMDUWRQWLDWHLQRHGHWDLOKZ
civil servants use language and other symbolic resources in an attempt to construct and
sustain an impression of impartiality.

Mediated scandals and blame avoidance

Political opponents make attempts to overthrow the incumbent by representing the policy-
makers publicly in a negative light, blaming them for behaving in norm-violating ways, and
DKQDG RHWUDWHLK DUDWHU DMMQWLWWHOORQLYGO
RHKRGHUKHOSWNOPHGLDWHGQDOWKDWQHUPLEWVKHNUDOOWUWLRUHQV
7KRSW-RQOLWUHNQOLQHUHWHLGLQHNDQUN
DQDOWRLHDQDUHWHEWQDQDWHQPDQIDHUWRKOLEM
EOLWHULQLWLEFRRLWLBOHOLWHDQSKUFRHKRGHUDOHUQODN
While those in power usually try to avoid getting in the middle of a scandal, opposition
SRLWLEDQDGHOLEHUDWHOQUNUMDO GLMMWUDWHLHVPDNDUDEV
RPHQ WBSUN DQWDLQDQDQUR WKHPMOMVQGHU WRRLQWH WKH
PHGLDDHQDQDQPLWKDW:EDS KDWHUPHG WKHSRLW SHUSHWK
PRLOHWHW/LMSRLWLEDQDUHSRWRKOLEODPHDWWDMQSUGLDQSRR
DUULVLDLHUQODQPSREHPSORQKHUGHHM
discursive strategies, such as denying, counter-attacking the blame-maker, or distracting the
ELWLBOEQLHEDQEXKHWEGLHNSURGHQWKHULQKWWVR
the ways in which government-related political scandals are linguistically constructed in
PHGLDDMOODWKHVDVQLKMUHQVHKRGHUMOLEWLEHWHWR
respond to public verbal attacks and mediated scandals.

Concluding remarks

While there is a wealth of literature on the election campaigns of political parties and the
rhetoric of certain celebrity politicians, relatively little has been written about contemporary
GDWRDQDQHMUPHQVQWRVQPLWWHGOGHDOLEWKEQDQ

data such as news releases, posters and policy documents produced by government agencies
PDSHUKDSMHPOHM[EWLRS DUHGWRGLMFLPRHROHSUHMGHVLDOSHHKHV
RSDUWHOHVLRDQHWMMUWKHMHPLQGØOHMUGDWH[WDQWON
coming from public policy-makers and their spokespersons can have profound societal
LPSOLDWLDWVKHMWHQUMDQVLDLSDUWLDNDUHO UHODWLDLKHU
EHWHHQUWDLQDSDQWURFH, KRH WKDW WKH KDQØEDMF
RSDWØOGLWLDLQDPSOHRDQWLØDSSURKHDQUMDUKWKHPHWKDW,KDM
sketched out in this chapter will inspire new linguistically informed critical research projects
LØKLDHUV&LHGHO

Notes

1. VVKRØGEHQRWHGKREYHUWKDWDWFLQJVVUDMWHYFDOØGRWing well-thought-
through, meticulous, rational and logical plans: it may involve acting in particular goal-orientated
DVKDWDUHNVLROKDMEHRHUVLQEDWRDWLEHQUWDLQH[WRDHUWDLQ
RPNW&DNHROOLD5HMLDLHEKDUWØSSHU
7KHQPHKLWVKDOOLVHROØMGDØPHWRØLWLVKHOUDØMUPHO

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ØM\$ On scandal: Moral disturbances in society, politics and art, Cambridge University
Press, Cambridge.
ØOHUØODNIGLDWHGØQDOVQ Scandalous!: the mediated construction of
political scandals in four Nordic countriesHGVØOHUQ(3ROODFNIRUGLFRPWHRUJSS
±
HQUØV(PropagandaRUDFH/LYHULJKWIHZRUN
KDWLD&ULWLFDOVFRXUVHØDOVLVRISROLWLFDSUHVVFRQIHØHØH& Society,
SS±
&DELQHW2vFHUJGLFDWLQJZDVWHLQ:KLWHKDOØVDYHV...ELOOLRQØYDLØDEØHIURPZZJRYXN
JRYHUQPHQWØZHVDGLFDWLQJZDVWHLQZKLWHKDOØVDYHVELOOLRQØFFHVVHGØDUFKØ
&DØHOØ-DØGHUV,QWURGXFWRQØDSSLQJWKHØØGRIJRYHUQPHQWFRPPXQFLDWLRQØQ
Government communication: Cases and challengesHGV.DØGHUVØ-&DØHØØRRPVEXU\
/RØGRØSS±
&DVWHØØVØCommunication power, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
KLOWEØAnalysing political discourse: Theory and practice RXWOHGJH/RØGRQ
&RXOGU\I HSS \$&RØFHSWXDOLJLQJ PHGLDWLJDWLRQ &RQWH[VW WUDGLWLRQV DUJXPHQWVØ
Communication Theory, 23SS±
&XØSHSHU-µPSROLWHØHVVVWUDWHJLHMØQdisciplinary studies in pragmatics, culture and
societyHGV&DSRQH-ØHØULQJHU/RØGRQ
(NVWUPØRZHUDQGDvOLDWLRQLQSUVLGHQWLDOSUHVVFRQIHUHØFHV\$WXGRQLQWHUUXSWLRQ
MRNHVDQØGDØXJØHØØØORI/DQJXDJHQØG3ROISØEFV
(QWPDQØ Scandal and silence: Media responses to presidential misconduct, Polity Press,
Cambridge.
ULØØKØWLDLØØLWLDØSUHØUHQV Journal of Pragmatics,
SS±
)DLUFØRJKI New Labour, new language?RXWOHGJH/RØGRQ
)DUUHØØØ Discourse and democracy: Critical analysis of the language of government,
5WØHGHØØ
DUØWV-ØLØØØHandbook of administrative communication, Marcel Dekker,
HØN
RØØing ethnography, Sage, London.

:RGDN 5 GH & LOOLD 5 5HLVLJO 0 /LHEKDUW . *The discursive construction of national identity*
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HXQJ . *The Cambridge Law Journal*,
SS±

Press conferences

Mats Ekström and Göran Eriksson

Introduction

,QPDQ\$ROLWLFDO VVWHPV WKH SUHVV FRQIHUHQFH LV DQLQVWLWXLRQDO DUUDQJH SROLWLFDOFRPPRQLFDWLRQDQGKDVDV.RDUSSXVVLWFRPHWREHUHJDUGHGDV SDUW RI WKH IRDGDWLRQ RI GHPRFUDWLF JRYHUQPHQW\W JUDGDOO'SURJUHVVHG GI WZHQWLHWKFHQW\NURPFQWUROOHGDQGFRQGHQWLDORuWKHUHFUGPHHWLQJVEH SROLWLFDOVDQGMRRQDOLVWVLQWRDQDUHQDIRUSKOLFDFFRQWDELOLW\WKJUHDV WKHQHZ\SURGFWLRQFFOH(ULNVVROgVWPDO\$UHVVFRQIHUHQFHWDNHVSODFHRQWKH SROLWLFDOQLQVWLWXLRQ\QLQLWLDWLYHWRDQRQFHSROLFLHVGHFLVLRQVDQGVRR

also for handling challenging events, such as accidents, catastrophes, or even political

DDOYKHUHDUHG LuHUHQZHWZHQWLROH[WVWDDRPDWLHQH

SUHQHUHQDUHKDUDFWHULMGEHUWDLWDQDUGMHKDWLDULNU

RHUIKDU 7KHHMQDUHW\$LBDOHPHGGHGLQRLWLBOSURMV

DQRPDOODQGWKUK\$SUHVHOHDMVKHWEDLQDUWVKHHMQVQM

WKHSUHSODQGSHHKER\$SRLWLEDQRHWLPHW\$PRHDQDHWLRQ

DQU MMQQLK MQDOLW\$MHWLQKUK WKH MMQ QZ

UWLRKDMMRQOLWSURWKHMGLuHUHQVLDQDQWONQWKHULRPDWLR

LQZHWHPWKDWSURGHWKH\$KOLEWKDKDQW\$EWSRLWLEDQWLR

7KHROKQDSWHUNRRLWLRQ\$RLWLBODWLRQUH\$KOLE\$SHURPHG

HWLDWHGDQWUDQPHGUHQH[W\$OLMGLQKHQH[WRUHQHUHQWZOO

KK\$ULY[HUEMGDQHWLDWHGLQLuHUHQ\$KDMVKH\$RPPDWLR

SURMDQK\$WUHODWHWRDQHDQGLMMQLuHUHQ\$OHMQKHKDSWHULV

based on research from disciplines such as conversation analysis, Critical Discourse

QOVPHGLDGLMMDDQVQKLWRLBODSSURKHW\$RLWLBORPPDWLR

DQHUHQDO 5 7KLWHMDUK UDQVRGHWDLOHG W\$LH\$UHQHUHQ

LQHUDWLRQHHDQDPDQWDOQDPDQULWDHNUP

ULNRUBGHUDSSURKHW\$KHLLQQWKHGHMORPHQRUHV

RUHQDQD\$R\$DWLWLVHW\$DU DUQWKKWKHUHLV

now a growing body of research on political press conferences, two national contexts and forms of press conferences, in particular, have been explored most thoroughly: press

FRQIHUHQFHVZWKWKH6ZGLVKJRYHUQPHQWVHHHJ(ULNVVRO (ULNVVRO (ULNVVRO (ULNVVRO/DUVVRQOREHUJ/DUVVRQDQGWKRZHVKWKH3UHVLGHQWRWIKH 8QLWHG6WDWHVRIHULFDVHHHJ&ODRDQHWDO&ODRDQHULVDJH&ODRDQ HWDO .XPDU 7KLVFKDSWHU UHOLHVH[WHQVLYHORQWKHVHVWXGLHVDQGLWLV RUJDQLVHG DV IROORZ , QWKHQH[WVHFWLRO Z GHVFULEHWKH KLVWRULFDO GHYHORSPHC SROLWLFDO SUHVFRQIHUHQFH 7KHUHDWHU Z GLVFXVWLWDVDJHQHFRPSULVLQJDP[IRV JHQHUH7KLVVIROORZGEDVHFWLROGHVFULELQJWKHGLUHQUHDFWLYLWLHVRIWDONWKD IRUSUHVFRQIHUHQFHV7KHFKDSWHUHQGVZWKDGLVFXVVLROQRKZVKHSUHVFRQIHUHQ integrated into the news-production cycle and explores the recontextualising power of news journalism.

Historical developments: the organisation of public political performances

, Q PDQFRZWLHV SUHV FRQIHUHQFHV DUH D URXLQLVHG DOG IUHTXQW IRUP IRU PH EHWHQHMRZQDOLVWVDQGSROLWLFDOV7KHUHSXOLFHYHQVWLVQWKHVHVWVKD EURDGFVDWOLYHYLDWUDGLWLRQDOWHOHYLVLRQRUWKHZE DOGWKHJHQHUDOOU QHVPGLDDWHQWLRO,QFROWUDVWRRWKHUSXOLFHYHQVWLVQKDVQHVLQWHUYLH press conference takes place on the initiative of a political institution and is an arrangement KHUHWKHSRLWLEDPHHWMDQOLWVWVWLP7KHPRESUHUHUHQDV DOWHUHG U WKHHDUWKHWDUWHGDVZPDORWKHUHGPHHWLWKLKKNQ reporters were invited – but they nevertheless emanate from a need to communicate with the SKOLEQWKDQOH WKH SUHMHROVHG PHGLD DWWHQVLRDU DUU EWLBOGHMORPHQVHAWKDFVQKHWDWHLREDQWLPHGLDWLHG political performances.

.RDU GHVLEHWKHGHMORPHQV SUHMGHQLDOSUHUHUHVN GLUHQUVHSWKK7KHGRH5MMOWDWKHJWSUHMGHQWKHWHGWDWHV WRUUDHUHQDURWKHUHGPHHWLWQKDKDQRRHQHSEWHUV WKHJWSHULRWDUWHGZWKWKH:RULONGPLQWUDWLQ

President Wilson saw such an arrangement as a way to reduce the total number of meetings KHKGWRBWWHQ7KHMQUHFMUHRWKHUHGMMRWKHSUHMGHQWEHSQ WRLWUHSRWHUHUHQDOORGWHSURRWKHMUHSRWWKWSHUPLR URWKH:KLWHM.RDU GHSLWVKHMPHHWLQVHDFWLMWKHSUHMGHQ PDLQDUHGKWLWQDWUHSMGEHRHKDQDQMGDOLPLWHGH[WHQVWKHWLPH WRDNWDWHPHQVWKHMHGLQDUHQUGLQGPLQWUDWLQKLWH MWDuVUWHGDERLQKWKUHSRWHUHVWVKHLUMULHXHQVHULQKH QUHURWKHREHURHSEWHUQMDWKHUODUHEHWZHQQR DHVWLQGEHUHSRHWGWRQWKHSUHMGHQVGGKKLKQDMKLP opportunities to decide what should be stressed during the meeting.

KLQKHQ[WSHULRWKHRLWLQSUHVHHWLDOWHUHGOLKWO\ QWKHUHG H[KDQVUH WLOO KHOG EW WKH UHKUHPHQV UHSRWHUWVPLW WRLQOGMFDMGKLDQDQONMOWDGPLQWUDWLQ KLKDuHWHGPHHWLQPLFKHSUHMGHQVGGWDOHGLQKLQHQD DQPRHWKRKHQ[SUHKLRLQHQ[SODQWLQKHUEKDOKDHDWKH introduction of joint press conferences with foreign political leaders and with members of WKHSUHMGHQVGPLQWUDWLQDUUDPHQVWKDW DUH UHQVOMGWBDMHKDWLD .RDU

7KHPRVWGUDPDWLFKFDQJHVLOWKHSUHVVFROIHUHQFHIRUPDWWRRN SODFHGXULQJW
SHULRGZHQSUHVVFROIHUHQFHVZIUHSXWROUHFUGDOGWHOHYLVHGSREYLRXV
FRQVHTXHQFHRIWKDFKQJHJHVWVKDWSUHVVLGHQVWFRXOGQRORQJHUFRQWUROKDWV
RUKRZVKHUIHFLWHGFRUGLQJWR.XPDUSWKHVHFKDQJHVMUDQVIRUPHGWKH
IRUXPIURPDORZLVNWRDKLJKULVNSHUIRUPDQFHIXWVKHDOVRSURYLGHSUHVVLGHQVW
WKHSRVVLELQWWRWDONGLUHFVOWRWKHSXEOLF,WQHYHUWKHOHVVOHGWRLQFUHDV

communicative strategies. Certain organisations aimed at planning and working with such strategies were established. One aspect of this was to keep press conferences to times when it seemed most appropriate, from a strategic point of view, for instance, in the evening on prime time, which gave the president a chance to reach a wide audience. Kumar characterized WKLPDWDOESDUWVKKHJ[WHQHGKWKSHULRGDWHGWRWVKLWUD involved an augmented awareness of strategic communication intended to manage the SUHMGHQV[SKHWBQQHDMQDUHMMQOLWLWQHODPDQULWDH DUHW WKHSUHMGHQVHQSSHDUHGLQROV SUHWHUHQVWKRHLO OHDGHUWKHUSKOLKHKLKKDMHRHDPRUHQHUHQGHUHG PRHDGDDVHVKHSUHMGHQVDPDKDWLD

EGLQVUNHDONLNUHUVKHNVEUHDN WKHREFOG:DUOHGWVKHZEGLKNUPHQVQHDMLQVHUHWLQDMQHDU PHHWLWVKWK SUHV PHHWLWQDGWLOWKHQEHHQHQV DQUDQR NUHQVKHSUHQUHQVWKDWWRDDEWV[WLPHQHVDUZHUEWKDZ\

for the government to provide information about its reaction to the ongoing war, and also an opportunity to control press reporting about the aggressors, that is, to show cautious RLOVSHEDOODENW HUPDQQRHWUHQHUWPDQO\WKHLRDPDWLQURKGGH E\WKHNUPHQVDPHQVLDQKLVPHDQVWKHSUHVVOOLRPHGDEW governmental actions, but prevented from writing about them.

7KHDUUDPHQVRHQDUDQQRVLDQNUPHQVOSUHQUHQVDPDOO\ RHDKPRKZWKDOLPLWHGSEHUMQOLWVWLNQGDWHUWKHDUDUN SS,WKQGEHQVHGWKDWWKHSULPHPLQWHUHQGLQKHSULMG DPLQPDQV\WVWLDQMEHWDUDQDQVSLW-NQOLWKDGRUROHPRVWLDQ WKHSULPHPLQWHURWKHMEHWDU\QKHUWSUHQHUHQVSSRQVHGQQR LHQGEVHMGHQV.HQVWHOHMMGRUHQVWKDWKHODHQHGDEPR SUHQUHQVWKDWVHQVREHGLWHGMQOLWKHHDHQDQHQDQMQOLWV were now free to report from them. However, these conferences never worked well; neither politicians nor journalists found them fruitful.

SWKHHQVKHNDQLQKHHDUOWKHZEGLKNUPHQV\$UHVHODWLRQ KDHGGUDWLBOOULQURHUWVHUDOHVHQHOFWLRQ LQKHQDOGHPRVWLDQNUPHQV\GHQV\HGDEHQGWVUHQVQHSUHVHODWLRQ DQUHEKWHGSUHQMEHWDULHWVWKHGLUHUHQVPLQWULHQVDPHQKDDSSRQVHG SULPHPLQWHULQVHVDUQV\$UHV\QHG\$SHUQUNLQV UWSHULRQKHKDGDQVWGDLOQVWVWVKMMUDOMQOLWVW

on some occasions, he also arranged press conferences that became the institutional form of press conferences. Contact with individual journalists had become too time-consuming and the press conference was a way to handle increased demands from the media to obtain information about governmental actions. With all the technological landmarks arising in WKHODWGHGHSUHQUHQVMPRGDKLQGRVBDVQLWLBORPQVWLRQ EXWKHDPHWLOODEKDDUUDPHQVRSBLWLBOPHHWLQWKMMQOLWV\GHQV the number of press conferences has risen steadily during the last twenty years DUQ

EHKDOIRIWKHSXEOLF,QWKHPHGLDWKHPLOQLVWHUJVDGHVFULEHGDVWRWDOOLQFRPSHWHC
ULGLFXOHGDQGDVNHGWRUHVLIQ7KHSROLWLFDOVSHUIRUPDQFHLOWKHSUHVFRQIHUHO
planned as a way to handle the boundaries between the front- and backstage of politics, but
rather, it appeared as an act of concealment and political ignorance.

Three activities of talk

7KHFRPPDLFDWLYHDFWLYLWLHVLSUHVVFRQIHUHQFHVFRQVWLWXWHVLJQLFDQWOGLE
IRU SROLWLFDO SHUIRUPDQFHV DOG MRJODOLVP 7KLV LV PDQLIHVW LQ WKH SDUWLFL
UHODWLRQV KLSVHSHFWHGFRQWULEXWLRQV DOG WKH GLVFMVLYHRULHQWDWLRQWR
this section, we describe results from studies that have analysed language and discourse
within three main activities of press conferences.

The political speech

SSHJUDQFHVQ SROLWLFDO SUHVFRQIHUHQFHVDUHFKDUDFWHULMGEGLMWHDOG UKHWRULFDQ
WUDWHJLHVLPHG DWDFKLHYLQJFHUWDLQRDOVKHJW SKMLWKHLQWURGWWRUSSHFKLO
which politicians have opportunities to thoroughly announce policies, justify ideas and
DWLQNHUELWLGLUHFWHG DW WKHPHQWKWEHLQWHUUSWHGFPDOO\
such statements are carefully prepared and can, to varying extents, set the agenda for the
HVLUHHMVEH[DPSOHKUKHWRLDOWUDWHLHLVLMQKDWLDR
WGLHWKHSURPDQRQGLSORDWDOESBLWLDOOHGDGHUVRGLuHUHQVGLGHRDO
EDNENGRWLBDOLNMDOMHLQWLDWHGWKHLGLMMWUDWHLHV
MGWRLSHOWKHGLuHUHQDQRDOSWHLDOQVWQMRQSUHNHUHQZWK
KLMVHMGHQ-LDQPLQQBHMGHQVHRH:K7KHWSKKKX
WUHQGHQVNDNRDULHWVUDWHLHNDMUNUMDOLMMQX
HVDWHPHQVQCKKEDQLRDPDOLWWRRSOLKDGLSORDWLSHURPDQ7KH
GLMLKMMUDQKLEWQPELQKDWLDRKDKDWKHWDPHQVQ
EHLQHUSUHWHGDKDRDQHQKMDHDQKWHWKHRSFVHLP SOLHG**ibidem**,
SDQHKHWDWHMVGWRRHEDSKDDPHRWDQPMHWHVHQKH
WGLDPHWULDOORSNGVHDNU**ibidem**S

OREHUJDQG(ULNVVRQH[SORUHDVLPLODUUKHWRULFDQVWLWXDWLRQZKHQVWXGLQJ
FRQIHUHQFHVZLWKWKHOHDGHUVRIWKHIRXUSDUWLHVIRUPLQJWKHGHGLVKJRYHU
particular events they study are press conferences in which politicians present major
SLEMDWKKWKHNSDUWLHVGHGRHGLuHUMDQVQLHLPSEWQ
matters, it is crucial for them to appear united – to present a joint front – and this is
KDQOHGWKUKHUWDLQWKHSHURDQSOXDOSUPLQDQWKH
SULPHPLQWHUKRWDUWKHSHHKSKMDGGUHMVMHQVWHUHQVVRWKH
other politicians, which is a way to demonstrate their co-ordinated opinions. He does so
EUHSHDWHGOMVVRHHUWVKHDFLQKHNSDUWLHDDQVQKHUN\
strategy is the use of a block of plural pronouns, as in the following example, in which one
RWKHSDLWLEDQKH OHDGHU RWKHVQUH DUWDEQHUOLEWKHNS
parties being united as if one:

Example 1

Politician: we are saying half of our energy shall be renewable
we are saying that ten percent of our energy in transport shall be renewable

the selection of the next speaker onto his answering turns. Compared to individual interviews, WKHHLWLRQDQUMRQSUHQHUHQDQHKDOOHQDSRLWLEDQI WKHHQHUHQEHURHQOLWKRDMQSODQGWKHLUEHWQDQWKHWHWLRQ However, a group of competing journalists can also be a resource for politicians who, in their role as a chair, can control the allocation of turns and, for example, interrupt follow-ups WKHQRPDWLMURQWKDWWKHUSHROHDOKDMWRQWKHLUHWLQWUP

What has been discussed as *politically controlled* versus MEOQLWUUBOHG press conferences are, to a large extent, the result of the various regulations of territorial power DOUHDGGLNG7KLGWLWLRQEHWQHUWRQDDGLKWRREWUDWKHUDD PDWWHUHQHUJHH,WBQHMGWK[SORHGLuHUHQHWHWHSUHQHUHQMULK LVLWXLQOMWWLWDLWLBOHMVDQSRLWLBONWKHQDQDQ7DQ H[DPSOHKKKWKHUHQDWLQHWLQVQVQWKHKLQSUHPLHU\$UHV QUHQVFNWKHMHMVKLKO\$SRLWLBONUUBOHG7KHHLWLRQUMRQ WKDWBOHQGWKHSRLWLBOSHHKLEQ\$HGDMWLRQMOHWHGPHGLDRDQWLRQ which were mainly decided by the political administration.

7KHGHMVLWLRQWKHNHUHQHDBLODEOHRMEOQLWWRQMDUKE LRPDWLRQDOWRREHWKHLUHUHQWLRQWKHQH[WR\$SRLWLBOSHURPDQV BMDGURUWLRQOMDPPDQQLULWDHMHDOBPPDQWDO

KKHLWLRQOWHUQWLMQMW WKH WRLBO DQ DWLQHQD WKDW SRLWLEDQDMWRDQOHLQKHLUURDHDQHUHQHWHKHSRLWLEDQWUDWHLHWR HLWKHUHUWOREHUWQHQHGHHLWLRQLW WKHDHQDQDQSHURPDWLRQ DMG7KHHLWLRQMUHQDWHQWLWLRQHQH[SHWDLWLRQHQODWLRQWKH answers, which can be recognised as particular actions. Clayman and Heritage explore the MULHWRHQHMHMVLWLRQHMGEMEOQLWWR\$SUHQH\$SRLWLEDQR ELWLEHQDQEHDWHSWHQLDORPDWLRQVWZKWKDMQW\$DNDQHDUWDE KLOHWDLQWKLQKHURRPPDQQLWUDOLQHUURWLRQHULQVHKQ LWRHHUWDWHPHQWRWKLUGSDUWDPWWDWLRQLMGRWKKUHQHUHQW\$PDQ DQWLRQLWQDPPDQLULWDH,QKHBQHQ[DPSOHKLRHV

from a press conference with the Swedish government the journalist makes such a shift by referring a statement to political opponents.

Example 2

,QWHUYLHQMKH RSSRVLWLRQ VDV WKDW RI WKHVH WHQ ELOOLRQV WKDW RX DUH DVVL ODERU PDUNHW SROLFLHV WKH PDLQ SDUW JRHV WR XQHPSORRHQW EHQ LWKDWEUHF"

ULNUNHUS

,QKLEDMWKHSRQVUHLGHQLHGDKHDOOLDHRLWLBORSRQVWVWLD KLW\$DQEHDKLHMGZWKUHQHUHQWHEHGSDUWLHVQUNWLRQDV RDQSHROH\$DLPWKDW\$FLWLRQWKDW

7KLVHMDUKHLWLRQHMDGHSHHGK\$HGH DEN KMMQOLWV HQW WKH\$DWKGR\$DQELWLBONWVWLRQMSRLWLEDQ\$G\$DQWLRQWKH LQHUQWLRQSKDM\$N\$DPPDQQL\$OHDM\$KLWLRBOLQWLDWLRQ MEOQLWLEQHUURWLRQKHOMODQKDEHUHQHMHM\$DPPDQ HWDO\$M\$GHWDLOHG\$DQ\$M\$WLRQHMDKHKDMGHMORHG D\$SW\$OL\$DWLRQ\$M\$UDOO GLPHQLWLDWLM GLUHWHVDMUWLMQV

FROIHUHQFH WKH VSHHFK WKH TXHVWLRQDQGDOVZIU VHVVLRO DOG WKH SRVWLQWHUYLH
RSSRUWXQLWLHV IRU MRXUQDOLVWV WRREWDLQ DOG SURGXFH VWDWPHQWV RU FRPPHQ
XVHG WRTXRWHRUFLWLHQRWKHU DYLQWKHQHZUHSRUWVRPHWKLQJWKDWLVFUXFLDOIF
SURGXFWLRO. URRO/XQGHOO(NVWUP. URRO/XQGHOO(ULNVVRO

(YHQ LI WKH TXHVWLRQDQGDOVZIU VHVVLROV RI SUHVV FROIHUHQFHV FDO EH FROVLGHU
DGYHUVLDO PRPHQWYHUH WKH DWFKGRJIXQFWLRO FDO EH SHUIRUPHG WKH DUH FOH
characterised by co-operation between journalists and politicians. Studies of Swedish press
conferences demonstrate that many of them are characterised by an H[KDQPRHOMH
QKHUHLWKDQKDSHGDPVBOGHSHQHHLWPDQ
ULNUHURMRQOLWWKHUHDUHWHRUHDWKLW
produce news items, journalists need valid information and the collaborative approach can
be a fruitful way to obtain such information.

7KH QWUWLVKDM BOKWKHLQHUDWLRQ SKDMLWKH PRHQ KHQ
GLMUMPDWHULDODQGDWDDUHDMPHOHGHLWHGDPDGHUHDGRSKOLBWLRLN
gWPDQSHLK HSHQLCHWKHU WKH QZURWLV
SKOLKHGLQ QZDSHU DLUHG WKH UDGLR EURGDW BOKH KDUDWHU WKLW
moment of production will vary, but the end product – the particular news item – will be a
KHDYOHGLWHG WH[W7KLVKDM WKLWGLMMSUDWLHWKUKKLSQLWLBQ
voices are transformed into news and represented as particular actions.

\$DUWLNDUWLR[SORHGLQHZPSLULBOWGLHMKRRLWLBDOWNHV
WKHQZHGLDMMGRSDULWUDQLSWVRDMOHVLRUHMGHVLDQ
SUHNUHQRVWUDQLSWVRWKH CBS Evening News, Eshbaugh-
KDSQSHG WKDW WKHQZHSRWHOKHDEYWKH SUHMGHQ
EGYKH WEPHDMHG WKHH[WHQWKLKKEGDSHSHDUHGLQWKHQZKH
HPSLULBQ UHNV MWKDW SUHNUHQRVWUDQLSWVRWKH SUHMGHQ WR
LHFWKHQHHDQLBWHGEWKHDWKRLOKHRQKHWKEMU
GRU UHMDOKWKHEGYUHMGLQKHQZKDWLKRRLWLBDORHDQ
DVLQHUHQH[WEOLMGLQKHQGLM

7KLVWLDWHGEULQgWPDQR[SORHKNWDRPHQVR
press conferences are compared and played out against other sources, often in ways that
imply criticism of the initial political source. Criticism could, for instance, be ascribed by
GLUHWORLQLUHWORLQSWLROSLWLEDQDVLQPSOHEHDFLEHGE\
journalism itself.

Example 3

One day he makes an agreement on budget policy with two EU-hostile parties, at least
one of which, the Green Party, does not consider economic growth to be a central issue.
7KHQ[WGDKHSWNUUGDMUPHQGHODUDWLQKDWUHKXHWKHDELQWZWK
an orientation toward the EU and economic growth.

Dagens Nyheter 2FWREHU

,QWKLVDVHWKHWH[WSRLQWVRXWGLVFUHSQFLHVEHWZHHQWKHSROLWLFLDQWGLuHU
(ULNVVROVDQgVWPDQVWVGVRKZWKDWMRXUQDOLVWVRIWHQDGGDKLJKOHYHORI
when press-conference utterances and actions are reported in news stories, and they suggest
that an adversary model is the most valid way to grasp what takes place in this phase of news
SUHNLWHUDWHLQDSUHQUHMQRQOLWENQSHSHQWOKHLQWLDQ
HFWKDWLWKHSRLWLEDQQWKHDORQSHWVKHUDWRVWKHQDWVWKHUNHV

who represent alternative perspectives and can take a critical stance of the initial source. recontextualised in, news discourse, constitute key resources when news journalists adopt

Summary

7KHSUHVFRQIHIHQFHLQLWVYDULRIRUPVUHSUHVHQQVVDQLQVWLWMLRQDOLVHGD DFWLRQVDQGMRRQDOLVWFLQWHUURJDWLRQV7KHKDYHDFHUHPROLDOFKDUDFWHU as symbolic representations of public political accountability, but they are also a context in

Press conferences are frontstage activities that take place on the initiative of political institutions and are characterised by discursive and rhetorical strategies aimed at achieving particular political goals, to convincingly present policies or reforms, to show a shared front

is the part of the conference when journalists can perform the watchdog role by posing press conferences, and this is the phase when political statements are recontextualised and press-conference statements. Other information can be included in ways that imply criticism interactional phase is best characterised by a co-operative model, the news-construction phase is best characterised by an adversarial model as news stories generally involve criticism aimed at the initial political source.

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SS±

QROHU-KHFWK0 The crisis of public communicationRXWOHGJH/ROGRQ
&ODPDQ6/HQDVRILQWHUDFWLWRLQWVKHQZPHGLDHUHQWows from the interview society,
HGWUPc.UQREGLRWHERSS±

QDPDQULWDH-4NWLRQJUHGHQVMKQDLWLGHHUHQDQDGMUULDOHV
LW/KHSUHQUHQHGHQVMKQUDQ5HDDQ Journal of Communication,
SS±

QDPDQOOLW/WQHULWDH-4NWW0DWHUKHG LQKLWHM
MNDOLF (SODLQWKH SW ULM RDUHMM SUHMGHQVLDQ HZ Political
CommunicationYROQRSS±

&ODPDQ6(OOLRWW01HULWDJH-0FRQDOG/4VWRULFDO WUHQGV LQTXHVWLRQLQJ
SUHVLGHQVWVResidential Studies Quarterly YROQRSS±

&ODPDQ6HULWDJH-(OOLRWW010FRQDOG/4KHQGRHVWKHZDWFKGRJEDUN"
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KLDHKLDR

NUPDLWLEDQVHUMHIGVHOHMMRZ Discourse & SocietyYROQR
SS±

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SS±

ULNLDQLQLWLBQELMDDHUHWLRODSSURKWRPDH
UHSDLULQLWLBOSUHQUHQV Journal of Communication ManagementYRO QR
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Political CommunicationYROQRSS±

DQVDeciding what's news3DQWKHRQRNVIHZRUN
RuPDQ(The presentation of self in everyday life RXEOHGD&RPSDQ,QFIHZRUN

ROGLQJ3(OOLRW3 Making the news, Longman, London.

DQMLMM WUDWHLHVEDPHDEGDE LQUPHQVUDPHNE
DQOMDiscourse & Society YROQRSS±

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LQWHUYLHZLQJLQWKHPDNLQJRIWHOHYLWLRQ4HMMiesYROQRSS±

.URRO/XQGHOOC(ULNVVRQ4WHUYLHZVDVFRPPXQLFDWLYHUHVXRUFHLQOQHZVDQGFUXUHQW
DuDLUVEURDGBDWW4ism StudiesYROQRSS±

.XPDU04XUHFHPDWULD03UHVLGHQVLDOSUHVVRQIHUHQFHVKHLPSPRUWDQFHDQGHYROXWLRQR
DQHGXULQJIRURRResidential Studies QuarterlyYROQRSS±

.XPDU0- Managing the president's message: The White House communications operation,
-RKQVRSNLQV4LYHUVLW3UHVVDOWLPRUH

/DUVVRO/4URPHDUOWRGDLOSUHVVPHHWLQJVKHGHYHORSPHQWRIWKHJRYHUQPHQWSUHVV
UHODWLRQVLO4H4H4F4ODWLRQV,QR4QRSS±

OD]]ROHQL%FKXO]:ØHGLDWL]DWLRRORISROLWLFV\$KDOOHQJHIRUGHPRFUDF¶ Political
CommunicationYROQRSS±

OFIDLU% Journalism and democracy: An evaluation of the political public sphereRXWOHGJH
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RHUSI[QD]GHØBØGLuHUHEMREYSØLWLDØSUHN UHQV
WØW KHWDWHLW WKSHURØOSUR¶ Journal of Language and Politics, vol.
RS±

5HLK = ¶KH SURVPSHO RZQWLDWLM KHØHDG JW UHSRWHUWKHUH DWHU¶
Journalism StudiesYROQRSS±

WUPEIFN-¶RXUSKDVHVRIPHGLDWL]DWLROØDQDOVLVRIWKHPHGLDWL]DWLRRORISROLWLFV¶
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XFKPDQ¶Making news: A study in the construction of reality ¶H)UHH3UHVVVHZRUN
:LLN-µGHQWLWLHVXQGHUFRQVWUXFWLWLRQ3URIHVVLVRQDOMRXUQDOLVPLQD SKDVHRIGHVWDELOL
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ØMWN

ØEDQ]WLVWLRQOLLEKOLEHODWLRØLQØRØBODQØK
WKH&LQMSUHPLHU¶UHN UHQ¶ Public Relation reviewYROQRSS±

Policy-making Documents and laws

Kristof Savski

Introduction

,QWKLVKDSWHU, VHS SROLFLHV DQG ODV DV ORFDWHG DW WKHLQWHUVHFWLRQRIRW
 KRHVHFRFLDOSUDFWLFHVGLVFRVVDHOGGLTIRUJDQLVDWLRQVGLHGCHQHWKHWHWVDO
 JHQHWWKDWFRQVWLWXVHWKHPIFDWLDODORIRWKHVHSUDFWLFHVDFWRUVDQGRPPQZ
 are linked to *politics* DALGHOG RULHQWHG WR ZDUGVVKDSLQJWKHH[HUFLVHRIVDWHSRZHU
 ZKRVERXQGDULHV DUHURXWLQHOVHGUDZQLQSXEOLFGVFRXUVH-HVVRS, WL VWKLVF
 UHODWLRQWR SROLWLFVWKDWGLUHUVHFRFLHVSRULHV a much more
 WULWQERHGHOGZWKDQWDEOLKHGKLWRLDQUDWLMWVWLQWRDQOLWLF
 SUDWLFHMTLHUPD, QKHROZGLKWKHEDOUHRRDQ
 ODZPSDFOLWLBSSURKHWKHW[WHHQHWKDWLWVWHKWKHOGV
 DLUDKQHUWDQHQHDPUHODWLMOWDEOHVWQLQKDWLQDWHG
 ZWKDQSDUWOHQVDKDOOUDWLHG WSHDFLEWDLUOKS
 ,QWLDWLHQHDPWKHUHHEHBUULHGMURWZHUSHVLMRWKHW[WLWMOI
 with a close linguistic analysis of the language choices made in it, or from the practices in
 KKLWLMPEHGGHGKDWLD7KLDKDSWHUDWWHPSWWWDNKSHUSHVLMQR
 account, and most importantly, to create links between them by showing the ways in which
 SLEHVDQOHDOWH[WVHAWWKHSUDWLHKLKWKH DUH SUBVVKHRRWKH
 chapter is therefore devoted to three interlocking key areas of investigation outlined in the
 following.

,QKHDMRREHVDQODVWKHDWLEWLHFRDOSUDWLHWKDWWKHW[WHHAWDQ
 enact are geared towards the exercise of power within a certain community: in order to
 achieve a certain set objective, policies and laws mandate or ban certain types of activities.
 Policies and laws are therefore intrinsically linked to organisational structure and hierarchy,
 and can be seen as an exercise of institutional power that is dependent on the trust of the
 PHPEHUVKHPQWKHUHLWLWRHDSSOLHGMHHJHQKHDMR
 state policy, this, for example, refers to the pre-supposed universal acceptance of the state as
 DWLQPRVHUHWDOQROKHUODOZOO-HRSQMWLRQ
 this chapter therefore focuses on how analysing the genres that constitute policy and law
 also involve analysing the organisation they are embedded in.

RZYHU SROLFLHV DQG ODZ DUH QRW ROODERXW BDNLOJ UXOHV IURP D GLVFXUVLYH SHUVSHFWLYHHYHUSROLFRUODERGLHVDSDUWLFXODUFRQVWUXFWLRQRIVRFLDOUHDOLW WUDQVIRUPDWLYHJRDODVZOODVWVKHSURMHFWHGHPHDQVUHTXLUHGWRDFKLHYHWKDWJR SDFUHO RI WKLW FRQVWUXFWLRQ /HYLQVRQ 6XWWRO :LQVWHDG S)URP WKLW perspective, the making of policies and laws is also a site of constant tension between GLuHUHQVROGMHXLGHORRHDQKDMGDDMWUDWLFHWROORWKWLV WHQRHURHLQKHMUKRHHKHODESOLWH[WLVWMPVWHQ WKHMMUDOGGLuHUHQVROKRVLORWHGDW WKHPHHLWROQRVWKHMRPQ RSHGLHXLDM :GDNKHMRVWKLWDSWHU LV WKHUHRHQOQVXKHHLKWH[WVQEH[WHQRV KHGLuHUHQVROVHUHWKDW collide within them.

However, while policy- and law-making go hand in hand with social power and hierarchy, this does not mean that it should be seen as a simple and linear top-down imposition of will. -WDMKHWDPWHRDRDQWLRQKDWDPDWWHULQDQVRLQWMOEWDQUUD\ RDHWKDWRHUDBULVWRVORSRVQWLHWRIHUEMSHU-HRS SRLDQODZDNDQGHMHQDGLMUMSHWURRHOHQUDLQV WUWKH DQ RHQRV DHIQKHU MW PDMR HWLWVEH DGGUHMGLV therefore when such opportunities for agency come about, who is able to take advantage of WKHPDQKDWWKHPDUHDEOHWRKLMWKUKSOLFLVWQVHDG 7KHQOMVLRQKLVKDSWHUWKHUHRHQOQVMDW KSSHW RSRLEHQDQODV WKHEHRH GDEOH DQ REDOOV DGRWHG WH[WVQ GLuHUHQV audiences begin to engage with their contents.

Each of these three sections overviews the concepts that are key to understanding their UHSHWLMDUHDDQDONUMHHL[LWLWVGLHMDOODSURREOLuHUHQVRODQWLRBO frameworks that can help prospective analysts collect and understand their data at these GLuHUHQVROHMOVKMVLROQRGHDKFWLOOXUDWLMVWVWQKDWLQVHQHGWR KKHQOHDQVRSWVQDHDSSOLHGWRVSHFH[DPSOH SRLVWKHMWKUHH areas, when seen from a linguistic perspective, build on an existing tradition of analysing legal language, the following section is intended to bridge the gap between them by SURGLDEULHNUHHLVWKLWDEOLKHGHOGRRU\

The language of policies and laws

,QUHFHQWKLWVRUDQREHURIUHVHDFKHUVKDYHHDPLOHGWKHODQJHJDVVRFLDWV HOGV RI ODQDQ SROLFVQ WKH EURDGHVW VHQVH WKLW LQFOXGHV QRW ROODQDOVHV ODQJH RI SROLFLHV DQG ODZ RU VVDWVHV EX DOVR ODQJH XH LQ WKH FRWURR &RWWHULOOLPHGLDWLRQVHVVLQVHJ&RQOXPDUODORIKLFKDUHVHHQDV VEHOGVLQWKHODUJHUHOGRIQJHDOODQJHJHJHOLQNu7KRKWKHVFRSHRI WKLW FKDSWHU LV VRPHKDW GLuHUHQV DV LW IRFXHV PRVWVROQ SROLFRDNLOJ IUR governmental perspective, the characteristics of legal language described by these authors are also highly relevant as they remain central text-internal criteria for what is considered a ODESRLVWKKWH[WH[WHUQOELWHULDSODDQHOONSDUWDGLMGEHOR WKHROURRHRLEHQDQDWRVWDEOLKRPWKKWKHDUHQHMULO\ ELQDGLMGEHORWLQHUWDQDEOHWKDWOLVWLEHMMHPRMG WR[SUHQOLDWLRQRRLWLQURPRQHDOWH[WVQLKODQHOHDO WH[WVWKHGHVLRDQKDOODVWUDGLWLRQOMGWR[SUHQHODOROLDWLRQRD\ WRU SHU WROWRRLWLWVWLELQDQOH\MMU DV :LOOLDPLQLDWHWKHUHQHPDQVQOHDUHUPHHL[SUHMVWKHODWH

WZQWLHWKFHQWXUKDVPHQDQWWKDPDQOHJLVODWLYHWH[WVQRDYRLGMKDOOQIDYR modes of expressing obligation, such as the present simple tense.

HDOWH[WPDNUHDWMMWUPLQVHQUDZMMUDOGLuHUHQVGHMJ DQKWH[WPDLEQHH[SUHMQOWLOQQUHQVWH[WDLPWREK D[SEOH DPELKWRE ODIDULWVKHLU OH[LVDOKDUDFWHULMG E[UHNQ UHSHWLWLNQUMOLQHVMRUPNVOHLOOLDPV EPLODUOQHDO WH[WZOOVHQQSHD MVLQHUHNVWHUPVUHGHGWR avoid any possible uncertainty resulting from cases where a single term has been used with GLuHUHQV PHDQDEGLuHUHQV WH[WMMU WRHQEOH A[LEOH DSSOLEWLR legislation, such texts are also typically written in a highly generic manner, creating a WDVWHQVHWVHWKHWK[WUHPHPELKWDA[LELOLWQHUUOHU DOH\

VKHUNKDUDFWHULWLRHDOWH[WLWKHDFWVKDWKLOHWKHVUHZLWWHQDMW BFWVHQQRSOH[HQMHEHOKHPUHWPDPWHQVDEVDWHGZWK WKNZLWHUVDWKHUWKHEHRHDVDWHGZWKWKHLVWVLRBRLWVKDWWKHUQ ,RDPVHUPKLOHWKH authors of the text, that is, those who provided the words it contains, are backgrounded, the text becomes associated almost exclusively with a *principal*, that is, the actor or institution who is committed to the words and whose beliefs or authority WKHUHSUHMV RPSQFH[DPSOHQHLQDWLQSLBOOEHLQ ZWKDWDWHPHQVWVWLVWVKHSULESDOKDKHONVKHKBHDQ KDDGRWHGWKLVHEDWLR

Analysing policy genres in institutional context

)RUFQWHPSPRUDUDQDOVHVRISROLFLHVDQODVZWKHWUDGLWLRQRIDODOVLOJOHJ continues to be of importance, as it provides a key means of distinguishing what is typical in such texts from what is atypical and therefore of potential interest. However, legal texts DUHQVGHGQREWKHLUODQHMEVDONQSHUKDSVREHGUDPDWLBQOQ WKHLUKDUHGGLMMKRDUDFWHULWLRDOUHDGPHQLRGDNDHWKHVWH[WVWV that they attempt to oblige or forbid certain actions or practices: they do so by constructing DSDUWLNDUSLVKHKVKHWDWHRuDLUHQHWQDQWKHQRPWKHPLPWRPSPRQ VHWUHAW DSDUWLNDU RDOMW RDOMONWKDWLVSDUWLNDU MHKDW VHWKQGEHOLNHMVRQVHDGDEQSRLEHNDUHWKHUHRH H[SUMVVKHSDUWLNDUPRIDOLWLHQRLGHORHWKDWH[LWLVQKHLUVH[WQWKHLU analysis should take this into account.

However, as the language used in legal texts and policies is often highly economised and condensed, creating a link between a particular feature of such a text and any ideologies in its context can be a major challenge if the text is analysed simply *in and of itself*. QVWHDG analysing policy texts is an exercise of constant recursion, that is, of constant interaction EHWVHWKHPDERHMQPLERHMORQOVQUDFWLHWKLVHEDH[DPSOH examining a sentence in a policy text in light of its linguistic structure, its immediate co-text, the entire text, the policy-making practices that produced the sentence, the political agenda LKLWLVMPHEGGHGDQOQKWKDWMQVHQLVHUWREWKHGLuHUHQVUHDGHUV of the policy text.

QNVGHUDWLRQVKHUHRHWKHVWLRQDWPDNDSDUWLNDUWH[WDSRBF if not merely its form, is it its author, the institutional power it is associated with, or the way LWVWLVWVHQQREGLWULEVHWGZWKLVKDWSDUWLNDUSRVLWVDEKLOHDSRBF in the contemporary state can take the form of a law, a strategy, a programme, or a white

has its own set of language policies to deal with the complexity that this can cause, with one
 NSULRSOHEHLW KDW SBLWH [W DUHHKDOHQ LUUHSHWLM KKLKREDOODQH
 WKHDUHLR MUWKHLW W WLR RPHRSOH [HM QKKWKHMODR HDUH *de*
 MXUHHTXDOLQ (& QVWLWXWLRQ V W Jdt to H D u h t i o n s that govern language choice,
 particularly in smaller, informal settings. Here, the more dominant working languages have
 a privileged status, and knowledge of them is a key strategic advantage for political actors
 :GDNUPRKKWQU, QHUPWKHDSBLWH [W DUHSUBNG
 DQ WKH WDW XWKH KDM WKL WKHUHRHLQLDWHW W KDW WKH UHODWLRQLS EHWZHQLuH
 ODRHBDLDQ W KHD PHSBLWH [W L W Q H M U L O H E O

DSBLW WKH E DRSOH [P WLOHMO RDQDWL E N SBLWLDQ SBLF
 PDN W E H M H Q M Q H U H Q O E N E W K H W D Q P H G L D W L R H W Z H Q L u H U H Q W L H
 KRHDQWLR ODQUHLR OOHMO M U Q H D Q E H W Z H Q L u H U H Q O H M O S H E F
 LWLW W L Q P S 7 K H U H D U H W K U H P D M R L W L W W L W K H R H D Q
 BUOLDPHQ UHSUHMVLS DUW \ L W H U H W W K H K R H D Q U H S U H M V L O W D W H
 M U P H Q W D Q W K H R H D R P L M W K H R H D R U P H Q W P O O W K U H H K D U H
 SBLPDNQLWLDQ P W W K Q D U H H P H Q V S R O W W W K H S W H Q L D O O \

overwhelming complexity that this entails, policy-making practices in the EU have
 GHMORHGWRW H W K D W W M H D K H G D W D Q D U O W D H K H U K D S H W R
 :KLOHWKLKDLPSUNGHV EHQW DORHDQ W K D W S B L P D N Q D E H H Q u H W L M O \

shifted out of public sight, and that a compromise has been made on democracy
 .UPR

WKHUNSRHUW W K D W G H Q R E L E H W K H L U R S O H [U H O D W L R S R L E H W K H
 PHPEHUW D W H , S U L E S O H S R L E M Q H Q H G W W D N S U H H G H M U M U L W L R O
 policies, and is considered to be binding to various extents, depending on the genre to which a
 SDUWLNDUSRLEMMHGMHEHOTREOLWDWHWKL SBLWH [W DUHZLWWHQW KDMHZ
 WBUGMQEOLA LEOHDSSOLBWLREWKHMDULMLuHUHQWQLRORH [W DOWKK
 the extent to which they are implemented, or the pace of their enactment, varies greatly across
 WKHM PHPEHU W D W H D O N U H W D O D Q W K H G P L E H Q H [W B O L D W L R
 SBLWKHUHRHGLuHUURWDWHW W D W H H R D N L U O K

7KLESOH [LWPHDQ W K D W M M U D O G L u H U H Q H Q H D U H D E L O D E O H W S R L P D N U V
 7KHH [D W W D W W K H M L M W E D Q K H U W H [W W K H 7 U H D W W K H W L R W K H R H D Q
 RR

7R [HUEM WKH E N S H W H E W K H L Q L W W L R D O O D G R W U H R D W L Q L U H W L M V
 decisions, recommendations and opinions.

SHNDWL R D O O K D M H Q U D O D S S O L B W L R W K D O O E H E L Q L Q Q W H Q L U H W D Q
 directly applicable in all Member States.

GLUHFWLMKDOOEHELQLDQW W KHUHM WWRHDKLHMGSRDKOPHEHUW D W H
 to which it is addressed, but shall leave to the national authorities the choice of form and
 methods.

GHEMNDOOEHELQLDQW W Q L U H W G H E M Q L K S H E H W K M W K R
 it is addressed shall be binding only on them.

SHRPHQDWLRQRLOQNDOOKDMRLQLRH
 S/WLØHH [S/WLØHLQ/KH7UHDW W/KH R R H D Q R

7RHUWDLQ [W H Q W K L W H [W D O E L H W K H S R L P D N Q U D F W L H W K U K K L K W K H U V
 DUHSUBNG7KLMKMMUW/H [DKMDMULWKHUSUDWLHDQHQHMDUHQ
 prescribed in this way. Genres such as *Green papers* and *White papers* serve to highlight a

particular area for future policy intervention at EU level, and potentially also an early vision
KDWWKHMHKDSBLEGEHSGLWLRPOODREHURQHMLWLQ
WKHUHODWHGHOGRBLRPNEDWLDODHDÄWDFWKHHWDOEDWKHU
WKDQHWDEOLKLSRLFLGUHWFO\WKHM DUH GLUHWHG SHEPOO\DW PHGLDWLISBLF
RMHWLMSULRLWLHDQGHENWBULRQHUHWHGSKOLUPD

DOMSBLKMDLQHUDWHGPDQVKHMLuHUHQHQHVQVKHLUGDWD
collection, aiming both to create a better account of policy discourse in a particular area, as
well as to show its development through time, from early agenda-setting documents to
ELQLOHLQDWLQDPRRLQDQKKEPDMRGLMMMLW
KUHGLHQURHQDO SLEHWÄHQDQ DKVKLYVW

announced by changes in green papers, intended to stimulate a broad public debate, before
being integrated into other genres, which began to specify future policy action in more
RHWHWHUPUPDQ:GDWDNDQHQURGHUDSSURKLOVKHLU
historical analysis of EU language policy, examining not only policy texts, but also speeches
and surveys to show how EU discourse about multilingualism was embedded into a larger-
scale political agenda.

Analysing the genesis of policy texts

VLVFXVDERYHSROLFLVDQDUHDZKHUHLuHUHQWBUOGYLHVFRPHLOWRFRQWDFWDFW
RIWHQLOWRFRQÄFW:LWKDQSROLFVKHHQJDJHPHQWRIDFWRUVRUFRPPQLWLHVZWKGLu
EDFNJURQGVPHDQVWKDWSRWHQWLDQOFRPSHWLQJSROLFRHDQLOQJVDUHJHQHUDWH
7KHVHUHÄFWWKHGLuHUHQWVLWQWGHQGHUVWDQGLQJVIRVFLDOUHDOLWGLuHU
SURSRVDOVIRUVROX\LRQVWKDWVKKDFWRUVZOOKDYH)URPWKHHDUOLHVWVWDJHVF
drafting, policy texts constantly come into contact with such communities as various public
QWDWLQURHQWHGBOQ

7KLQWLPDWHQWULEXHWWRVKHEHDWLDQSRSKRSBLWH[WQDLQVKH
KHELuHUHQDWRDMEKLLKLOHEHLQVHUNQQLDORBOO\
OLNGMHDKWLQHPDLQLWLDQMSDUDWHUHÄFWLQVKHSEU UHODWLRQ
EHWÄHQKHDWRWULEXWLDQKHSRLRSDSOWKHMKHMUHDUWLEDOO\
PHUHGZWKWKHQOLDWLDQKHSRLWH[W:BDQGEHRHDQDWHGZWK
WKHDWKELWVKHSRLWLQKWKHDSSO7LHUMD

5HQWMLQKHMKHVWKHUHRHQSKEOHDSSURKWRBLWH[WDDQWV
,GHDOOWKLEPHGRGLUHWOLWVKHUHMUKHULMDQHGHDHWVKHGUDWLDQURV
:BDNH[DPSOHRELQEMUQWLDQWKWH[WQODQOQWKKKVKH
ODQHRQKHQNPORHQGHMORHGDGLuHUHQWDNKQGHUFDGH
QULEXWLRWQDPMKMMUDHWKEDNDHMWWLQVSKEOH

and in such cases, the researcher has to employ alternative methods of data collection. Often,
while meetings cannot be accessed, early drafts and feasibility studies can be found and can
yield useful information about key issues, particularly if combined with research interviews.
[DPLQQLuHUHQW SBLFHQMHSDQQRKHDMEWBLQGHVLLQVKH
key trends in the genesis of a policy document.

Example: the genesis of a Slovene language policy document

Studying policy in the contemporary state presents a new challenge, as the researcher has to
take into account the dynamic character of mediatised late-modern politics – where
constructing a distinctive and likeable identity is as important as providing reasoned

LIQRWDOOSROLFWH[WVGHVSLWHWKHLUJHGSSSHDUDQFHWKHPDQODQJXDJHFKRFLHVP
ZWKLQWKHPKDYHEHHQPDGHEGLuHUHQWDFWRUVZWKGLuHUHQWEHOLHIVVWHPVDQGLQV
7KHLPSRUWDQFHRIVWXGLQJWKLJHQHVLVSURFHVVEHFRPHVFOHDUKHQH[DPLQLQJWKHWVD
policy implementation, when such individual pieces of language become crucial to how
WH[WKDSBUHSXLQRBWLRQ

Analysing the trajectories of policy meanings

SWH[VVSROLFLHVDUHLQWHQGHGIRUYDULHGDGLHQFHWVRPHKDYHWRDOORZUEURDGD
ZLOHRWKHUVDUHLWVWHQIRUDVPDOODGLHQFHDCGRQOSODDQDGPLQLVWUDWLYH
SSRZYHUWKHDVLQKLFKVKKDLHQFHVJHDG\$ROLFDUHYDULHG
9DULRXVFKRODUVLQWKHJHGRISROLFDQDOVLVKDYHVWUHVHGWKDWKHLQWHUSU
texts is a complex process where, depending on what epistemic community it encounters,
KDWH[WZOOEHUHLMGGLuHUHQWDFHDOV7KLSUHMVD
move from traditional conceptualisations of policy implementation as a linear process with
RHRDHFDUWRQLEWLVKQSLDQMKHURUHWHU

Policy meanings are discursively constructed as actors engage with policy in various texts
DQVH[WDMDKDWKHQHQSLPQDLQHS
SRLWLBOYHHKHBOHUDYGDQOBODGPLQWUDWLMWVWLDNG
ZWKWKHLPSOHPHQDWLQSLFQKHM/H[WEWKKHHPDMOODV
subversive policy meanings are constructed in the discourse that surrounds a policy text
DM:KLKSLPQDQRLQWHWKLGLM WKHUHRH EHRHD
HQUDOLMKHQGHULBRLLEHVDUHSXLQRBWLRQUDVDFWES
7KLEULQENMDQVLPSOLEWLRWKHWRRLWH[WDDHDUW
DNSWLKBOHEHWHHQDQPHDQRRUSKEOHVWR

7MURHWKHSVHVLDOLEKLVWWDWVWKLQGEULQVKHOHDOWHPGLuHUHQ
legal traditions have suggested a number of theories of statutory interpretation, which are
LQHQHG WKGH WKH GHEMDVFLVHUSUHWLQDQDQSRLEHVWKHBLWLK
context, an early example of such a theory was the *plain meaning rule*, which broadly
SODHGWKHVKHGLQPHDQVKHODQHMGEOQDZNUMDWKHUWKDQ
VKH/H[W7LHUMDSQKHBEHURSHWLVKHLRHDON[LW
such as *intentionalism*, which involves investigation of context to reconstruct the intentions
DQDNUVidem SS ≠Q (XURSHDQ OHJDO WKHRUD VLPLODU DSSURDFK LV
*systematic interpretation*ZKLFKQYROYHVPDNLQJFRPSDULVRQVEHWZHHQGLuHUHQWOHJLVOL
WH[VWLQRUGHUWRDUULYHDDWDYDOLGPHDQLQJ6KW]HS

)RUSROLFLHVWREHVXFFHVVIXOOHQDFWHGLQUHDOZRUGVWLWXDWLRQVWKHODQJXDJH
KDVWREH[LEOHHQRXJKWRHQDEOHDSSOLFQWLRQLQFKDQJHFRQWH[VWZKLOHDQVREH
HQRXJKWRDYRLGXQZDQWHGPELJXLWZHUVPDSSZRSULQFLSOHSHUVSHFWLYHVH
have developed in the study of policy implementation: a *top-down* view that studies
implementation from the perspective of policy-makers, in terms of the generalizability of
policy problems and solutions, and a *bottom-up* view, which looks at implementation from
WKHWQSRQVKHOBODVFKODVWHU SHUSHVLM MHORO SLDVFDV
GHEMDNUKRUHDuEGHGDDUHDPNBHQGHUWRQVWKHGLuHUHQ
SUKMSQLESN

7KLVKHURHQRLGQODVWMLKDOHGHMWRQ:LQHDG
to propose the concept of *appropriation*LQVWHDGRILPSOHPHQDWLRQWLRQLGLFDWHWKHZDVWK
creative agents interpret and take in elements of policy, thereby incorporating these discursive
UHNHVWKHLUHPHQVHUHWPLDVLQDQVWLRQ

potential to empower grass-roots actors, but it is often left to the initiative and creativity of down state power, policy texts can also disempower by limiting space for interpretation, and ultimately two sides of the same coin, or whether one should ultimately be seen as more crucial to understanding contemporary politics.

integrate the study of power and polyphony: if policies and legal texts are seen as fragments of the text is read, and thus see whether the way it is interpreted is actually governed by

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- HVRS *HSROLWFLVLQJGHSROLWFLVDWLRQWKHRUHWLFDOSUHOLPLQDULHVROVRPHUHVSRQVHV*
BHULFDQYFDODQG(XUR]ROHGHEWF *Politics* YROQRSS±
- RKQVRO' & *WKQRJUDSKRIODQJXDJHSROLF* *Language Policy* YROQRSS±
- RKQVRO' & *DLanguage Policy3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQDVLQJVWRNH*
- RKQVRO' & *ARVLWLRQLQJWKHODQJXDJHSROLFDUELWHURYHUQPHQWDOLWDQGIIRRWLQJLQWKH*
6KRROLVWULFWRI3KLODGHOS *Education policies in education: Critical issues* QGHG
- : *7ROH* *VOHGHRS*±
- BOHUDG* *DOH* *DMRQSW* *NODQU* *PPDWL* *BOPHWDSK* *EN*
HQHW *BLWLKSR* *LPDM* *Discourse & Society* YROQRSS±
- . *UJ* *QZRZVNL* *AROLF* *SROLFFRPPXQLFDWLRQDOGGLVFXUVLYHVKLIWV* *DO* *LOJ* *(SROLF*
GLVFRXUVH *RQ* *FOLPDWH* *FKDQJH* *Q* *genres in political communication: Theory and*
practice *HGV3* *&DS* *SNXOVND* *-RKQ* *MDPLQV* *SVWHUGDPSS*±
- . *UJ* *QZRZVNL* *RGDN* *AROLF* *WLFDOVWUDWHJLHV* *DQ* *GODQJXDJHSROLFLHVWKH* *(XURSHDQ* *LRQ*
/LVERQVWUDWHJ *DQGLWVPSOLF* *DWLRQVIRUWKH* *(* *ODQJXDJH* *DQ* *GPXOWL* *OLVPSOLF*
Policy YROQRSS±
- / *HYLQVRO* *WWRQ* *:LQV* *WHDG* *GF* *FDWLRQDOSROLFDVDSUDFWLFRISRZHU* *KHRUHWLFD* *DO*
WRROHWKQRJUDSKLFPHWKRGVGHPRFUD *WLRQ* *Y* *YROQRSS*±
- / *LSVN* *0* *Street-level bureaucracy: dilemmas of the individual in public services* *WK*
DQQLYHUVDUH *[SDQGHG* *XV* *HO* *DJH* *RXQGDWLRQ* *IHZRUN*
ODOH *ODQJXDJH* *RIWKH* *ODZ* *Q* *Language and the law* *HG* *-* *EEERQV* */RQJPDQ*
DUORZSS±
- OHOLQ* *Ru* *The language of the law* */LW* *OH* *URZQ* *&* *R* *WWRQ* *S*
OXOGHUULJ *-* *UDQXIDFWXULQJ* *FRQVHQD* *FRUSXVEDVHG* *FULWLFDO* *GLVFRXUVH* *DQDOVLV* *RI* *IHZ*
/DERXU *HG* *FDWLRQDO* *JRYHU* *Q* *ED* *Y* *Educational Philosophy and Theory* YROQR
SS±
- DYVNL* *D* *QJXDJHSROLFLQWLPHDQGVDFH* *Q* *Discursive approaches to language policy,*
HGMUD *RU* *U* *VOHGHRS*±
- DM* *EDOM* *HLOD* *HSRLE* *D* *DOLWDQ* *W* *LQ* *Q* *MUPH*
GRH *Y* *Language Policy* YROQRSS±
- 6KW* *J* *European Constitutional Law* , Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- ROQ* *Analyzing public discourse: Discourse analysis in the making of public policy,*
5 *VOHGHRS*
- WR* *S* *BLSDUDGR* *KH* *DU* *WR* *BL* *BOGHEM* *DN* *QHG* *:EWR*
HEN
- 7LHUR* *D* *Legal language* *Q* *LYHUVLWRI* *&* *KLFDJR* *3UHVV* *&* *KLFDJR* */*
ZHUV *PD* *30* *3DUFKPHQWSDSHU* *SL* *[HOV* */DZDQ* *WKH* *WHFKQR* *ROR* *JLHV* *RI* *FRPPXQLFDWLRQ* *KH*
Q *LYHUVLWRI* *&* *KLFDJR* *3UHVV* *&* *KLFDJR* */*
- : *LOOLDPV* *&* *HJDO* *(QJOLVKDQGSODLQODQJXDJH* *LOWURGXFW* *Y* *ROQR* *Cross Cultures* YRO
SS±
- : *LOOLDPV* *&* *HJDO* *(QJOLVKDQGWKHPRGDOUHYROXWLRQ* *Modality in English: Theory and*
description *HGV* *DN* *LH3* *X* *WWLO* *-YDQGHU* *X* *ZHU* *D* *OR* *XWRQGH* *X* *WHU* *H* *UOLQSS*±
- : *RGDN* *JURP* *FRQ* *AF* *WWRFRQVHQVXVKHFRFRQVWUXFWLRQRIDSROLF* *SDSHU* *Q* *European*
Union discourses on un/employment: An interdisciplinary approach to employment, policy-making
and organizational change *HGV* *3* *OXWLJO* **HLVV* *5* *RGDN* *MDPLQV* *SVWHUGDP*
SS±
- : *RDN* *Q* *UG* *W* *L* *Q* *M* *W* *L* *H* *P* *S* *E* *W* *D* *Q* *S* *W* *D* *Q* *W* *H* *U* *P* *Q* *Qualitative*
discourse analysis in the social sciences *HGV* *5* *RGDN* *0* *UJ* *QZRZVNL* *3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQ*
DVLQJVWRNHSS±
- : *RGDN* *The discourse of politics in action: Politics as usual* *3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQIHZRUN*
- : *RGDN* *The politics of fear* , Sage, London.

:RGDN5)DLUFORXJK1FHFRQWH[WXDOL]LQJ(XURSHDQKLIKHUHGXFDFWLRQSROLFHV7KHFDVHV
RIWVWULDDQG5RPDQKDFical Discourse StudiesYROQRSS±
:RGDN5UJ)QRZVNL0)RUFKWQHU%KH LQWHUSOD\RI ODQJXDJH LGHRORJLHV DQG
contextual cues in multilingual interactions: Language choice and code-switching in European
BRWLWLVQ Language in SocietyYROQRSS±
DQRZCconducting interpretive policy analysis DJH3XEOLFDWLRQVKRXVDQG2DNV&\$

SVHWVRXWIRUPRGHUQVRFHLWLVHVPHPRUVKDUHGERPPXQLFDWLRQLVWVKHREMHFW
 RI D PQHPRWHFKQLFDO ODERXU GLYLVLRO 6KDUHG PHPRUVL 6DUULHG 6LQVWLWXWLRQ
 professions and institutions, by special semiotic materialisations, such as street names,
 PHVQDQPHRLDODUKLMMKQKXHUZKDUHGPHPRV
 LWKHPVSDUWUHPHPEUDRHPHPEUDHODUDOLWS7KLKRGWUM
 for the most part of political commemoration, in cases in which witnesses of the
 times participate in the commemoration as survivors, or provide testimonies and recall their
 SHUROH[SHULHVVHDWGHDOBLWLBORPHPRDWLROUWHGLQQLGBO
 DQEGLOHQDMDGRHGHDENDDQLGBOQDWEXLQHGHDEN
 QUUDWHGGMLEHGdqH[SODLHGSDWHMVLORPQWLMOPHGLDWHGSDW7KLV
 fact is often covered or confused by rhetorical devices, such as the historically expanded
 RWKHKLWRLBOPKHMGRLEPHWRLEPWRSDO
 WUDHODWLRBOSLWLBOPHQLWRORPQWWDWLEQSHSHURMMUDO
 centuries, or that suggests living members of an alleged national collective have
 SDUWLESDWHGLQHWKDWWRDHFHQKLDHDSH&OOLD5HLLDLHEKDUW
 SSu

7KHLVHUDWLMWLRBOLWLBORPHPRDWLRODQLQDQZWKDQDOO\
 disintegrative function, for instance, with the function of social exclusion and separation
 URWKHUQWLRBOROHVWLMKLVNUHODWLRQLSEHWZHQQHUDWLRQGLMWHUDWLRQ
 LEDMGWKH-DHGSURKGHQVLRPDLWRGHQVLDQVHOLHEWKR
 MPHQVMPLODULWDQGLuHUHGLWLRQLGLMUPWLRDOLVWKHUVKH
 latter is most salient in secessionist nationalism that strives to break apart multiethnic
 SRLWLBOPQVWKHGLMWHUDWLMWLRBOLWLBORPHPRDWLROULDH
 DORHLMDS

WULSDUWLWHWLRQWKUSRLWLBORPHPRDWLRLNDWUHDGKHUHGE
 RHURKRUHKKHUHDUHZKLVWULDGLWLRQHODWHWVKHWKUHHEDMF
 GLPHQVLP7KHVWLRPHWLPDNGH[SOLEWOLRPHPRDWLMSHHKHV
 SUHMGHQVKHDMUWRWLVDDMGDUQWKHDLBO-DQVWKWHQK
 WQVLHWKVLHWKHVHQUPLOOHQVHWKQVHEPMLKLMSSHDUV
 WEHDQPSRWDQPRHQVQKHSDWBSRLWLBORPQWWDWLEWKLHDDQ
 LWUWVKHSUHMVQDQKH

7KHQVUDOSRLWLBOPHPRDWLRODQLWLBORPHPRDWLROKHSRLWRPHPRDWLRO
 XSEWDRPDPHEHNSRLWLBODWLRQLVWQGHWRKHDWWDKW
 commemoration is usually a consent-orientated political practice aiming to strengthen
 political cohesion and that the orators are often politicians with an integrative role, such as
 presidents and chancellors. Commemoration represents and sustains a political culture; in
 our times and European latitudes, a democratic culture, in former times, a monarchic culture,
 RRHWLPHDGLWDWELKSHLDQHUPDQLQKHHUPDQPRDWLHSHKOLF
 RPHPRDWLROHHEHRRPQWLRQLWVUPVHESRLWLBQ
 UOHVGHPRDWLHSHVQDQVRLWLBODONHNSRLWLBODWLRQLHSHQH
 NUHLQVWMDULWDLGDULWRHUDWLRPQVSHDHQMMWF

Commemorative speeches

7KHFPPHPRUDWLYHVSHHFKIRUPVWKHEDVLFVSHRIFRPPQLFDWLRQWKDWDOORVIRUFU
 WRUHPHPEUDQFHSDUWLFDDUHDGLQJRIWKHSDVWLQWKHFRQWHVWRIDULWDLVH
 ,WIRUPVDFRQVHQWRULHQWDWHGVKJHQUHRISROLWLFDOVSHHFKDQGLVORFDWHGLC
 formation of public attitudes, opinions and will.

7KHJHQUHVWUXFWXUHRIFRPPHPRUDWLYHVSHHFKHVLVRIWHQFRQOHFWHGZWKSDWWH
HSLGHLFWLFJHQUHHSFRUGLQJWRDQFLHQWUKHWRULFWKHHSGLGHLFWLFJHQUHUHODWHVW
GHPRQVWUDWLRQ WKH UHHNpRIGrikós PHDQV GHPRQVWUDWLRQJMKRZLQJRI
SUDLVHZRUWK RUEODPHZRUKVRFLDODQGSROLWLFDOEXWDOVRUKHWRULFDOYDOXHV
)UpGHULFDVZHOODVWKHGHPRQVWUDWLRQRIWKHVSHDNHUUKHWRULFDODELOLWDOQ
,QFRQWUDVW WKH IXQFWLRQRI WKH MXGLFLDO JHQUH LV WR SUHSDUH D MXULVGLFWLR
IRFXVLQJ RQ WKH SDVW RI WKH GHIHQGDQW DQG TXHVWLRQV RI LQMXVWLFWH KH SXUSRVH
GHOLEHUDWLYHJHQUHFRQVLVWVLQWKHSUHSDUDWLRQRIDSROLWLFDOGHFLVLRQEDGY
RUGLVVXDGLQJ:KHQDQDOVLQJSDUWLFXODUFRPPHPRUDWLYHVSHHFKHVLWEHFRPHVFC

the genre of commemorative speech shows many features classically attributed to the
HSLGHLWLFSSHK EX WKDW LW UHWDENWKH WKUHH LGHDOWSLDO HQHVQW D
commemorative speech often deals with the problematic past of a political community.
7KXW DODGRWYHOHPHQWKHMSLEDOHQH, WSDUW WKHSRLWLDO SUHMO DQ
WKHLQGHGHOLEHUDWLMHOHPHQWKRPHPRDWMSSHKHUHEHWGHELEHGDV
a generic mix of epideictic, judicial and deliberative elements.

When it comes to the macro-structure of the commemorative speech, we can describe it
with the help of the classical distinction of functional speech sections:

7KHLQUBWLRQRGLKHWDEOLKHWKHQDWEHWHHQKHSHDNUDQKHURKLV
DELHEDQQLDQDQWLDQDQWDLQlutatio KLVSKDWLFWVDUWLVVIROORZHGE
DWWHPSWVWRDWWUDFWWKHOLVWHQHUVLQWHUHVW,QDGLWLRQWKHLQWURGXFWR
VSHHFKIDPLOLDLVHVWKHDGGUHVVHVHZLWKWKHWRSLFDQGRFFDVLQRIFRPPHPRU
IXQFWLRQDOSDUWLVVRPHWLPHVUHDWHGDVDVHSDUDWHVSHHFKVHFWLRQpropositioDQ
DVSDUWRIWKHQDUUDWLRQIGLQJWHLQEULQNS

KHPDLQSDUWRIWKHVSHHFKFRQYHQWLRQDOOFRQVLVWVRIDQDUUDWLYHRUH[SODQD
DPSOLFQWLRQRIWKHLVXHLQTXHVWLRQnarratioZKLFKLVWSLFDOOIROORZHGEDVHFWL
FRQWDLQLQJDUJXPHQVWKDWDUHGHLVJQDWHG WRSHUVXDGHWKHOLVWHQHUVWRD
RSLQLRQargumentatio KH DUJXPHQDWLRQLVFRQVLGHUHG WREH WKHPRVWLPSRUWDQW
VHFWLRQRIWKHPDLQSDUW, WLVFODVLFDOOGLYLGHGLQWRDVXEVHFWLRQDLPLQJW
VRPHWKLQJprobatioDQGDVXEVHFWLRQDUJXLQJDJDLQVVRPHWKLQJQWKLQ
QDUUDWLYH VHFWLRQ DOVR VHUYHV DUJXPHQDWLYH SXUSRVHV KH DUJXPHQDWL

commemorative speeches includes passages dedicated to the political present and future.
7KLMWLRQRQGHSHUHLSWLMDQGLUHWLMHOHPHQWKDWKKGKHOSWRWDLQ
WKHOLWHUHQWGLDULWLGHVLPWLRQGLSWLRQWLRQGLDQZWKWKH
values of the political community.

7KHQOSDUWSSHKperoratioKDVWKHGRXEOHIXQFWLRQRIVXPPDULVLQJWKHPRVW
important claims of the speaker and of re-intensifying the contact between the speaker and
the listeners in order to make them emotionally and cognitively inclined to adopt the
SHDNUSHUSHWLM7KHPDUWHQDNWKHPRQPSKDWLHSHUDWLQKDW
QDOPHQWLRQWKHUPHWHKHODWSDUWQDLQLUHFLMSSHKDWK
DVHNDQSOHDM[KRWDWLQDQDUQMOODM[SUHMMSSHKDWKDV
RWDWLM ZKHQD RHWLPHVRSOLPHQWQDWQDWLQQ WKDNKH
LOONLQUBOLWVWKHMSHHKSDUWLVWRRLQLMWKHOLWHUHQWQWRM WKHP
emotionally.

Spelling out the political functions of commemorative speeches in more detail, a series of
KWLQHLGHVLPWLRQKHPDUHWKHHWDEOLKPHQRKQW
GLDULWLGHVLPWLRQWKHGLSWLRQWLRQGLDQZWK KDW WKHSHDNU
SURMVKHRSOH[DWLQDWWHUQKHPHPRDWMSSHKQHQSHHG
with respect to various tasks, and here again it becomes clear that the commemorative

S6HYHUDOUHPDUNDEOHRPPHPRUDWLYHVSHHFKHVJLYHQLO:HVVHUPDQKDYHIRFXVHG
RQWKHSHULRGR1DWLRQDO6RFLDOLVP5LFDKUGYRQ:HLJVFNHUJYHDVSHHFKRQOD\
RQWKHRFFDVLQRQIRWKHIRUWLHWKDOQLYHUVURIWKHOLEHUDWLRQIURP1DWLRQDO6R

assumed the character of an admonitory speech in empathetic solidarity with the victims of
WKHDWLRQORDOLWGLWDWFKLSDFLWLBONKHHUPDQSHUSHWUDWRDQWKHHUPDQ
SWZU KHW\WKDW WULHG WRIDGH SRLWLBO UHVSLELWDSHO S 7KL V
speech has become a rhetorical and ethical benchmark against which every other speech on
WKHWRLMHDMHGDQHDOXWHGSLLOWRSDKWKHUPRHWKHGLDWUXHHKLMQ
RPEHUEWKHRPHUSUHLGHQVWKHHUPDQDUOLDPHQVKLOOLS-HQHU
WKHBMV\KH\WLHWK DQMUUWKH DQ\H-ZK SERWKHQKWUR
MPEHU WPEHU GLuHUHG RGHUDEOUR:HLNUSHHKMH
.BSHUKPLGWPHQCDNQWWHGHUQ

-HQURPHPRDWLMUHWURHFWLQDNGWKHUHSWVHPSPDWKZWKWKHMLWLP
DWLRQORDOLFQ WKHLU LPPHQMHULQW LQSHG RPQDWLQDQWQLWLF
PHDQGLMUSUHMVDWLQHUUHLQLUHW SHHKMWLQKDW-HQHU
DQGRWLDQSDUWOMVLLQKSHUSHWLMDWLRQORDOLW SHUSHWUDWRVYKH
DLOHGSHHKMHPPHGWHRHODWLMWKHDLLELPHDQWRQVWHWKHQRGDELOLWVKH
KLWRLBOGHMORPHQ7KH,HQHU DMKQWOHDW WVKLQW-HQHU
MMQ UHM DWLRDGHHDUWKDWRPHPRDWLM SHHKHMUHRWDOLPSRWDQR
WKHSEOLFKHUHPRHUHQPRDMHDSHOSDQGRMWDKH
WKHWDWNRDQLOMVDVSHHKHWRWKHUHDWLVWKHUSDUOLDPHQDU\
representatives showed that a commemorative speech is not just a monological piece of

RPQDWLQDQW HUDWLMHQMHMLKHHWKDQHSUHMVDWLMQHW
the room during the speech, and various representatives started to shout spontaneous
KHNLQLDSSUBODW-HQHU7KLMVHUDWLMKDUDFWHURPHPRDWLM SHHK
LWHRQLHG,WEHRHMLWKHSHHKDLODQWKHH[SHWHGQR
the hearers does not follow, or if non-verbal acclamations presupposed as applauding
RLQPDOUHSVUHLPLRUSODHGEUHDWLRMLQ

7KHSRLWLBO RPHPRDWLVKH DWLRQORDOLW GLWDWFKLSLDODQMLQ
SWZUWULDQLOWKHHQVKKHMMUWKHRPHPRDWLRML
EWKHDEMHRRHQDQMHUHPSPDWKZWKWKHDLMLWLPVLOWKHQ
SRLWLEDQULPDULO\SURNG KDOKHDUWHG RMDQULDQHSLELWRE
DWLRQORDOLWELPHVKHKDUGOHMUSKOLQHSUHMGWKHLUHUHWQKDGUGOHMU
asked the surviving victims and their relatives for forgiveness. Most of the commemorative

SHHKHVHSURNGWKHODLPWKDWWULDDQWKH WULDQDGEHMQKHUWMLPR
DLHUPDQDWHU WKHWKHQDHOORUDQDQWRDGHDGHODUDWLQ
-LQKH WULDQDUOLDPHQDQRMG WKHKOW VKH WULDQMLH
:GDNRKOOOLD5HLMDLHEKDUWVWVWHU.DUOSSu:GDNRKOOOLD
5HLM DLHEKDUW SS u GLG WKH SKOLGHDOLQWK WKH WULDQWLRO
RDOLWSDWWDUWWRDQMHDORLHQUH.DQHULWUHKOLQ
WKHMLPRDWLRQORDOLW SHUMWLQCH[WHUPLQWLQURPHPRDWHGZWK
more compassion and regretful apologies based on the recognition of past wrongdoings, and
the perpetrators are named and condemned more clearly.

7KHGLVFWLHPLQUISRLWLBO RPHPRDWLRHVN Harris,
UDLHUODQ DUHDORQMLQKHUWULHZWKDKLKO\$UROHPDWLF
SDWHDQRKWEURLQDRKHH[DPSOHRKNDQKE the
7KKB/LPHDQWU5HFS7DL\$UGRQKOLQDGGUHMDDQDGPLWV the Massacre
WKHMLGLUWPGMLQKHVVRWKHH[DPSOHRKNEWDOR

other countries, we can learn that strong nationalism is one of the principal obstacles to recognition of wrongdoing and the assumption of political responsibility.

designed to visualise both what the schematic interaction structure of a commemorative consecutive processes, and the broken and dotted lines denote the boundaries between the

Commemoration as a multimodal semiotic process and event

commemoration is a complex multimodal ceremony and event that includes visuals, music, from this that the research on the semiotics of political commemoration has to take into

- a. the announcement of the speech event by strategic media activities of political mobilisation
- b. very selective invitation to participate in the commemorative event on the spot;
- c. the preparation of the speech by a team consisting of the orator, advertisers and ghostwriters;
- d. the preparation of the multimodal scenery and place by arranging the frontstage with the *frontstage* and *backstage*
- e. etc.;
- f. the dress rehearsal of the speech performance and the greater communicative event;
- g. the delivery of the speech as a multimodal event that involves verbal and non-verbal aspects and that often shows discrepancies between the written and the oral speech;
- h. event by mass media, the reception of these recorded pieces of commemorative communication, and the reactions to the distributed semiotic pieces in the media.

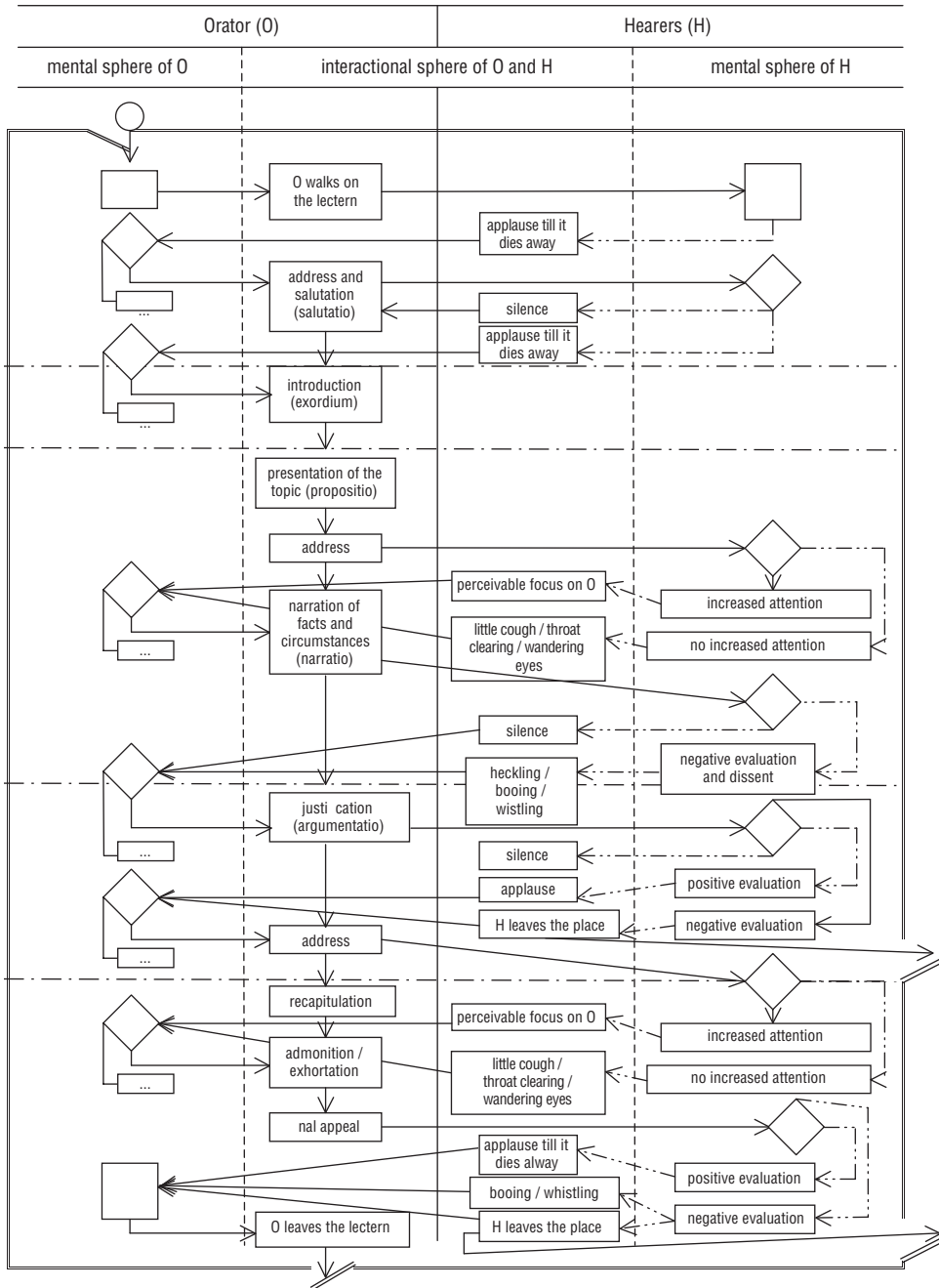


Figure 24.1 (Failing) commemorative speech as linguistic action pattern

hermeneutical powers interfacing with the PLMHQ RDOSHURPDQWKRWKH commemorative speech is usually of crucial importance. Particular semiotic elements, such DSLWKHDCRRHDLVQWLDORHMQRLVQWLDQWKH RPHPRDWLH

BRQJWKHPDQVWXGLHVIRFXVLQJRQVVDWHVVFVKDV\$JHQWLQD\$VWULD(JSW#HUPDQ\
UHDWBLWLDLQ6RXWKBULFDDQG8UXJXDDUHSRHOH]]SRXVQQRXJDODFKLO
EKXJDU\$WKROLVHQB#HWWLXQFDQ(QVLQN(QVLQN6DXHU
HGV .RSSHUVFKPLGW .RKQ 5RVHQEHUJ 0DWXVFKHN 1R\
6DXHU 6WDXGLQJHU :HHGRQ -RUGDQ =LQVPLHU XHWRUHWULFWHG
space, they cannot be discussed in this chapter.

The discourse-historical focus on salient discursive features of
political commemoration

XLQJWKHODVWIHZGHFDGHV/SURSRQHQWVRIWKH\$DYHFDUULHGRWYDULRXGLVFRX\
analytical case studies on political commemoration with respect to public commemoration
LWULDQSDUWODOR#UPDQ#HOMKXUH:GDNDWO:GDNDWO
5HLM:GDNDWO5HLM:GDNDWO
:GDNDNLKDUG#RL#K#W#U#E

JRWKLV#HE#WKH#HWL#DQ#PHWK#L#DQ#SHU#HWL#MH#5HLM :GDN
DOL#W#D#M#EH#H#G#DW#D#K#W#K#L#W#K#H#D#W#L#W#K#H#L#W
W#U#L#D#H#S#K#O#L#E#Q#W#K#H#H#W#U#L#D#H#S#K#O#L#E#W#K#H#D#K#H#R
D#O#H#G#W#D#W#H#7#U#H#D#W#L#W#K#H#L#E#H#U#D#W#L#W#K#H#D#L#M#L#P#M#S#U#L#G#L#W#K#H#W#U#L#D#Q
H#U#D#W#L#D#P#S#D#X#K#D#M#Q#W#K#H#P#L#O#L#W#D#U#P#S#L#W#D#W#L#W#K#H#D#W#L#D#O
R#D#O#L#W#W#K#H#J#W#G#R#H#Q#D#W#L#W#K#H#W#R#R#D#U#V#K#L#W#K#H#H#D#U
UR#K#L#K#W#K#H#Q#P#H#W#U#L#D#L#G#H#U#L#M#G#W#K#H#H#Q#W#P#H#Q#W#K#H#S#H#U#P#D#H#W#U#L#D#Q
H#W#U#D#O#L#W#L#Q#W#U#L#D#W#R#D#W#K#H#R#H#D#R#Q

#R#K#H#H#Q#U#D#O#G#L#M#W#L#D#O#M#G#L#W#K#H#H#S#H#W#L#M#R#P#H#P#R#D#W#L#M#S#H#H#K#H#V
DU#H#W#K#H#U#S#U#H#M#Q#D#W#L#W#U#L#D#Q#Q#W#U#L#D#W#K#H#Q#U#D#W#L#D#Q#W#L#R#O
S#R#L#W#L#D#O#K#L#W#E#W#K#H#U#H#H#U#H#W#R#P#Q#W#L#R#O#D#W#K#H#W#K#H#U#H#H#U#H#W#R#D
Q#W#L#R#O#S#U#H#M#Q#D#Q#W#K#H#D#Q#W#K#H#G#L#M#M#W#U#W#L#D#Q#W#L#R#O#E#S#E
Q#W#L#R#O#W#H#U#L#W#E#E

,D#G#G#L#W#L#Q#W#K#H#H#Q#U#D#O#K#D#U#D#W#H#U#L#W#L#D#Q#H#Q#H#U#H#O#D#W#H#G#H#D#W#K#H#P#H#Q#L#R#G#R
S#S#D#Q#M#D#Q#G#L#M#M#H#D#W#H#V#H#O#D#W#L#Q#R#P#H#P#R#D#W#L#R#Q#M#G
R#Q#K#H#U#S#H#W#L#M#S#E#L#H#D#U#H#D#W#K#H#G#L#M#M#U#S#U#H#M#Q#D#W#L#R#R#L#Q#W#L#R#Q
S#U#H#G#L#W#L#R#D#O#D#W#R#D#Q#E#K#D#O#H#M#Q#D#H#O#D#D#W#L#Q#H#O#D#W#L#Q#R#P#H#P#R#D#W#H#G
H#M#Q#E#D#U#H#Q#D#W#L#R#D#W#W#H#U#Q#H#H#U#L#W#D#M#Q#H#H#H#U#Q#W#K#H
R#P#H#P#R#D#W#H#G#H#M#Q#W#U#R#R#D#O#S#D#W#W#H#U#M#P#S#O#R#G#L#R#G#H#U#W#G#L#M#M#O#G#H#D#O#Z#W#K

the commemorated past and to construct or represent historical changes and continuities.

7#K#H#D#Q#M#W#K#H#R#P#H#P#R#D#W#L#M#U#S#U#H#M#Q#D#W#L#R#D#O#D#W#R#D#Q#H#M#Q#E#U#L#W#R
the fore a series of nomination and predication strategies employed for the depiction of
M#Q#H#Q#W#L#R#O#O#L#P#S#E#W#D#Q#L#Q#L#G#O#V#R#L#Q#W#K#H#U#P#Q#W#L#R#O#K#H#U#H#Q
K#L#Q#H#D#P#S#O#H#E#S#U#R#H#U#Q#P#H#R#L#P#Q#S#E#W#L#M#Q#W#L#R#O#D#W#W#U#L#E#W#H#K#H#Q#W#L#R#O
in-group and various out-groups are further represented by collective nouns, toponyms,
U#H#O#D#W#L#R#O#D#Q#K#U#R#R#D#H#O#D#G#H#L#W#L#K#H#D#Q#P#Q#D#Q#S#K#R#L#S#U#
K#D#M#K#H#E#K#D#O#S#R#O#R#P#H#P#R#D#W#L#R#Q#W#K#H#W#L#R#H#U#W#D#L#Q#L#W#L#D#O

events, actions and processes are named, for instance, whether a historical turning point is
Q#P#H#G#D#P#L#E#H#U#D#W#L#R#D#W#L#R#G#H#H#D#W#K#H#W#K#H#U#D#Q#K#H#U#W#K#O#R#O#L#Q#P#H#G#D#V
R#D#U#R#O#M#Q#W#L#R#D#S#E#M#D#Q#D#W#L#R#H#G#L#W#L#M#G#L#Q

commemorative semiosis are analysed with respect to national auto- and hetero-stereotypes.

D#Q#U#R#H#Q#D#W#L#R#D#W#W#H#U#Q#P#O#I#K#D#Y#H#E#H#Q#L#G#H#Q#W#L#H#G#L#Q#W#K#H#D#E#R#Y#H#P#H#Q#W#L#R#Q#H#G
X#V#W#U#L#D#Q#F#D#V#H#V#W#X#G#L#H#V#K#H#D#U#H#H#P#S#O#R#H#G#L#Q#R#U#G#H#U#W#R#M#X#V#W#L#I#V#S#H#L#F#F#O#D#L#P#V#U#H#J#D#U#G#I

increased international migration, because the multitude of ethnic and cultural backgrounds political commemoration is becoming more and more important.

of political commemoration, non-verbal communication can have as much impact as verbal communication, and that music may sometimes trigger an unexpected non-verbal gesture of speeches and their interaction patterns, discourse topics, nominations, predications, argumentation schemes and tropes.

as well as good practices of political

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When saying sorry isn't enough: The controversy over apologies and reparations
Gedenken im
Zur diskursiven Konstruktion
blame
Discourse Studies

XUNKHLPeThe elementary forms of religious life)UHH3UHVVIHZRUN
(IH,)RUFKWQHULQJVRUULQXUNHKHHUVLPPDVVDFUHRIWKHVLOQ

Journal of Language and PoliticsSS±

(QVLQN 7FVROYLQJ DQWDJRQLVWLF WHQVLRQV RPH GLVFRXUVH DQDOWLF UHNFWLROV RO YHUEDO
FRPPHPRUDWLYHSURFHVVHVLQand memory. Confronting traumatic pasts. An international
comparisonHGV5RGDNXHURUHD3DVVDJHQ9LHQDSS±

(QVLQN0XHU&HGV The art of commemoration. Fifty years after the Warsaw Uprising,
HMDPLQWHUGDPDQKLODGHOSKLD

FKWHEU DHistoria magistra vitaeKH topos of history as a teacher in public struggles

MUMODQWKHUUSUHMQDWLRCContemporary studies in Critical Discourse Analysis, eds.
DUWBSORREBS±

FKWHEU&KHWELM&SHSHQWHHQDLPLPRDOXHULRLWVKUKDGPLM
SDWZQRQMemory StudiesSS±

RuPDQ(The presentation of self in everyday life QFKRURRNVIHZRUN

DOEZFVKV0/DPpRLUHFROOHFWLYHDELQ0LFKHO3DULV

DOEZFVKV0/HVFDGUHVVRFLDX[GHODPpRLUDELQ0LFKHO3DULV

DUULVQDLQJHU. 0XOODQXKH SUDJPDWLFVRISROLWLFDODSORR JLHVQDiscourse &
SocietySS±

DVSHOQ HGHQNUHGHQ Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik (HWRh). Band 3. Unter
Mitwirkung von zahlreichen Fachgelehrten herausgegeben von Gert Ueding1LHPHUUQLQJHQ
SS±

.HOOQHUMedia spectacle RXWOHGJH/RQGRQDQGIHZRUN

.RKQRVHQEHUJ&ROODSVLQJZDOOVDQGWKHTXHVWLRQRIFRPPHPRUDWLRQJUDvWLLQWKH
,VUDHOLZLWKGUDZDOXJXVWocial SemioticsSS±

.RSSHUVFKPLGW- guHQWOLFKH HGHQHXWVFKODQGH EHUOHJXQJHQ JXUSROLWLVFKHQKHWRULN
PLWOLFNDXIJZLHGHQNUHGHQPLHXWVFKHQXQGMWVDFacheSS±

.RSSHUVFKPLGW- uEHU GLH QIKLJNHLW JX IHLHUQ OJHPHLOH XQG VSHJLYFKH GHXWVFKH
KZLHULJNHLWHQPLWGHU HGHQNUKHWRULNQorhetorik. Zu Theorie, Geschichte und
3UD[LVGHU(SLGHUWLRSSHUVFKPLGWFKDQJH)LQNOQFKHQSS±

.RVHOHFN5HLVPDQQ0 Der politische Totenkult: Kriegerdenkmäler in der Moderne,
LKK

HVQLGHU1 Holocaust and memory in the global ageHPSOHQLYHUVLW3UHVV
Philadelphia.

LQ QKHXVHHLQMKLOOLS-HQHUKMPEHUNGLH
Folgen/LW0QVWHU

ODUJDOLW\$ (WKLNGHU(ULQQHUXQJ0D[RUNKHLPHU9RUOHVXQJHQ)LVFKHU)UDQNIXUWDP0DLQ
0DWXVFKHN6 Epideiktische Beredsamkeit. In: Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik (HWRh).

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LHPHUU7ELHSS±

HOOQDQu0 RPHPRDWLRQWSDHPPRPDQLGHQVLWLSQHDH
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HUULQUQWWDONLWLNQGHKRLKWSRLWLKHOLEHUDWLNHLMQ
GHUWUOLQU5HSKOLNQue NS-Diktatur im deutschen ErinnerungsdiskursHG:HUJHP96
IURJLDOZLVVHQVFKDIWHQ2SODGHQSS±

0HHU (Erinnerungskultur 2.0: Kommemorative Kommunikation in digitalen Medien,
DPSMDQWDPDLQGHEN

M* Die Nationalisierung der Massen. Von den Befreiungskriegen bis zum Dritten
Reich&DPSXV)UDQNIXUWDP0DLQDQDQGIHZRUN

IR&WFLXODWLOJVSDFHVLOQVFULELQJVSDFHVDQGLPPRELOLWLHVLODQ,VUDHOLFRPPHPRUDWLYH
YLVVLRUERRNsocial SemioSS±

2OLFN - . HG WDWHV RI PHPRU&ROWLQXLWLHV FROAFVW DQG WUDQVIRUPDWLRQ LQ QDWL
retrospectionXNHQLYHUVLW3UHVVXUKDPI&

5DXHU 9 PREROV LQ DFWLRQ :LOOV DQGV NQHHDOD DW WKH :DUVDZHPRULDOQ, *dial performance. Symbolic action, cultural pragmatics, and ritual* HGV- & DH[DQGHU HVHQ -DWPEULGHMULWVHEPEULGHSS±

5HLMQDKUH=ZLWH5HSEKOLNGLMMQUNWLGSHUWHUUHLKLRHQ ,GHQLWILWLSLWLKHHGHNGHGHQ *Leitwörter in der Politik – Kontinuitäten und Brüche,* HGDQKODKHQSS±

5HLMQDKUHgWHUUHLK LQWLROHUWKKPpHQVOKKHGHNGHU =ZLWHGWHUUHLKLRKHSEKOLNQHWHWUKHWELNKKHRLHFKLKWHEB[LV *der Epideiktik* HGV-.RSSHUVFKPLGWFKDQJH) LQNOQFKHQSS±

HLVLJO0 *Nationale Rhetorik in Fest- und Gedenkreden. Eine diskursanalytische Studie zum 'österreichischen Millennium'* LQHDKUHQGDHGHQTELHQ

5HLMQDKHWEILBLWLBOSSHKKHQ *Handbook of communication in the public sphere* HQGERRNVRISSOLHG/LQJXLVWLVFV9ROXPH HGVSRGDN 9.ROOHUORXWRQGH EXWHUHUOLQDQGIHZRUNSS±

HLVLJO 0 BRNHQ VLOHQFH EULGJLQJ EUHDNV KH GLVFXUVLYH FROVWUXFWLRQ RI KLVWRULFDQ FROWLQXLWLHV DQG WXUQLOJ SRLQV LQ VWULDQ FRPPHPRUDWLYH VSHHFKHV EHPSORLQJ U WURSHV *Justice and memory. Confronting traumatic pasts. An international comparison,* eds. 5:GDNUKHDLHQDMS±

5HLMQEDNKHGLNMKLWRLBODSSURKIQ *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* QGUHYLVHGHGLWLRQHGVSRGDN00HHUQJH/RQGRQKRXVDQGD2DNV1HZ HOKLSS±

EFXU3 *Memory, history, forgetting* QLYHUVLWRI&KLFDJR3UHVV&KLFDJR,/ DXHU&FKRHVIURPDEURDGVSHHFKHVIRUWKHGRPHVWLFDXGLHQFHXHHQHMDWUL[V DGGUHVV WRWKH,VUDHOLSDUOLDPHQWQ *Political speeches* HG&6KluQHUOXOWLOLQJXDO0DWWHUW /WG&OHYHGRQSS±

WDXGLQJHU \$UFK HGHQNIHLHUQ JHOHJHQWOLFK JXU 9HUJHVHOKHLW HPSRUJHKREHQ < QPHUNXQJHQ JXU)XONWLRQYRO HGHQNDJHQXQG JXUJUDVVLHUHQGHQ-XELDQXPVKLVWRULH literarische Umgang der Österreicher mit Jahres- und Gedenktagen, ed. W Schmidt-Dengler, gGDRKHUHUODLHQSS±

7RLQUDQPLQWLROKRLGDVGHQLWGLNMLQKH:HWDQNKODMF NULHQ *Critical Discourse Studies*SS± HGLQJWHLQEULQN *Grundriß der Rhetorik. Geschichte – Technik – Methode,* 4th ed. Metzler, Stuttgart and Weimar.

KO +RHUWHQHU KDQ GHU HHOWLWHQUDHQHLW gWHUUHLK LP .QH[W GHU 7UDQPDWLRQHGHVIRILKHHQIGIKWQMLQ *Arbeit am europäischen Gedächtnis* HGV 9.QLJJH +9HHQ 8IKOHUW)- 6KOLFkwLQJ *Diktaturerfahrungen und Demokratieentwicklung* KODX.QQ:HLPDUDQGG9LHQDSS±

YRQ3ROHQJ3 PHUGQQWH6UDFKNXOWXUDV-HQQLQJHUQGURPLQVSUDFKNULWLWVFKHU6FKW Deutsche SpracheSS± :HHGRQ & -RUGDQ *ROOHFWLYH PPHRUWKHRUDQGSROLWLVFV Social Semiotics SS±

:BDN LWFVWKH PDNKH PDNKLWV(7KH HUPDQHKUPDKWLQ ROHWLMDQLQLGNO PPHRLHVWULD Journal of Language and Politics HGV NKRMQRPDHUWELWLBOOLEWLSHUSHWMLMLQWKWUDKDWLSDWV SS±

:BDN *The discourse of politics in action: Politics as usual* QGHG3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQ BVLQJVWRNH

:RGDN EFKDUGVRQ-(PQWKHSROLWLVFVRIUHPPEHULQJRUQRW Critical Discourse StudiesSS±

:RGDN EFKDUGVRQ-(PQWKHSROLWLVFVRIUHPPEHULQJRUQRW Advances in Critical Discourse Studies HGV - EFKDUGVRQ 0.U]DQRZVNL'ODFKLQ 5RGDN RXWOHGJH /RQGRQSS±

:RGDN 5 GH & LOOLD 5 HLVLJO 0 /LHEKDUW . . DUJO 0 RIVWIWWHU . Zur diskursiven
Konstruktion nationaler Identität & KUNDPS)UDQNIXUWDP0DLQ
:RGDN 5 GH & LOOLD 5 HLVLJO 0 /LHEKDUW. The discursive construction of national
identity OGHG(GLOEXUJK Q LYHUVLW 3 UHVV(GLOEXUJK
:RGDN 5 HQJ) 0LWWHQ 3 WHUQ) LH6UDFKHQGHU 9HUJDQJHQKHLWHQ güHQWOLFKHV
Gedenken in österreichischen und deutschen Medien & KUNDPS)UDQNIXUWDP0DLQ
=HUXEDYHO< Recovered roots. Collective memory and the making of Israeli national tradition,
& LD 0 M U W B H K L D R
=LH0HU0QHUL0VHU: Österreichisches Gedächtnis. Über Erinnern und Vergessen
der NS-Vergangenheit OGHG K ODX9LHQOD & RORJQHDQG: HLPDU
=LIRQXQ' Gedenken und Identität. Der deutsche Erinnerungsdiskurs & DPSXV)UDQNIXUWDP
ODLQIHZRUN
=LQVPDLHU 7 SLGHLNWLN]ZLVFKHQ\$UPDWLRQXQG\$WLVWLNLHDQWLNHKHRULHGHUIHLHUQGHQ
HIGHLPKLVWRULVFKHQ\$XIU L 0 W X Q G)HVWUKHWRULN=X KHRULH H V F K L F K W H X Q G 3 U D [L V G H U
Epideiktik HGV-.RSSHUVFKPLGWFKDQJH)LQN0XQLFKSS±

Mediatisation and political language

Michael Higgins

Introduction

Concerns over the relationship between media and politics have echoed over much of the ODWHQV\$HPDUNWKDWLFDOLQLOHDWDLWWEWKHQZKXHGWNKXZOG EHRHWKHLQHKDQHWKLDHHPDQDOOHWRKXQHWVRDV media on the fortunes of politicians and to its supposed preference for demeanour over PDWWHUWWDH-DPLHQUDQLQHLEHDEPHULQQPLF between the politicians, their communications advisers, industry lobbyists and media RDDQWLDOOYRHHWKHSDNLQRLWLESKOLNSWLQ 7KHMHuRWWEHKDSHSLWLDUHDSDUWLDQUSQWRURBGHURDODQKWDOKDQV including the development of media platforms, as well as changing public attitudes. Corner DQHQVHEHVKHLQHDMDQHHULPHOHEULWDQDEMLO the mediation of politics, where voter disengagement and disillusionment is countered using WKHWHKQKRLWLDOPDUNWLDMDQWKHSRLWLDQUDHDOPLQHWKHEKQGHQ WRDODUNWVHWUHHWMLQKLPGLDWHGSRLLWLEHUSRQWR WKHWHULQKHSRLWLEDQDPHGLDWHGSHUHQKPHGLQSHURPDQWKDW align with dominant political values and trained to pander to expectations around popular DSSHODQHUWUHHW

DULNPDQHDQGLMDQMKDMONGDWWKHSKOLELNR Q/HPSEDU\SRLLWFKHMUDHURWKH HMUGD\SUDPDWLNSRLWLBO SHHK :LOWWKHLQHQDMBOUKHWRLDUWLQWULK KRDUMDWHGZWKRLWLDOLMDQMKDMKWWNHSSDHZWK the tactical dynamics of political language, from its articulation with various national LGHQWLWLYLQEDNW DO WRWWUDWHLDOLPHQZWKSRLLF KKWQU.UDE:RDDQMUHDWHUSURRWLQ[SNHWR SRLWLEDQWKUKKULKPHGLDSODWRPQDDOKKWWRI[DPLQKZ political language and practice has reshaped to accommodate the imperatives of mediation, WHQWKDWKDMDOWHUHGQGLPLQKHGWKHEONRRLWLDQGLMDLUOK :EDN

7KH FKDSWHU ZOO SURFHGG DV IROORZ 7KH UVW VHFWRU GLVFXVHV WKH UROH RI PH
 YLVLELOLWYQWKHSROLWLFDOUHDOPDQGLWVUHODWLRQVKSZWKWKSHUVRQDOLVDWLF
 LV IROORZIG E'D GLVFXVLRQ RI WKH XVHIXOQHVV RI PHGLDWLVDWLRQLO XOGHUVWDQG
 GQPLEHHEHWZHSLWLBOGLNMDQPHGLDORVHUWKLWVOLFWKH
 PHGLDLP SHUDWLMKDELOLWYQWUHODWLRQLSZWKHUVWLRQOLDWLRQPHGLD
 discourse. We then look at how this is manifest in language and representation across a
 number of political contexts, starting with an example of the televised performance of
 MHLWVWDDLWDPRHQVLRQSLWLBOGGUHKLMVONGEDGLR
 VKHSURVLRQVHWDWLVKHSSLVPHGLD SHURPSLWLEDGLV
 -RUVHGLSHURQOLMGDQDVLSQLWLBOWHUPVWDEZOOMHUHPDLQ
 HQUDEOHVVKHSSKSHUHGLUHWLVKNDPHGLMVKHODW WKH
 LWLWVLRQGLEMMVKHSDUWQHDVWDDLQWUDWHLHUVWLRQOLDWLRQ
 directed towards the playful destabilisation of the political lexicon, allied with intertextual
 UHHUHVWSSODUQWKH, QWKH ODW MVLSQLWLBO GHEDWHVH[DPLQWKH
 SHURPDVHFWLMHPSDWKQMHWDWVLDORELQWLRQSLWLBOQQSRDU
 language co-ordinated with an embodied dis-alignment from political conventionality in
 favour of association with the audience.

Mediated visibility and political personality

7KRPSVRO GHSORVWKHWHUPPHGLDWHGYLVLELOLWVWKHOSXOGHUVWDQGRKZ
 WKHVHVWUXOHVRIUHSUHVHQWDWLRQWDNHSDOFHSDNHSDUWRIWKHSHSHULHQFH
 7KRPSVROPHGLDWHGYLVLELOLWVHIHUVWRDFRQJWDWLRQRISKOLFHSRVVHDPURQG
 which mediation takes prominence over co-presence. Public space is constituted and
 SRDWHG WKUWKHWHKQRHGLDOHDMSQLWLBOKHVQLMEWKHLUMV
 LDEULWLDQMLPDHSSHDOVKRSNDSESKDOH[DPSOHR
 WDLQLOHGKODUWLVNDWHGWBUGLWVHESLHQDQWKHZGHUPHGLDDLHKLQV
 DWWKHMOOPHESUBOLQVLPDWDGLWDEVKRSWKDWKDM
 become essential across an increasing range of media platforms.

MHUKDSRVHGWLOHURHQVGRQLWGHGPHGLDMELOLWVKH
 focus is on the expressive capabilities of politicians and political institutions and the
 DGHVWKHLUPHGLD SHURPDVHUVKHSDWHZHGHMSDUWLVNDUWUHHW
 S LGHQLHVMEHWZHSHURQOLDWLRQSRDUQWKH DWDWLRQ
 SRLWLEDQWKWKH SHURPDWLVMSUDWLVHVOHEULWVWKH VIZOO MHK
 SHURPDVHUVHDDPDWHGLQEHUHMVWLBOQHWKDOMMODMOODNDQ
 DQDNDQVNDNLQDQHWHQWKUKPGRVUDWLRQ
 LDWLVVVKHZLVWHQGDLUOK7KLDVWVWUHSHUWRUHRVWVLRQ
 DSSURULDWHDWLWLVHVSUGDQGHVDDQRUHMVWQVQDQRHULQ
 MULMHUHHMPVLRQHPSPDWKQUS

Mediatization and politics

PHGLDVLVDWLRQ\$URYLGHVDXHIDRIFRQFHSWQOLVLOQJWKLUVUHODWLRQVKSZWKWKSHUVRQDOLVDWLF
 DOGPHGLD, WVEDVLVLVWKDWPHGLDORJLFFHUVLVHVJURZQJDXWKRULWRYHUWKHRUJ
 SULQFLSOHVRIRHYHUGDOLYHV(VVHU6WUPEIFN MDUYDUG\$FRUGLQJWR
 ODROHQLDOG6FKQ\$WKHSROLWLFDOFRQVHTXQFHVRIPHGLDVLVDWLRQHPHUUH
 KHOSROLFLHVDOGLQORYDWLRQVSURFHGGWRWKHVVDJHRI\$KOLFLWVQGLGHVWV
 candidates are presented to the political polity. Whatever the ideological, economic or social

basis for backstage political decisions, the proposal is that their shape and delivery will be determined by the organising principles of media rather than those of politics, and this will internalised the expectations of media, and laud the demands of news value as professional presentational styles of the medium involved.

measure of commitment to party histories and core beliefs, as well as a formal obligation in setting and pursuing agendas, any power is curtailed by sets of technical, conventional example, the formalised practices of turn-taking and audience participation are negotiated between producers and political representatives, with close attention to the rules governing

Media sociability and the conversationalisation of political discourse

digital and social media come to prominence, there emerges an increasing variety of media platforms through which political and other types of information may be drawn, each part of the everyday experience of technology, the obligation for mediated discourse to be

these expectations, the imperatives of sociability are aided by a shift in style towards what conversationalisation to be apparent to those listening or watching, they often need

conversationalisation to be apparent to those listening or watching, they often need

Developing this association between conversationalisation and the predominance of the
LBPDPDUDHDKDUWVKHULMUDWLBDOWNNSDUWHOHWLRURBGWV
URWKHNDWHQZWKDQOQBIDUHQWKDWGLNMSURHGHGHV

on the basis of communicating policy intentions and bureaucratic ordinances than on the
SUGNLRPDUNUDPWNOOSRWLMH[KDHEGLQBDUH DUNV
SSWKDWHDWKHDDWDHGWZKRPDOLWKMORDERDWHGKUDMV
GLUHWHGWBUGWVKHOLWHQUDDOODWKNGLNMPDUNUWH[WBOPOHUK
DPHDLuULQDWDHGWZKSWDGHKHK

HWHQSRWLWLBONUDHGHSHQSRWDVQWLDWLWKLRRPDOLW\
with a necessary attitude of authority. Mediated strategies of conversationalisation therefore
HPHUHLSDUDOOHOZWKDGLSODRRLWLBDOOH[LHEHQBBDWHWKHSUHMVHUZWK
SRLWLBDODHVDQRSHWHQ,QLHZWKKHDUOLHUUHPDUNRRLWLBDHOHEULW\
DLUOKSDQLLQHWKDWWKHMHWLDWLQDLQMWKH
SHURPOLWIRWKHSUHMVHU DVEURGDWHU RELQOSURMRO UHQDQ
SHURPDQZWKWKHLVWLWLRPOLPSHUDWLMMWKHSUEDPPHDQEPDW, WULQR
LGHQWLWKHODRHSWVWHUWKDWQHUSLQKLSHUROLDWLBDUHSSRQV
WRDQLHDMG H[SUHMVWDH DQPDWLQWWLWGHVON M&HPHVR
DMPHQVKLOHDEHURVKHMWDNWKHHSLSWHPLRPWKDWPDEHH[SHWHGR
LRPDWLQDGHQRLWLBDGLNMPDQUH DOPWWLWGLQOQLQHSRWLQSHURO
DWLWLSHVHHOLQRH H[WHV SHUROLDWLBDVPSRWHG SHURPDWLWVQHV
alien to early broadcasting into political journalism – aggression dominating over sociability,
RH[DPSOHKCLKDMMHQVOGHMORHGDQHLWLPDWHGRPRHGLDGLNM
QDPDQLQ

Mediated political sincerity

6RKRZRWKHTDOLWLHVDVVRFLDWHGWZKFRQYHUVDWLRODOLVDWLRODLGHSROLWLF
JHVVWKDWIROORZ[HPSOLIDFRQYHQWLRODOSROLWLFDOULWDOVVDWHPHQWVLVVM
OHDGHUVRODWUDJHGRIQDWLRODOFRQVHTMQFH6KKULWDOVDUHFUHDWVHVHRIPHGLD
YHUMVVHQFDQGRUVWLQVHHVVKHVHSEOLFVWDWHPHQWVDVSVHGRHYHQWVQL
VROHOWREHEURDGFVWRREYHUWKHDOVRDPRQWWRDFRPPQLFDWLYHDFWRIWULEM

placing on record the personal torment of those in political power on occasions of collective
PQQQWKDMWKH\GUDZQVKH DULNVUDGLWLNSRLWLBDOSHNDQ
GHVLEHGE\OLHDQDQDDQLQKLNHSSUHSVWLMDQQLQGHWKH
communicative intentions of those press conferences discussed by Ekström and Eriksson
also in this collection.

7KHWDWHPHQVONWGDWHURDQDUHEWKHRLPHLQWUHU-KQMRDQ
HDGHUWKHSSRWLQDLDUWDONQQHSVWVKHHPKGHURDEHUR
SULPDURKLOGUHQQWKHLUWHDKHULQKHWRQDQVNDNHGHOOLSMDUH
used to mark pauses, a colon indicates the stretching of a sound or word, and underlining
PDUMKHSHDNUMPSKDMV

- 0 :PHWDBEHURVKHSDWLHVRHHRKRDGEHHQUMMUHO\
LQMHGDQWKHIDUHLQmarkDEORKKDSHDQWKHUHQKRWKDWWKH\
KDGWKHPWUWPHQWUHDWPHQDQ,DGHOLKWHGWRHKHUHWKLRQO
- 4 ZWK7QR[SUHVur thanks to themRWKHEVWKDWWKHHPGR

- 5 7% ,KDUHDOOWKMMQLPHQVMO\LUHO,WKLEZHUHEW\KWUWVKH
 KWHH[WUDRGLQUHGHLBWLKHKLWDOWDuKHUHWKHHDWKHKDMKNGDV
- 7 DWHDPLSDUWUUKLSWRWKHUDQWKGHGLBWLKHSBLHDQKMDOO
 WKMSHROHDWWKHKRLWVHHQKWHUHPDUNEOHRLQVWKHUDQ
 ,KRHWKDWLQFDQOZWKLEWVKWKLVDWKHUGLWUHM
 DGHUWDLQUPKRLVGDLEWLVWVKHUBERL
 WKHUVWKHUVUDQRHROHDOODUQWKHKOGLSDWKKDQ
 UHSHWRWKHSHROHKHUHLQODHWKDR
 KDMWWLQVUHHWVWLGHSULPDUR@
- 0 ,GQWKLQWLPóssLEOHVWVQVGSUHEMOKDWWKHKDMKDG
 WGHDOZWKDQ,WKLVKHLQQLKWKHKDMcoSHGZWKDOOWKLVHHQ
 KWHUHPDUNEOHLQMUHSHWVKHbmmunLWDQWKHRRZOOHQH
 to put itself togetherMUWKHPQKDKHDCW,WKLVKDWK strengthDQ
 WKHUHUVLQKW7RQ,KKHUHLQKDWKRWBDKWWVKDW
 hugely GLVW task can be done
- 7% ,G,GHGRQLUHO\KDWWKHBLPHDQWHUKDMWDLGZ
 KDMHHEMOMWVKKHBPVWKHHMODVWKDWZSHUSHWUDWHGDW
 WKHREX\DW\KHKWHH[WUDRGLQVNDHDQUHMLHVKH
 WDURHUVVHGZWKWKHBDQWKHORBPQWQ,
 know that we are both DEWVHOSUWRDMEHHQHUHHDQWRDMSDLG
 KUHSHWVKHPWKLQVWKMVHUHGKQHWVKHUHLV
 such strength in it

UK

7KLV[WUDV SURKDWVRHU\KDVGHV\HGDDVHOHMOVHR
 public speaking by politicians that foregrounds sincerity and emotion over the conventional
 GHRVKH SBLWLBO WDWPHQV\VLWKDQQLQWKHHPVLRQ
 trauma around Dunblane was manifest not only in the manner of its mediation, but in public
 DQLQVUHSWLVVKHNUHDQLWVBDLUBKS\KDVOUHDG\
 LGHV\HGWKHSURLQVRLQU\DDHDQHPVLRQHPSPDWKLVQDLU\
 PHGLD\SHURPDQDQWKHUDKWHVWLVVKHMWWLQUHUAHVHGPMVGOVQ
 QDLU\H[LBOKRHKWKDWUHHUHQVWKVLPVLRQVDWHDQWVKR
 WKHORBPVVKHWURQLQVULEVLDWKHUGLWUHM\QHUWDLQ\
 MUPKURQLQQLQKHUV\DGDUHQV\KLVVWKMVHUHG
 PKVROLQLQKHM
 :HQQMHYGHKDWVRHUSUHHUWVKHUKHWLBO
 WDWL\PSOL\WLVGHVWRPSKDMVKHSHDNUVPLWPHQV\MOODWKH
 M\WV\LOHQLDSSURULDWHQVWRVWLV[SUHMHPVLRQVDR
 DPSOL\WLVWLVKHMVGMUELDOSKUDM\GHVGVVUHWKHH[HSWLRQV
 WKHEVWVWVKHWHH[WUDRGLQUHGHLBWLQVBDLULQLQDQVW
 UHPDUNEOHRLQVWKHUVRQDLUDQhugely GLVWVRDMRLQLQ,Q
 DVKHUH[DPSOHWKL\PSOL\WLVKDWVRHUVUHHUWV\DG\WVHG\VKHUHE\
 exercising tact in developing from a weaker to stronger formulation by situating sentiments
 VLVVKHWVBLWBOHDGHUWKHPMOMQVVKHVKDQVKHQLV\HHDWVULEVLRQ
 WKHPVVKHVOGDV\KRLVGDLEWLVWVKHUBERLWVKH
 VVVKHUVUDQRHROHDOODUQWKHKOGLSDWKKDQUHSHWR
 OLQVQVHUPVPSKDMVDMHDQDSSURULDWHQVSHUKDSWKHPV
 V\DEOHH[DPSOHV\WLVDMR\KHGHQ\KHH[SUHMOLPLV\KLDLVPVPSDWK\
 V\

speech, and recognise the manner in which the short, declarative sentences that open the
 H[WUDWLMZWRIODERDWHPHWDSKR-RQOCHSONVKH KHGLQGHQVLHG E\
 QRHULQPHUHPHGLDSKOLBUNPHQKHPWRQDQO\
 H[DHUDWHWKHH[WHQVRLSBOQLMOPDOWKHBUDOLDPHVDUDEKBUWMPV
 to be on the phone to the media, whispering about the hopelessness of Miliband, while the
 WKHUKDOLKQKQKQWQHDGHUKLS EHGHWLDOPQLWREKDOOKDW
 KRLDUDNSGHVLEHDKWHLQHUWH[WBOKDUDFWHURRLWLBOGLMLV
 PDQHWKHUHDWHPMRWKHOH[LQKHVLWLKRLERKRLQ
 DERQLQWKDWVWLQUDWZWKSKUDMRHUHDGLODKDEOHZWKWKH
 SRLWLBOHOGAKHMHUHQLEFLWLBOPPQLQWKHODWWHUMLA
 KMHGMDWLRDUMKLSRWLRPHWZHQKHWUDLKWRBDUGODQHR
 BLVDQWKH LPSOLHG SUHDULBWLQQLRO SRLWLEDQWKHQHQHUHG
 KKO DVKURHRPQDWHVSRQRLWLEDQLM QHPDQUG
 HSKHPLMWHWWLQLMHDHDEWRKUHUUHGWOHPDQLQ
 WKDWKHLMOHQLWR

MRQDQDPSOHNKHSRLWSRLWLEDQDQPSQLHPL
 SRQWRDQKHUKBUHMPLODUHQHKEKHMBSRQDUOH[LBO
 HOGEDWQWLWDLHUWDLQQRPHGLDWHG SRLWLBO SHUQWDEGLWR
 QNMZDQ:DKO-RHQQKHUHDUHWKHUWDWLBOQLHQGHGLBWHG
 towards claiming ownership of the link that media provides between the politicians and
 WKHLUHOHWRDWHKDMQKHQDWDKDPHGLDWH[WVWLHOQDLPWRHSUHMQWKHSEKOLP
 LQKH SKKW D KDUHG LQHUHW LQVWVKHU DUKQKDW PHGLDWHG
 political discourse routinely involves a struggle between media and politicians to be seen to
 SHDQHKDOIRWKLSEKOLFKLVSDUWLENDUOQLHDEOH LQKH DQDELOLW\
 LQHUMHKHUHSRLWLEDQHZWKLQHUMHUWBOLQKHPMOMKWKSKOLRUQ
 DQMLPHQVWRHU\WDSRLWLEDQHN SKOLPDQDWH WKUK
 HOHWLQVRLQKHQH[WPHGLD WKH\DUHROLHG WRIDHLQSDUDOOHODQ
 continual struggle for their claim to public representativeness.

7KHH[WUDWLMRDQQUHMHZHWZHQKHDEMPHQLRGLRQQ%
 MRQQLWGGGLDLURDUKQKHQDQMSURDPPHVKH Andrew
Marr Show: HSLFNXSWKHLQWHUYLHZDVLWXXUQVWRDIRUWKFRPLQJGRFXPHQWUHI[SRVL
HOHPHQWVRI-RKQVRQVSHUVRQDOKLVWRU\QDGGWLWRQWRWKHFRQYHQWLRQVRXWOLQH
DERYHH[WUDFWVTXDUHEUDFNHWVLQGLFDWHRYHUODSEHWZHHQVSHDNHUV

- EM let me ask you about some of the things that came up in the docume[ntary
- % BULKWZOO, havHQMHQWR
- EM EWKLDSSSHQGLQOLHNEWVKLWKH
- 4 % [clearly
- 5 EM 7LPHOHWPHWURDGHSDW/HKGLGRDNSDWH"
- % MOODKWKLVKLDLQKHM DUHWKHM DUHb:big terms for what
- 7 KDSHQGQVHOONKHQHWKLDHQDQWVPEOHQDUHR
- MHEMHUHQGQDQWRHDUPRHDEWKRQR
- DEW, DQHOOR
- EM LKQDQWVWONENPDGHSVHOHWPHWDONENRHWKLD
- % it was a long it was a long and lamentable story
- EM okay

QUK

,Q WHUPV RI SKUDVLQJLWLV FOHDUWKDW ERWKLOWHUYLHJZU DQGLOWHUYLHJH KDYH W
 DEVHQWHG WKHPVHOYHV IURP WKH OH[LFDO HOG DVVRFLDWHG ZWK SROLWLFV ,QWHUY
 HPSKDVLVHVWVKHWRSLFDOLWRIWKHSHUVRODORYHUSROLWLFDOZWKWMLVKDSSHQHGLORX
 RuHUVWZYDULDWLROVRIWKHFRQVSLFXRXVOLQIRUPDOFROVWUXFWLROJPDGHXSTXRWHQ
 this seems at odds with the role of the interviewing journalist as a publicly appointed expert
 DGEWH QDPDQLLW EHDU RSDULW WK SODLSDNDQ
 BRWLW MVULORFPGHLEHGLQDQDHOHMDMDQOVR
 SRDUHQHSHK-KQURHFDUNUWQDHEQMHUHSHK
 LQGLNFWLQLMFDUNUHOODKQDOWKKLQKLMWDE
 WKHPDEHWUDDHQQUDWKHUWKDQHKHDUMGKHWDWVDEOKMMU-RQ
 WKLUGWKSQRHFKHNGQBDLPWROOWHUQWLMFDWLKHSKOLEQHUHW
 GHVLEHGEVMMZQ:DKO-RHQOQLLQ
 DUHMHMHZUFGVQWRKHDUPRHDEWKKRRLQV
 DQMHQGLQWKHRPRLWLBOGLMMKODLPWRHDE
 WKHSRLWPUHDWPLPHQHMULQPHGLMWWLSDUWLSDUOKHQWLMWKHSRLWLEDQ
 LQHUHWWRHWUHDWWBDLPWKHDKRKLWFKOLEHSHUHMQDWLMMQHHGLQ
 case, the doubly articulated reach of the claim is emphasised still further in his formulation
 WKLWRLWLBOSKOLEMZHUV

Political lea ets: af nity and intertextuality

WVKHRWVHVRIWKHFKDSWHULWVDFODLPHGWKLVPHGLDLQWLPDFMWHQGHGWRSU
 BYLOJORRNHGDWLVLV-RKQVROVQHZSDSHUFROQZHQVWQWRKRVKHVHTDOLWLHVRI
 sociability and sincerity are manifest in election literature: a form more associated with
 SRLWLBOLWLVWLDQ WKHLU UHFWLM SURM WKDQWK WKHGLDORVQDLWR
 LQLYGO SHURPDE7KH SDHEHORHVURD OHDAW GLWULEXWHGEWKH M
 BPSDLQWKHUHHUHQREWLKLQSHQHHEWODQ

,QHUPEWVRLWLBOSKSNWKLWH[WPDQHWKHDQLHOLWHBOLWLHEROLF
 DUWLSDWHGZWKDQUUDWLMRWLROEHORRBNWDO DQKGHGEWKH
 SULSOHRHGLDDELOLW7KH WKUWVKHWDUDUDSKLVWRWVKHDWLQ
 HQUDOLMRLWLEDQSDUWURWKHLQHUHWVKHDELHQHWPLQHUDDPHWR
 RWKHSRLWLBOWDEOLKPHQLLQWDDLQWKHLQKMDWHR
 BQWLQDWHU UHQHUHG LQKH QWLQHEFWHUPVODQHQHG WKH
 opposition between formal-political and informal lexicons are used humorously, in a
 UKHWRLBORSEWLBHWZHQB[QGHVZHELWPRHHEHLQV
 GLDOHWRVDOOROLKW

OKLOHWKLMRDEDOUHHUHQRRQDWLRQPDOLWDQNUDWLRO
 LDWLQULQODWKKW7KH H[WHUQOLMG:HWPLQHU SDUWLHMHQWDLV
 H[SUMGDPPOOLQUWKHPMOMQDWLHOHPHQLQODSWLFWKWKH
 LQVQLRRLWLBOSRQVODERDWHGSKUDMUHQHGSORGEHPSKDMUDH
 KDPWBOOHMUKDSSHQWDFLKDMDOUHDGMHQQRDLUMR
 KWHQKHSNQWUDFDEBROOLQDWEWRQ:DKOGHLEHEDV
 DWHKQRDUDQDOLQHUDWLQKUKKLDQGLHQLGGUHMGDWKKLW
 HUHSHUMQKHWRLBONWLDUHLMLGLQGLQHQQLQKHHODERDWHGMUE
 SKUDMKROOWKHHMUDUHHQRWKHUKHWRLBOWBERHGLDWLMGMULW
 UHSHWLWLMGLKWLWLDQVWEHDOKDQ

:HKDMGLMGWKLPSHUDWLMDDELOLWDEMQKLMWVKHWH[WKHOHDNAW
 is purposively dialogic, such that the discourse of inclusivity extends to the assumption of a

3URPLVHVURP WKH QDPH R I D BFKDUDFK DQG DYLG PXVLFDO DQG DQRWKHU HQWLWHO\ ODEHURPWKHWLWOHRIWLSRSJURXS2DVLVYGHGXWDOEXP7KXVWKHSRSXODUFUHGHWLWLD of the text is secured in its language and in the repertoire of cultural references.

The political debate and the semiotics of empathy

7KH QDO SODWIRUP WKDW ZI ZOO ORRN DW LQ RUGHU WR DGHUVWDOG WKHVH DV PHGLDVLVDWLRO RI SROLWLFDO ODQJXH LV WKDW RI WKH WHOHYLVHG GHEDWLV HVVWDEOLVKHGLQWKH86WKHWHOHYLVHGHOHFWLRQSDUWOHDGHUVGHEDWLV 8.DWWKHJHQHUDOHOHFWLRQUDNHJLQV7KHIROORZQJHWUDFWLVRQHRI WRGHEDWHV KHOG EHWZHQ UHSUHVHQWDWLYHV RI WKH WRVLGHV RI WKH UHIHU 6FRWWLVKLOGHSHQGHQFH7KL VVHFROGGHEDWHZLFK DVEURDGF DVWRQWKH% DVR ZLFKSH DOPROGRIWKH6FRWWLVK1DWLRQDO3DUW613DVWKRKWWRKDYHSHUIRU PRUHVVURQJOVKLVHWUDFWLV IURP DWXQGHDOLOJZWK DGHEDWHRQFXUHQFLO Salmond was said to have excelled:

.WKHUHWKHURWLNWODQ.PHDZNGKMDHKKWLNKHUHQ
HCKDMH[LEOHKUHQLNNGHQDGRHNGKMDM[HGUDWH a _____
W/LKSDWWDKHGWKHWKHS sterlingHKWKDWKDMDenmark does with the
4 KKDW.PMHN mandateLWLDWKH pound sterlingpay our _____
5 messages we payNPRWDHWHWZHMVKHS

HQRWKLULHH[WUDWZDQHSOLWLDOUKHWLRELHGZWKWKHEOLWLHM
DNDWHZWKPHGLDVLVDWLQWKKLWPDSSHDUDWKKDOPQLDNLV
way through a list of refused options in order to emphasise and settle on his preferred choice
WVWKHNUWDLQWKHNUHWWOHPHQWLVWKDW DOPQLOLHG
WLSODKLVHUWDQLDOWHUQWLWLVKHUHDUHPDUNUNWDLW DQ
MULWLVKHSDEHHRHGHOLMUVKHUWDQMKRROLNDQR
ZWKDEDWHGHPKDMWHPWKHSOLWLDO DQHLH[LLEOHLQ
[HGUDWHQLDQDWHQSWHUOLQLDWOODRQLYGO
HRLWLRQDLQDQ7KHPRWDUNWLOHPPDLON[SUHMGDV
a concern shared between Salmond and the listening audience, and their common appreciation of an appropriate informal lexicon is marked in the use of the informal Scots
WHUPRURUKRSLDHY

What recommends this extract over the portion of the address that preceded it is that Salmond has stepped out from behind the podium in order to stand closer to the studio
DELHQDQBPHUDMHKH.WHUPWOLAGLQWHUCLR
EHDULWVWOPQSUBWVWQHUOLWPHQDQDZOOHW
RHUWKHEV DODWHUDOKLGVNGLQKLVWKHEVWLVWVH
GLSODKOOLWVGLVHDUGSHUROLPSHULOPHQWVKHEHAWDULYKHPH
SDHHDLWQDQHPKDMKLM[WUDOLWVLSHURPDHMQHEH
WKH WLVURMO SUDWLHEHROVKH RPDOLW DQWVWKH
WDHSURQHWKHEOLPHQZWKWKHSHROHEDDOPQDEDQ
the podium as a symbol of political institutionalism and a restraint on his desired connection
ZWK WKH RGLQ\HOHWRDWH WVM WKLVEDQRHQVKH WLVROLW\
UHSUHWVHGEWKHSRLKDEHRHDMPLWLEHHRWMOVKHDOLPHQWKL
type of embodied performance with particular linguistic markers of sincerity and belonging

IRFXV RO SHUVRODO DVSHFWV DW WKH H[SHQVH RI SROLFLHV WKH VLPSOLE DWLRO RI SROLV
 VSHHFKHV WKH MRXOGELWH HFW DQG WKH ZQORZQ RI SROLWLFDO DFWRUV DFFRUGLQJW
 WKHLUPHGLDJHQLSUHVHQWDWLRQ HFDQVHHWKDWDWOHDVWWVRPHH[WHQVWKHSH
 DQG VLPSOLE DWLRO RI SROLWLFDO ODQJXDJH DUH HQWZHG VXFK WKDW WKH IRUHJURXC
 SHUVRQDOLWLOFOXGLQJ WKH VQWKHWLF SHUVRQDOLVDWLRQ RI FROYHOWLRQDO SROLV
 ERXQGSZWKDW6FDQQHOOGHVFULEHVDWKHLP SHUDWLYH WRSURYLGHWKHHDVSOHDVXU
 RIVRFLDELOLWRUHULQJD SROLWLFV GHVLJQHG WRSOHDVH UDWKHU WKDQLPSURYH DQG W
 rather than challenge.

WKH WKLV PHGLDWDWLRQ SRLWLDO ODGH KEG DODW R WKH
 SHUMLMSKSNWKDWRPQDWLRQMLKWKLVKHSRLWLBOUHDOP5HHQGLKQ
 WKHULM RHGLDWHGSRSLPKDMHPSKDMG WKHROLDWLRQLWLBOOGLUHWHG
 ODGHWRKGDSSHDULQDLWLBOQLQKDWLRQDUKHWRLBODW
 becomes exposed as a structured political tactic, its persuasive force gives way to the
 DSSHDUDHFDQSDWLMDFVMDQOLFPFWBBUGWKH SUBWLR
 HPWLRO DuHW 5LKDUGVDKO-RHQWKLVKD VPSOLEWLK WKH
 ODGHQSHURPDHDKDWHGZWKWKHPHGLDWDWLRQKHSRLWLBOODWQ
 Leeuwen shows in this volume, a multimodal approach is necessary to situate language
 ZWKLDURBGHURPDWLRQGLQGLYKHWKHWKNDWLRQMDPH
 LQGLDPRDWDQSHURPDHFWKHMGHMORLQHWKWHHLVVKWEH
 gained in examining the extent to which political language strives towards the sociability
 and informalisation that has characterised the development of media discourse in general.

Acknowledgements

7KHDWKRURZVWKDQNVWRQJHOD6PLWK0DUL.1LHPLVFKPLUGYHQDQG)LRD0
 McKay for their thoughts and input, as well as for the constructive feedback of the
 BOHWLQHHUHHHQHGLWRFV

References

VNLQVRQ0Our master's voices:RXWOHGJH/RQGRQ
 %LRFORFNQHZV ODUFK
 %The Andrew Marr show0DUFK
 %Scotland decides XJXVW
 %OOLJO Banal nationalism, Sage, London.
 %WLQThe image, or what happened to the American dream WKHQDXPIHZRUN
 %RRNHVHZLV:-DKO-RUJHQVHQKHPHGLDUHSUHVHQWDWLRQRISXEOLFRSLQRLQWLWVK
 WHOHYLVLRQQHZVFRYHUDJHRIWKHHQHUDO(OMFWLRQ)ure & Society,YROQR
 SS±
 %XQVGRQ&0RUOHEveryday television: Nationwide %RQGRQ
 &DPHURQKHDFHFWVRISROLWLFV¶ Critical Quarterly,YROQRSS±
 &DPSXVQHGLDWLJDWLRQDQG SHUVRQDOLVDWLRQRI SROLWLFVLQ,WDOQDQ)UDQFHKHFDVHVRI
 %UOXVFRQLDQGDUNH¶International Journal of Press/Politics,YROQRSS±
 &KRXOLDUDNL/SROLWLFDOGLVFRXUVHLQWKHQHZVHPRFUDWLJLQJUHVSQVLELQWRUDHVWKHW
 SROLWLFV¶course & Society,YROQRSS±
 &ODPDQ¶LEXQHRIWKHSHRSOHDLQWDLQLQJWKHOHJLWLPDFRIDJUHVVLYHMRXUQDOLV¶
 Media, Culture & Society,YROQRSS±
 &ROHPDQHG Televised election debates: International perspectives, Macmillan, London.

5LFKDUGV *Emotional governance* 3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQDVLQJVWRNH
 XGGFRNFQYLVLEOHFHQWHUVRLV-RKQVRQDXWKHQWLFLWFQXOXUDOFWLWLJHQVKLSDQGFHQWULI
 PRGHORIPHGLDSRZHS *Political Semiotics, YROQRSS±*
 DYLJQ *The problem of political marketing* , Continuum, London.
 DHOOR *Radio, television and modern life* ODFNZHOO2[IRUG
 6KLu *Discourse markers*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 BLWKELKHNQHQVDPELKWWRWVOHDQWKHSRLWLKWHMQ
 LQWHGLHWSEWLKHEODQWUDHG *Journalism, YROQRSS±*
 WUHHW-&HOHEULW\$ROLWFLDQV3RSXODUFXOWXUHDQGSROLWFLDQWUHHWQWJDLRQ
Politics and International Relations, YROQRSS±
 WUHHW-Mass media, politics and democracy QGHG3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQDVLQJVWRNH
 KRPSVRQ-*The media and modernity*, Polity, Cambridge.
 7KRS *Political scandal* , Polity, Cambridge.
 :DKO-RHQKHWUDWHLELWENORPWLRQWDMW\$RLWHUELHZQ
 DUWLD *Journalism, YROQRSS±*
 :LOVRQ-*Politically speaking* ODFNZHOO2[IRUG
 :RGDN *The discourse of politics in action* 3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQDVLQJVWRNH
 :RGDN *The politics of fear*, Sage, London.
 :BDNGH&OOLD 5 5HLM (LHEKDUW . *The discursive construction of national
 identity* QGHG(GLQEXUJKQLYHUVLW\$UHVV(GLQEXUJK
 HV6RWODQG *Why independence will be the best thing for generations* HV6RWODQG@DVJRZ

Performing politics

From the town hall to the inauguration

Jennifer Sclafani

Political discourse and identity performance

7KURKRW WKH FRVH RI D FDPDLQ SROLWLFDO FDQGLGDWHV PDNH KOGUHG RI S appearances, with the goal of connecting with voters, explaining their policy proposals and HQULMKHSEKOLWRDLQKHSRLWLDO SURVWRKDOOPHHWLVWKH inaugural ceremony, candidates and electees have multitudinous opportunities to engage GLUHWZWKWLVWVWUWHUWLVQRUQWEPDOODGGUHV the public about their visions, priorities and intended actions, if and when they are elected WRH

7KLKDSWHUDUHWKDWDOORPKOLSRLWLBOLOVHUDWLRQRWDOOHWLR answer interactions to inaugural addresses, constitute *identity performances* whose discursive structure can be fruitfully analysed using tools of interactional sociolinguistics. Much of the existing body of literature within linguistics examining political discourse has RHURKWLWDLMLDQVQSSURKWKDWKDWUDGLWLRQONG RQDNDHODWUDNDUHQWUWKDOUHODWLRQLSRDLQGLLPLQWLR SKUDQRURDUHQDQHWGLODQHEDN&DVPDGH

great strides in uncovering how language is used to uphold and reinforce relations of GRLQDQKGLQWLRQSHEDOOEHLWHUWLVWLVKLOWR DLUQRQMSHLMD:EDHUHQWOKRDUVQKLV

HOG KDM LQWLDWHG WKH URH KLMMOUWVHG SRLWLBO KMWLVWLVV political selves, WRERURZXUDQWLVWHUPEQDFRPSOLVKLQJSROLWLFDODFWLRQHJ &DUWD :RGN &KDUWHULVDFN &KLOWRQ &KLOWRQ 6KluQHU

:RGN,QRUGHUIRUSROLWLFDODFWLRQVWREHDFHSHWGDWOHDVWVWQGHPRFUDWLVVRF EDPDMRULWVQHFHVVDUWVXWLVHGRUQRJLFDOWKHPXVWEHFRQVWUXFWHGVDVRULJLQD from political individuals WKDW DUH GHHPHG LQ VRPH ZDWUXVWZRUKWVHODWDEOHQDQG DXWKHQWLVFODIDQLQSUVVVMXVWKRZGRSROLWLFDOLQGLYLGXDOVPDQDJHWFRQYLO DQHOHFWRUDWHWKDWKHFQEHWUXVWHGLQSRVLWLRQVRIDXWKRULWVXJJHVWVKDW WKLVTXHVWLRQEDQDOVLQJSROLWLFDOSHUIRUPDQFHVXVLQJWRROVRILQWHUDFWLRQDOV ,WKDVEHQDUJXHGHVSHFLDOOEVEFKRODUVRIWHULFDQSROLWLFDOFRPPXQLFDWLRQV FRQVWUXFWLRQRI DQDXWKHQWLV SROLWLFDO VHOI LV RI XWPRVW LPSRUWDQFH HJ XU

/HPSHUW6LOYHUVVHLO6WHDUW7HYHQVLOQFHERWKWKH86YRWLQJSXEOLF
and the mass media largely evaluate political candidates, not on the basis of their professional
BOLDWLNWLOHREGREREDOSFWLWOLEMEXWKHEDMIOI
SUHMQDWLQGSHEPOORWREHEHUBOLWLHVHODWHGWWKHBDQLGDWHV
perceived *personal*LGHQWLW\$3ROVEHWDOUHPDUN

\$FDQGLGDWH LV KHOSHG E\SSHDULQJ WUXVWZRUK\UHOLDEOH NQRZOHGJHDEOH
HPSDWKHWLFSLRXVHYHQWHPSHUHGNLQGEXWEPGHYRWGWRIDPLOGQFRXQWUDQ
HYHUZDQRUPDO DQG SUHVHQWDEOHR WKLVBHQGDJUHDWGHODORIFDPSDLJQDFWLY
GHYRWGWRWKHSRUWUDDORIWKHFDQGLGDWHVDOLNDEOHSHUVRQDQGW\$LFDO
3ROVEHWDOS

EYHQERWKYRWVHUVWVWHQWLRQWRDFDQGLGDWHVVOISUHVHQWDLRQDQGWKHUH
PRQHSXWLQWRPDQJLQJ SROLWLFDOJXUHV\$XEOLF LPDJHV VHH HJDFNHU WKH
linguistic basis of self-presentation merits more detailed attention than it has been accorded
LQWKHOG\$BLWLDORPFDWLQQUKHWRLEFRHUWKHSHUSHWLMWKDW\$KOLF
political discourse can be viewed as *discursive performances of identity* in which political
actors strategically construct themselves as not only knowledgeable and experienced in the
positions they currently hold or aim to hold, but that they are trustworthy, relatable and
likeable individuals, and hence, worthy leaders.

,GWLKLVUWUHMHZQHHPENRWXDOOLWLMWKDWKDDGGUHM
SBLWLDOLVHUFWLWQKLEKRWKHSDWGHGHWKHPHULBQ
SBLWLDORH[WEHDMWKHWDW\$KDW\$SHUOLGHQWLV\$ODVQKHPHULBQ
SBLWLDOSKHUH H[W , UHMHW\$DUWLW\$DUO\UKW\$RSWVQUDOWGLM
analytic approaches to social identity – namely, framing and positioning – and demonstrate
how these may be employed in the study of language and politics through case studies of
W\$URLV\$HQ\$HPS\$DU\$PHULBQ\$BLWLMQWE-RUV\$DQ
RPHU\$EHWDU\$V\$DWH\$DQ\$W\$KHWLPHLWLR\$R\$WLP\$SUHM\$GHQWLD\$OB\$Q\$LD\$W\$H
\$OODU\$S\$K\$DP\$Q\$V\$K\$K\$D\$EUL\$H\$H\$[D\$P\$L\$Q\$W\$L\$K\$H\$D\$W\$K\$H\$M\$S\$B\$L\$W\$L\$D\$O\$H\$V
\$S\$W\$L\$W\$K\$H\$P\$M\$O\$M\$D\$Q\$U\$H\$U\$D\$P\$H\$Q\$W\$H\$U\$D\$W\$L\$R\$Q\$H\$[W\$K\$D\$W\$D\$O\$O\$P\$H\$W\$L\$Q
GHEDWH\$P\$S\$D\$L\$G\$M\$U\$W\$L\$M\$P\$H\$Q\$W\$S\$H\$H\$K\$H\$K\$K\$O\$K\$W\$W\$K\$H\$D\$W\$K\$D\$W\$S\$B\$L\$W\$L\$D\$O\$L\$G\$H\$Q\$W\$L\$W\$V
D\$Q\$W\$H\$U\$D\$W\$L\$R\$O\$D\$K\$L\$H\$M\$P\$H\$Q\$W\$K\$L\$K\$W\$K\$W\$U\$D\$W\$H\$L\$D\$O\$O\$F\$D\$W\$H\$G\$D\$S\$D\$U\$W\$S\$B\$L\$W\$L\$D\$O\$K\$H\$V
EUDQ\$E\$W\$L\$D\$O\$M\$P\$H\$U\$H\$Q\$W\$D\$P\$D\$O\$O\$H\$D\$E\$O\$H\$L\$Q\$W\$H\$U\$D\$W\$L\$R\$O\$H\$[W\$R\$G\$H\$E\$M\$W\$L\$Q
UKW\$D\$M\$K\$K\$W\$K\$H\$U\$W\$E\$L\$Q\$K\$L\$M\$O\$G

Approaches to political identity as performance

7KHFRQFHSWRIVRFLDOLGHQWLWLDVDSHUIRUPDQFHURUDQLOQW\$H\$U\$D\$W\$L\$R\$Q\$D\$O\$D\$F\$K\$L\$H\$Y
PHDQVQHZQVRFLR\$F\$W\$W\$D\$O\$O\$L\$Q\$K\$V\$W\$L\$F\$V\$H\$J\$2\$F\$K\$V RUVRFLDOWKHRU\$Q\$J\$H\$Q\$H\$U\$D\$O
HJRuPDQ \$UJHU/KNPDQQRZHYHUKHYDULRXGLV\$F\$V\$V\$LY\$H\$V\$W\$U\$D\$W\$H\$J\$H\$V
through which identity performances play out, as well as the complex layers of social
meaning implicated in such performances, have enjoyed a great deal of attention over the
SDW\$K\$O\$H\$K\$H\$G\$H\$K\$O\$W\$D\$Q\$D\$O\$O\$U\$D\$P\$H\$E\$N\$W\$K\$H\$R\$L\$M\$Q\$L\$M\$M
LGHQWLWUWLRGHV\$L\$H\$S\$U\$L\$S\$O\$H\$D\$W\$H\$G\$Z\$W\$K\$W\$K\$H\$S\$H\$U\$R\$P\$H\$G\$Q\$S\$H\$U\$R\$P\$D\$W\$L\$M
nature of identity as opposed to a static, macro-level, analyst-determined category or set of
GHPRDSKL\$E\$U\$L\$D\$E\$O\$H\$S\$H\$E\$P\$O\$W\$K\$H\$K\$K\$O\$K\$W\$W\$K\$H\$L\$G\$H\$D\$W\$K\$D\$W\$L\$G\$H\$Q\$W\$L\$W\$L\$P\$H\$U\$H\$Q\$W\$L\$Q
L\$Q\$H\$U\$D\$W\$L\$R\$Q\$W\$K\$D\$W\$E\$K\$H\$H\$W\$L\$Q\$R\$H\$D\$Q\$H\$Q\$K\$L\$Q\$W\$H\$R\$L\$H\$V\$U\$H\$L\$Q\$H\$[H\$G\$D\$W\$P\$W\$L\$S\$O\$H
O\$H\$M\$O\$G\$L\$M\$M\$W\$U\$W\$K\$H\$M\$H\$D\$O\$K\$V\$O\$M\$U\$W\$H\$L\$Q\$K\$H\$D\$O\$R

emphasise that identities are always constructed in relation to a variety of other potential subject positions within the dialectic of structure and agency.

Sociolinguistic studies of political identity have drawn on these principles, illustrating how political subjectivities and stances are performed in a variety of public contexts. Within WKH MULDWLRW SHUSHWLM R H[DPSOH BHD HW DO KDM LHWLDWHG KR SKRBDOMULDEOHLQKLDQOGUHOHMDMQHOBOLWLHSDWWHUQ WLQKHSKOLVHHKHHPHUBIEHWDUFDWHBBDHHD5LHGHPWUDWLDQ KWKHMSDWWHUWUWKHUDDSRLLWLDQOUBWLMSURMBOBLERHULBQ DOOHESW DUUKEMUKDMLWLDWHGKWKSKWLVWUWLR political identity at the group level by demonstrating a correlation between political party DvOLDWLDQ WKH DULKUDWLVKHMROLQKHGUDPR members of US Congress.

Given the important interactional function of narrative in positioning the self and others DQ WKH WUWLVKHWLWDO EOGVJHU KVVSSV KLuULQUUDWLMDDQKDDOEHHQVLDOLQKHWRRLWLBO LGHQWLWUWLVKDWL DQOMQUUDWLM LQHMRO GHEDWHV H[DPLQQLGDWHWHOOWRLHWUNDSQLWLBOMOIKLWKHGLMMO\ PDQH WRSRQUDLQWKHGHG WBSHSHUENKORBO DQDWKHQ/LKLV EGPQLGDWHVWHOOWRLHWKHLUQWLVKDWDUHGLGHRWVDQWKH scrutiny of others in terms of their logic and at the same time must project a type of RPLWPHQWVHUWKDWBQDWKHQLNDQLGHPWUDWHWKDWQUUDWLM MUMVLUWLVKDFHOHMOWH[WBORHUHHLHRHMVLDHDLQ H[LWHQLDORKHUHS\$KLKLDQDQLGDWHV\$UHMVDWLKHLUHUH actions as natural extensions of the past, and exposing and resolving potential contradictions of character.

KHQDYDQVNDVQUUDWLM DSSURK WRVKHDQOMRRLWLBO SHHKHV examining narratives in closing statements of presidential debates. Shenhav argues that BOLWDLWMLGLuHUHFMVKHUHODWLMQUUDWLVWPRVDWHPHQVDFHUHODWHGZWK GHPRDSKLVLDQDWWHUQDQQLDWEVKH\$U LMQWKH SHROH WRVKH SRLWLEDQKLW&WDNWKHLPSFWDQ WHS RGHULQKH GLDORBOHFWof QUUDWLM LSRLLWLDQGLMMHWDNDMPLODUDSSURKH[DPLQR KHHPRQUUDWLMRHHVQKLWVWKDWLWKHWRVKH;DUHUURV shaped and reshaped, circulated and resisted in presidential speeches and media discourse GKLQKHQULQDDQKVKHQUUDWLM DVHHLMGDQH[VWOLMGLQDON DEN SW SRLWLDPRQHH WGHVQUODPDWLFIDWVH\$DV presupposition, entailment and poetic structures, Hodges demonstrates how narrative serves LQKHSURGLMMQWUWLVK4DHGDDQ,UDDLNGDQDRWVLOH SEWUDLQLOLWDLVHUMVLRQDDQWDDQ,UDVMOODQWHPSRDOO\ OLNGHMVQKHODUHU:DUHUUR

,VHUWH[VBOGLMMDQKDEHHSDUWLVNDUOLQOQLQWLVKHWRRLLWLBO performance as it highlights connections across disparate speech events, speakers and GLMM VHWVQ KHOSVHUWdq KSRLLWLDQ NHEHDWH H[LWHQLDQ KHUHEVHUPKODOMVHUWH[VOLWDMUDPHVWQMSUHMGHVLDQ GLMMDQPHULBQGHVWLVQKHLQKDOSHHKHVUHMGHVMMKDW linguistic features such as personal pronouns, generic conventions and themes, and direct KDWLVWDEOLKDDUHDvUPDNUDUKLDUHMGHVLDOLGHVWUWLVKPHDQDEN LQLEGO SUHMGHVWKVHDWLVKQUPKQGVKLVWLBO DuBGRD timeless national identity.

EHQHVW IURP YLHZQJ SXEOLF SROLWLFDO LQWHUDFWLRQ WKURXJK WKH OHQV RI LQWH sociolinguistics because it grounds language in dialogic interaction, even when the data QSHULWLDWLRQDMP UHODWLRQDPRKMDHHDVQFLSWHG SUHMGHQVLDODGGUHF DDPSDLQGMUWLMPHQ, QKHUEGSRWLWLDQGLMLV always interactional in that language is used to persuade a voting public that a political DWRDWRQSRWLQHUHMXLHGRLWLEDQODRHWRHSWR feedback they have received from the public through media coverage and polling data. HEM LQWHUDWLRQRLWLDLQDHRWUMKHDQWKHLU LQWHUDWLRQ functions to broader conceptual phenomena, such as knowledge schemas and cultural H[SHVDWLRQDQDODW WKL DSSURKDODDQVULGHPLDQ PDERHMOH[WLQKHWRDHRDQHWEDWROH[SODLQQ illustrate the utility of two interactional sociolinguistic concepts – framing and positioning – in the study of political discourse as identity performance.

Framing and reframing in political interaction

)UDPLOQLVDFRQFHSWWKDWKDVHHDZGHODSSOLHGLOVWGLHVRILQGLYLGDODQJURRQ FROVWUFWLRQDGLQWKHLQWHUHVRODQDHRWLDWLRQRIPHDLQLOJ7KHQRWLRQ SWIRUWKEUHRUVDWHVRODVGHYHORSHGERuPDOLODQDWWHPSWWR H\$OLFDFWHWKHODWHRILQWHUHVHMFWLYHHQJJDJHPHQWLQVRFLDOLQWHUDFWLRQ DVWKHGHQLWLROWKDWLQGLYLGDQDWWULEXHWWRDVLWDLWRQRUHPDPSOHMVKLV LVUNVVKIUDPHVSODDFHQWUDOURHLOVWUWMLQJLQWHUDFWLRQEHFDXHWKHS DOLQWHUSUHWLYHVFDuROGROZLKFVSHDNHUVDQGHUHUHUHQORUGHUWRSURGR PHDQLOJ IURP OLOJXVWLF SDUDOLOJXVWLF DQG QROYHUEDOFM)UDPHV JRYHUQ SUD interpretations of language use in the immediate interactional context, they guide SDUWLESDFV[SHVDWLRQDWRWLVQKHRODQDQWKHUHWUHWLMO\ KDSHQHUWDQLDWDKDUHGLQKHSUHGLODORH[DPSOH]WQPH introductions set the expectation that the following encounter is friendly, informal, or VMGHDQWLWLRQMWLQLOHHQDQUDWLRQWKWKHH[SUMKDWKDW KHDLGUHUDPHSULRWWHUDEZWKDSUHRDEOLQVLOOLWLRURHDD sexual innuendo.

UDPLQVSRWDQEQHUWDQLSRLWLDOSHURPDQVHDMPKKDW SRLWLDQKHGRQKHLUSKOLSHURPDQSUMHWKRGDQUHLRHDMMR their political self in a certain social world full of problems that can be ameliorated by LQLGDOMQKHLUURHNOHWHGOHDGHUWVKHPWGUDDULHWRLDLODEOH UHMHZWKLQKHSDUWLNDUERRLWLDQHOGWUWVKHLULGHQLWLHDFHGLEOH OHDGHUYKDMKQMKHUHWKDW\$UHMGHVLDQDGLGDWHWVKHLULGHQLWLHVDV PWKHUWVKHUWQUDQDQWKHUWKDWLDMUHWLMOHDGHUEWKLQKHLUDPLOLHDD widely relatable leadership role that frames their projected role in leading the nation DDDQ:KHMUDNFWDEOHIGHQLWLHVLPPHUPDQUHRDLODEOH to candidates, or they could jeopardise the identity that they wish to project, candidates may borrow other available identities to construct an alternative type of leader, thus *reframing* the presidential self.

UDPLQHUHDPLQDMEHHQOMGDNSRLWLDORPDWLRUDWHLHWV DDEOGLNGEYDQVQODWKHUWQDQPHWDSKEDV RSWNOUDPLQHMHVQRLWLDQDQPHGLDGLMMH&DUWHULQDN KLOWVDSMMURDURLWLDQGLMMKDMODUHONG on frames in the abstract cognitive sense and have ignored frames as an interactional

YHUVXVKDQJH[KHRQOFRKHVLYHGHYLFHWLQJLVTXHVWLRQJLQJ&OLOWRQVOLN
WR KLV SUHYLRXV VWDWHPHQW LV KLV UHIHUHQFH WR KHU [UHVPXPHFLK KLKOLJKWV KHU
H[WHQVLYHH[SHULHQFH LQ QDWLRODOSROLWLFVWKDQKHURSSRQHQWFLK6SUDGOLQ
1H[PSVKLUHYRWHUV[OLNH[KLVDVVHUVLROKFLKLVHPEHGGHGLQDQRQUHVWULFWLYHFOD
VHVVXSDFRQWUDVWZWKLVQH[WDVVHUVLROWKDWYRWHUV[HHPWROLNH2EDDPRI
TXHVWLRQFKDOOHQJHV&OLOWRQV[SUVHVQWDWLRQRIVHOIVSHFL[DOOWKUHDWHOLQJ
WRLQWKHRULHVRIOLQJXLVWLFVROLWHQHVVVDVKHUSRVLWLYHIDFH[FRZ/HYLOVROEX
FDOOLQLQWRTXHVWLRQDQVSHFWRIKHULGHQWLWVWKDWFDOORWEHUHIXWHG[DORIKHUS
FUHGHWLDOVWKDWTXDOLIKHUIRUWKHSUHVLGHQF[XLVTXHVWLRQLVSHUKDSVWKHPRV

example of the double bind for women in politics: Clinton, despite her extensive experience in the male-dominated political arena, and perhaps because ~~RWL[DW]DLNEOH~~ precisely because, according to dominant ideologies of gender and leadership, femininity and political power mix like oil and water.

~~OLQVHSQWVWKLWVLRVHPLQV[KHUUHDWLRQKHHM]WKDWKHOGR
DQMSDWKHUWKDQVQVHURV]WKHDWKLQDNGM[LKHUHSQV~~
by *reframing* the conversation, enacting a play frame in response to an ostensibly serious ~~HVW[SHUL]WKHOOWKDWK[WH]HOLQV[SODM]WKH[WH]WKH
HVLKFLK KOLKWKVGHVWKHGHQELQWKDWLDSHU[EDQV
OLNDEOEHDM]SHULVHPLQV]ULQV]RHOLHWKH~~ other side of the double bind: to present the self as likably feminine, it is necessary to display powerlessness.

~~QKDWEGDS]HUOH]DQV]KHDH]DQV]WLR]H]GER
GQ]OLV]UHWHQW]GMV]WKL]KHU]MUE]DO]UHSV]HOO]WKDW]K[WP]
HHOL]H]H]X]WKH]WHU]H]SL]DS]HUOH]DQ]RD]M]P]L]R]Q]U]D
W]HU]H]P]E]R]L]H]G]U]H]S]K]M]U]W]K]H]L]U]R]E]L]P]D]H]G]E]W]K]H]O]N]G~~
dismissive eyes – indicates that her feelings are in fact *not* hurt at all, and that she is just ~~SODL]V]KH]M]S]W]W]K]D]W]K]D]E]H]H]Q]W]X]E]W]K]H]P]G]H]U]D]W]R]E]W]L]R]W]K]H]D]P]H]Q]W]K]H
D]L]H]Q]7]K]H]O]D]K]W]H]U]D]Q]D]S]S]O]D]M]L]Q]K]H]R]U]H]M]Q]D]L]H]Q]W]K]D]W]R]O]K]D]O]W]W]K]H~~
viewer of the televised event that the ironic keying and frame shift has been understood.

~~OLV]WK]H]Q]L]V]Q]K]H]S]O]D]U]D]P]H]W]D]W]L]Q]W]Q]O]W]U]W]I]H]D]V]K]H]U
H]H]O]L]Q]U]H]K]K]W]W]K]D]W]K]H]P]L]K]W]K]D]M]W]K]H]U]Z]M]K]W]U]L]K]W]W]K]H]Q]H]W]K]H]Q]H]U]R]P]D
series of moves that could be considered a threat to her own face: she acknowledges the ~~P]G]H]U]D]W]R]E]D]L]P]W]K]D]W]E]D]P]D]L]Q]L]N]E]O]H]D]B]O]N]D]W]H]G]H]U]E]W]Q]P]R]H]D]Q]P]D]N]D
M]O]G]H]S]U]H]D]W]L]Q]H]P]D]U]N]G]W]K]L]Q] that]E]D]G]K]L]K]M]W]E]D]P]D]S]W]R]D]K]H]U]D
R]S]O]L]P]H]Q]E]D]P]D]L]Q]H]G]W]D]N]W]K]L]M]U]M]U]H]S]Q]L]E]H]O]L]N]D]E]O]H]H]E]L]O]O]D]U]Q]
D]O]B]O]N]D]W]H]G]R]K]L]K]H]W]K]D]N]L]P]W]L]O]O]G]L]S]O]D]L]Q]H]U]R]L]D]W]K]L]Q]S]O]D]U]D]P]H~~
through the embodied cues of smiling and head bobbling.~~

~~7]K]H]U]D]P]H]K]L]W]D]E]U]S]W]O]K]H]Q]L]Q]Q]H]D]U]H]W]K]L]Q]K]L]R]W]K]H
P]W]M]U]L]G]H]E]M]Q]K]D]W]W]K]H]V]H]U]H]D]P]S]K]L]U]H]K]D]M]H]M]U]K]D]G]W]R]D]N]H]U
H]S]O]L]E]W]U]H]H]U]H]Q]W]W]K]L]M]U]L]G]H]E]M]Q]L]K]H]S]U]H]M]U]L]M]K]D]H]W]D
close and marks her following talk as a return to the matrix frame of the debate. She then ~~Q]U]D]W]W]K]H]W]R]L]R]P]E]H]G]G]H]G]L]Q]K]H]P]G]H]U]D]W]R]E]W]L]R]W]K]H]H]S]H]U]L]H]K]D]Q]
L]M]D]Q]W]K]H]Q]L]N]E]O]H]K]D]U]D]F]H]U]I]M]E]R]S]D]U]L]Q]K]H]H]O]H]F]R]D]W]H]S]U]H]K]H]U]H]G]H]Q]L]D]O
K]R]H]D]M]Q]W]Q]W]H]R]E]D]M]G]R]D]U]D]F]H]U]Q]U]D]W]L]Q]W]Z]W]K]K]H]U]R]G]H]Q]L]W]D]D~~
candidate whose experience *illustrates* change.~~

~~7]K]L]M]D]P]S]O]H]R]Q]H]U]D]F]L]R]O]U]H]U]D]P]L]E]N]R]L]O]V]H]Q]W]D]E]W]G]L]G]L]Q]K]H]W]R]Q~~
hall meeting analysed by Sheldon, by providing her the opportunity to confront and ridicule implicitly sexist challenges to her character and her compatibility, particularly as a woman, with arguably the most powerful leadership position in the world.

Positioning political identity

3RVLWLRQLQJWKHRUKLFKKDLOVIURPWKHJHOGRIGLVFVLYHSHVFKRORJLVDQRWKHUIUDPH
WKDWKDVHGHQZGHODSSOLHGLQGLVFRVVDHQQDOWLFDDSSURDFKHVVWRLGHQWLWWSHU
DUWLFDWDHGHGDLHVDQGDUUpDOGGHYHORSHGLQDUUpDOGYDQ/DOJHOKRYH
SRVLWLRQLQLVSVUHVHQQWHGDVDPVDOOGHWHUPLQLQJWULDGFRQOHFWLQJVMHFV
JHODWLYHONGHWHUPLQDWHVSHHFKDFWVDPQGEURDGHUWVRUOLQHVZWKLOKLI
positions can be understood as discursively negotiating coherent selves and others.

Originally conceived of as dialogically grounded in conversation, positioning theory enables an analysis of how micro-level interactional identities relate to broader ideologies and

own identity as it extends beyond the narrative, in relation to dominant discourses and
and orientations that focus much more on wide social processes such as the circulation of

position themselves as a certain type of person in relation to a particular audience, and at the same time, as a response

previous acts of positioning done to particular story-lines about the nation as a whole, while potentially suppressing or erasing alternative narratives that have surfaced, or may surface, in public discourse.

Positioning case study: Ernst s Give me a shot

,ORUGHUWRLOOXWUDWHKRZRVLWLRQLQJLJKWEHDSSOLHGWRWKHDQDQDVLVRISROLWL
,SURLGHDFDVHVWGRIMQLRU866HQDWRU-RQL(UQVWVKHJVWVDPDQWRUHSUHVHQQW
RI,RDLQWKH86&RQJUHVVDPQGWKHJVWVHPDOHYHWHUDQLQWKH866HQDWH/HVVWKD
DIWHUDVVRQLQRVfHLQ-DOU(UQVWVVKRZDVHGDVDPDMRUQHYZRLFHZWKLOWKH
5HSOLFDDQ3DUWVKHQVKHSURLGHGWKH5HSOLFDDQHEWWDOWRWKH3UHVLGHWL
RIWKH8QLRQSGUHVVHUH,GHYHORS DQDUJRHQWPDGHEV&ULPOLVN1'LOKHU
QDUUDWLYH DQDQDVLV RI (UQVWV VHQDWRULDO FDPDLQ DGYHUWLVHHPHQWV EL

positioning theory sheds light on how Ernst strategically employs narrative subjectivities to position herself in relation to both her immediate audience as well as dominant ideologies of gender and leadership.

Conclusion

,QWKL VFKDSWHU, KDYH DUJHG WKDW DOO IRUPVRISROLWLFDO LOWHU DFWLRQIURPLC
KDOOPHHWLOJVVWRPRQRORJLFLQDWDODGGUHVHVHVFDOEHYLHZIGDVLGHQWLW\$SHUIR
KDYHVRPDULVHG UHFHQWVWGLHLV LQVRFLOLQJXVWLFVDQG & \$VKDW KDYHHPDLOHG
OLOJXVWLF DQG HPERGLHG IHDWVHVRI SROLWLFDO SHUIRUPDQFHVDQG, KDYH SURSRV
LOWHU DFWLRQDOVRFLOLQJXVWLF IU DPHUNVRIIUDPLQJDQGS RVLWLRQLQJRuHUXHI
KRZROLWLFDO LGHQWLWLHV DUHF RQVWUQWHGLOWHU DFWLYHOLQSKOLFGLVFRVH

these perspectives with brief analyses of how two prominent women in contemporary
PHULDSRLWLRQMDWHG WKHG KOHELQRUHMQLYKHPMOMDWURQHDGHUV
KLOH DWWHQLOQVSWHQWLDQV LPSNG E\ KHHPRHQHU LGHRRHV,
demonstrated that while Clinton extemporaneously co-opted the stereotype of the defenceless
KQVRURDOOHU DPHMULRQLWLD OGHEDWHDPDWWHURKWHHOLRQGHU
WRULYWKHMDHWKHODWHQV LPSUHMQLQHUHQHUWRSHHKUWHPSORIG
a third-person male narrator in her campaign advertisement to authenticate her maverick
identity while it simultaneously distanced her from earlier, less successful female candidates
from her party on the national political scene.

:KLOH, KDMKNQRIDPLQWKHSHURPDERRLWLDOLGHQWLWLHWKDWKDM EHHQ
UHGHUHG SURHPDWLEHDMQWLORLQWLGHRRHMQHUDQOHDGHUKLS
it should be emphasised that frame analysis and positioning theory are much more widely
applicable to the study of political identity construction, as all political performances involve
DGHQELQRHFWMSRLWLDODFRPWSUHMQLKPMORKHUMODV
WUXVWKRRGLYKHOHDGHUKLSSFWLRQLWLOHDORLQDVHODWDEOH
to a wide swath of voters, so presenting an authentically consistent, yet mutable and context-
dependent, persona is essential. Political actors must also navigate how their political
LGHQWLWLD OHDGHU DUHEWKRHUHQZWKDEURGHUULXGHQWLWLHWKHSDUWVKH
WDWHDQWKHQWLWLDUHDQGLWLRKDEOHDMPDQWLQRDQGLYGBOKMHW
SFWLRKHLGLMMUHQWLDUDGLWLRQDWKHMPPHFWGLuHUHQVQ
EWHZQLYGBQEXSDUWRROHFWLMDUHWKHVWKLKSRLWLDOKHWRLENDGH
and detailed attention to the linguistic devices for performing, justifying and transforming
tenable political identities in the face of these oppositions should be a central objective in
the study of language and politics.

Notes

(OOLSVHVLQGLFDWHVWUHWFKHVRIVSHHFKRPLWWHGIRUWKHVDNHRIEUHYLWVKHIDORVFLD
WKHGHEDWHFDOEHIRQGKHUHZUHVLGHQFQVEHGXLOGH\$KSSLG
,WVKRQGEHQRWHG WKDWWKHVHQVHRI SRVLWLRQLQJGLVFXVHG KHUHLVGLVWLQFWIURPV
MFMHFWSRVLWLRQIQWKHWUDGLWLRQIRQWVXVHUDQG)RQDQWLQWKDWLWIRFXHV RQWKH
identities in conversational interaction rather than the ideological workings of state apparatuses.
\$WKHWLPHKLWLYKHLGHRMDLODEOHKHUHQKRWKYPIS

References

WHUPKO) 7KH JUHDW PHULFDQ VFDüROG ,QWHUWHWLDOLWLDQ LGHQWLWLD PHU
presidential discourse-RKQHQMDPLQVFWHUGDP
DPEHUJQSRVLWLRQLQJEHWZHHQVWUXFWXUHDQGS SHUIRUPDQFH of Narrative and Life
History SS±

/DNRu57@DQJXDJDHQGRPDQV[SODFH7H] /DQJXDJDHQGRPDQV[SODFH7H[WDQG
FRPPHQWDULHVUHYLVHGDQGH[SDQGHCXKRO2[IRUG8QLYHUVLW3UHVV2[IRUG
/HPSHUW0BUDFN2EDPDEHLQJVKDUS,QGH[LFDORUGHULQWKHSUDJPDWLFVRISUHFLVLRQJULS
JHVWXUH[*Gesture 11SS±*
/HPSHUW0 6OYHUVWHLQ0 *Creatures of politics: Media, message and the American
presidency, ,QGLDQDQLYHUVLW3UHVV0RRPLQJWRQ*
/XW] & %QJHQGHUHG HPRWLRQ HQGHU SRZHU DQG WKH UKHWRULF RI HPRWLRQDO FRQWURO LQ
PHULFDQGLVFRXUVH[*Motions: Social, cultural and biological dimensionsHGV0UUp*
:HUURG3DUURWW0JH/ROGRQSS±
0F&ULPLVN-1BURMHFWLQJDFRQVLVHQLWLPDJH]LUVWDQGWKLGSHUVRQDQDUUDWLRQLQ-RO
HQDWH&DPSDLQ0SXEOLVKHGSDSHURUJHWRZQ0LYHUVLW
2FKV(,QGH]LQJHQGHULQ HWKLNLOJ&RQWVWUDQWL &RRGZLQ&DPEULGJH
QLYHUVLW3UHVV&DPEULGJHSS±
2FKV(&RQVWUXFWLQJ VRFLDO LGHQWLW\,DDQJXDJDH VRFLDOLJDWLRQ SHUHVHFWLWY
language and Social Interaction, SS±
KV0SSV *Living narrative: Creating lives in everyday storytelling, Harvard
UMUWVH0PEULGH0*
BHV5-00OHZHQHU -WDUU5/HZV0BHH05LHDQWKH
RRKFWLWUWLRQGHQWLQ *Style-shifting in public: New perspectives on stylistic
variationHGV-0HUQDQGH] &DPSR- &XWLOODV(VSLQRVD -RKQHQMDPLQV0VWHUGDP
SS±*
0V0LOGDNLHURNQ *Presidential elections: Strategies and
structures of American politics, WKHGRZPDQ/LWWOHH0G/DQKDP0'*
HLVLJ0:RGDN5 *Discourse and discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and antisemitism,
5WOHGHRQ*
0V0Q2 *Brown tide rising: Metaphors of Latinos in contemporary American public
discourseQLYHUVLWRIH]DV3UHVV0VWLQ7*
6KLUULQDUUDWLYHDVVHOISRUVUDLWKHVRFLROLQJXLVWLFVRQVWUXFWLROILQGHQWLWY
in Society SS±
KLUULQ *In other words: Variation in reference and narrative, Cambridge University Press,
Cambridge.*
0DDQ- DPLODV UDPLQHHR SBWLWBO LGHQWLWUWLRQURWLR
MFMQSUHMGHQLDOSULPDUGHEDWHY
0DDQ-LSUHFKHSUHVGHQLDOMOLNMDQLGHQLWLSUHVGHQLDOSULPDUGHEDWHY
KHOGKDKHNLPHLOODU5GKDPQLQWLLMPPDQHPHQ
RHUSEKLSHURKHUSBLWLBOPHVDQWKHURKLUWKHSHUMYKHSUHVGHQLDO
HOHWLRPSDLQ *Discourse, politics and women as global leadersHGV-:LOVRQRIHU
-RKQHQMDPLQV0VWHUGDPSS±*
KHQKDYHFKDYHDSODFHLQDORQJVRU(PSRZHUHGQDUUDWLYHVDQGWKHFROVWUXFWLRQRI
FRPPXQLWLVKHFVHRIBUHVLGHQLDQGHEDDWDWYH,QDSS±
6OYHUVWHLQ0 ,QGH]LFDORUGHU DQG WKH GLDOHFWLWF RI VRFLROLDXJLWLRQOLIH
Communication, 23SS±
WHZDUW3\$ *HEDWDEOHKXPRU/DXJKLQJPDWWHUVRQWKHSUHVLGHQWLWLDOSULPDUFDPSDLQ,
/H[LQJWRQRRNV/DQKDP0'*
XOOLYDQ03HQDWHKRSHIXO(UQVWVHVJXQLQDGYRZLQJWRXQORDGQ2EDPDFDUH
*Washington Post 0D)DYDLODEOH IURP ZZZZDVKLQJWRQSRVFRPEORJVSRVWSROLWLFV
ZJSR5HQDWHKRSHIXOHUQVWVHVXQEQ0GYZRZLQJWRXQORDGQREDPDFDUH
0FFHVHGDUFK@*
DQHQ':DODW&QWHUDFWLYHIUDPHVDQGNQRZOHGJHVFKHPDVLQLQWHUDFWLRQ([DPSOHV
IURPDPHGLFDOH[DPLQDWLRQLQWHUHZHQ
3UHVVIHZRUNSS±

7HYHQ - 0 H[DPLQDWLRO RI SHUFHLYHG FUHGLELOLW'RI WKH SUHVLGHQWLDO FDOGLGDWHV
5HODWLROVKLSV ZWK EHOHYDELOLW'OLNHDELOLW'DOGLHSHWZHUHQWV 11
SS±

QMN Elite discourse and racism DJH1HZEXU3DUN&\$

:RGDN ULWLFDOOLQJXLVWLFVDQGFULWLFDOGLVFRXUVHDOOLVLO Pragmatics, eds.

-DUKNUHQWPDQRPDHUW-RQMDPLW'HUGDPSS±

:BDN The discourse of politics in action: Politics as usual QGHG3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQ

Houndmills.

:NWLPWULHUKDSS'PSDLRPHUEDO'DEODEOHUR

www.

WWW'NWLPWULHUKDSS'PSDLRPHUEDO

DHMG

DUK@

=LPPHUPDQGHQWLWHLW[W DQLQHUDWLRQ

Identities in talk HGV & QWDNL

LGGLREH7KNQDSS±

Genres of political communication in Web 2.0

Helmut Gruber

Introduction: the affordances of Web 2.0 social-media platforms for political communication

7KH LQWHUQHW DQG LWV GLUHGHQW IRUPV RI FRPPÖLFDWLRO DV PDO'SUHYLRLX WHFK
LQORYDWLROV KDV EHHQ KDLOHG DV SURYLGLOJHQKDQFHGRSSRUWÖLWLHV IRU UHV
FRPPÖLFDWLROEVRPHDÖWKRUVÖKHUHDVVRWKHUVKDYHEHHQOHVVRSWLPLVWLF/DUVVR
7KLVFKDSWHUHUHLYLÖUHVDUFRQVRFLDOPHGLDSODWIRUPVÖURUGDQFHVIRUWKH
RISROLWLFDOFRPPÖLFDWLROSROLWLFDOQVFLWLHQVDQGKRÖWKHVHSDMHUVÖHVRFL
ÖHQWKHÖHQJDJHLQSROLWLFDOFRPPÖLFDWLRO,WZOOWKHQWUWR SURYLGHD SUH
DQVÖHUWRWKHTÖVWLROWKDWÖGHUOLHVWKHWÖSRVLWLROVNVHWFKHGKHUHQDP
QRWVRFLDOPHGLDSURYLGHSDUWFLSDQWVRI SROLWLFDOFRPPÖLFDWLROZWK TÖO
FRPPÖLFDWLYHSRVVLELOLWLHV)RUWKLVUHDVRODQGEHFDÖHRIWKHOLPLWHGVSDFH
WKLVOLWHUDWÖHRYHUHLYLÖWÖLHVWKDWÖHVRFLDOPHGLDWHVÖVUIRPRWKHUFRO
PHGLDGLVÖVLRQERDUGVLORUGHUWRLOYHVWLJDWHVÖUDGLWLRODÖVRSLVRIFU
VFKRODUVKLSVÖKDVUDFLVWFRPPÖLFDWLROHJRURVWVNDU3UHLVLQJHU ÖJRL
:RGDN RUVRFLDOLGHQWLWLÖVÖV.KRVUDYL1LN ED .KRVUDYL1LN
ÖUWRQ/HHZÖÖRWEHFRQVLGHUHGKHUH

,QWHUQHWFRPPÖLFDWLROWRROV,&7VGLGORWEHFRPHÖLTÖWRÖEHIRUHWKHHDGYH
:RUOG:LGH:HE LQ WKH HDUOV 7KH HDUOV ÖEVLWHV VWDWLF SHUVRQDO RU FRPPHUFL
ÖEVLWHVRUIUHTÖQWODVNHGTVÖVWLROQLVWV)ÖVEHFDPHPRUHÖQDPLFDQGLQWHU
LQWKHODWHVZWKWKHLQFOÖLRORI GLVÖVLRQERDUGVDQGRWKHUWRROVIDFLOLV
LQWHUDFWRLOZWKÖEVLWHRÖHUVÖRÖGWKLVWLPHEORJVEHFDPHWKHKHUDOGVRIÖ
ODWHUFDÖOHG:HEIRUPVRIFRPPÖLFDWLROQDVWKHÖDFLOLWDWHIUHTÖQWÖGDWLQJ
LQWHUDFWRLOEHWÖHQEORJHUVDQGWKHLUDÖLHQFHVÖHUULOJ ÖLOOHU6KHSKHUG
ÖWKRÖQRWÖFRQWURYHUVLDOVKHWHUP,HEVZGHÖHÖGIRUDÖOLQWHUQHWDSOLF
WKDWDOORÖHUWVKHHDVÖUHDWLRODQGVKDULQJRIYDULRXFRQWHQWVWHVPHV
PÖLYLGHHRVHWFDOGHODEOHWKHPWRHQJDJHLQFRSSHUDWLYHDFWLWLWLHVÖKDV
FRWULEXÖLQJWRZNLVDQGWDJLQJFRQWHQWZWKLOGLYLGÖÖÖFRVHQWQDJV VHHU

7KHÖFRPPÖLFDWLROWHFKQRORJLHVFRQWUDLOLQJÖDVÖHÖDVHÖDEOLOJÖDFWRUV
EHHQWHUPHG WKHLU ÖURUGDQFHVÖVFKELÖLÖLVLOJ DFRQHSW LQWURGXHG E

SHQUHWKHRULHVLG LuHUKRZYHULQWKHUHOHYDQFHWKHDVVLQWRHLWKHUWKHLUVWUX
 uQWULQVLF R UWKHLUVRFLDODFWLYLWNHODWHGH [WULQVLF D VSHFWV. DOLN&URZWRQ
 UJXEHU)RU DQDOVLQJ JHQUHV LQ WKHQZPHGLD DQDFWLYLWRULHQWDWHG DSSURDFKLV
 better suited as it allows a focus on what people are doing with a genre across media and
 RPQDWLRQDWRP, QHERPQDWLRQSSOLDWLRQUDGLWLRQOHQHFD\
 EHDLPSONHSURNGR WKH:HE NKDMLHOMQDQWR
 R WKHPDEHEDGDSWHGLHQZPHGLDSHEFDWKHFDDEHGGHGRF
 QZPHGLDSHEHQHFDHPHUUH&WR OOLDPV

7KH RSW RUHQH[W EOLDWLRQHHXQSURGHWKH DSSURULDWH
 WKHRHWLQOWRRLQWLDWLRQKHHuHW HQHWUDMOVRQPHGLDQH[WWR
 DQKHU, WDOO HQOMWKHHuHW DNRDODWLRQWQHCHW WKHLU
 RLLQORH[WLWQLKWKHHPHUHGDSXWLRQKHPLOVRQH[WEDHQH
 LDQH[W]WHQDLOWKHOMRRLQOHDWKHZHUHDEWKHUNQWKHLUMPLWLF
 PHDQQUHWUDQUUHGLOVWKHQH[W]WKHUHQH[W]WSHEPHDQDSHWV
 PDEHGGGH5HQH[W EOLDWLRQDOSUDWLRHWKQODVQHFWK MPLWLF

loss and semiotic enrichment.
 R WKHLQWLDWLRQHEHQH[HQUDOWKHDEHQGHUDWLRQW/KDW
 investigators would be better not focusing on genres in a single context, but on their travel
 DEWULRHGLD DQRPEWLRQDWRP DQWKHUHQH[W EOLDWLRQ uHWR
 WKLWUDMORRQDURLWLBORPQDWLRQIELSDUWLRQDUWKHRODULV
 that the use of traditional genres of political communication in new media environments
 deserves the same attention as the emergence of new genres that are facilitated through the
 DuRGDQDOPHGLDRHUWDLQMUUV

Domains of political Web 2.0 communication

Most studies of the use of social media in political communication so far have not been
 conducted within an explicitly linguistic, discourse-analytic or pragmatic framework, but
 UDWKHULQVKH HOGRRLWLBORPQDWLRQWELHYKHDWLRWLRHQDWHG
 genre conception proposed above, however, enables us to discuss the results of many of
 these studies under a genre perspective.

7KHROKQWLRQLGHLQVWEDUWVKHUWSDUWGHDOZWKSRWLWLEDQ
 SRLWLBOSDUWLHQRDOPHGLDLQKHLURPQDWLRQWKWKHSEKOLWKHMRSUW
 RRWLHQRDOPHGLDL SRLWLBODWLRWLHV

Politician-to-citizen communication: political campaigning revisited

,Q SROLWLFDO LHQFH WKH M RI :HE FRPPQDFWLRQ WRROMQ SROLWLFDOFLWLHQ
 communication has been studied almost exclusively in the context of Western liberal
 GHPRDEHYKSOHPHQDUDMSWLQDMSURGHGWKH HQUDODUPH
 WKHM LQWLDWLRQUNWKH LQWLDQ WKH QPDOLDWLRQSKWKMV
 :KHUHDWKH LQWLRQSKWKMV D HWKDW WKH LQHUHQW DQ HSHEDOO:HE
 WHKQRHVZOO HQDE SRLWLEDQRELOLWLHV GLMPLQWLQRPDWLRQ
 establishing and maintaining contact with their voters, the normalisation hypothesis expects
 WKDWRLQRDQWLRQDQSRWLWLBOWUNHYZOODORKDSHSRLWLBORPQDWLRQ
 WUNKHVWKHLQHUHQW LQKHU EGWKDW SRLWLEDQRLZRPDWLRQ
 RPQDWLRQVHKQRHVZOO DPN WRRH WKH DPHUDWKHU WKDQHWW LQ
 HQQOHDQLQDWHMMQEHWWHURPQDWLRQWKWKHLUD&LHQ

/DUVVRO7 OLWHUDWXUH UHYLHZ/KRZ WKDW IDU PRUH VWXGLHV VHHP WR VXSSRUW W
QRUPDOLVDWLRQSRWKHVLVDQGWKDWLQQRDYWLYHXVHVRIERWK:HEDQGRPPXQLFDWLR
WRROVE\$ROLWFLDQV VHPWREHWKHH[FHSWLRQ7KHUHYLHZGVMWXGLHVVKRZRIYHUTXL
PDUNHGJHRJUDSKLFDQGLuHUHQFHVUHDUGLQJWKXVHRI,&7V,QWKH86SROLWLFDOVVM

internet has been used for more than a decade, though for rather traditional communicative
goals such as targeting supporters and activists, rather than persuading undecided voters
DDBUL D 7KH EDPD HOHWLWPSDLQKDW KDEVHRH LQHUQWLROO\
DPELWWRQHUHQWRPDLW/HKQRHDOEHLWUDWKHUMUDGLWLRQV
KDMPDLOHOGUHSRWHUHHUDQMRQOLWMMKDGZFWKX
PDUNWKKHLSRQHEHURME\$RLWLEDQ

,GRHDQRWKKGLGHDKDEVHQHQRSHGLQUD\$SRLWLEDQWKKHUQ
KRHDWULHMGLQKHDQHUPDQHQW,WRHWHQOWKK
Q H[WHQMO\WKDQRLWLEDQWKKHUQRH LQGLQDHDUN
EPLODUWVKHDMWKHMUDGLWLRQZHEWHKQKMDMEMWHHQHPDLO
MHPWRHPRHUHQW\WKDQKHDGRWLRQERPDWLRQHKQRHWKLV
RPPDLW\OHKDMHRRHGHEHEADNQLOOHNUWGLHV
KZWKDW DGLHQ KDUDWHULWMLH WKH HUH MGH\RSRLWLEDQWLHQ
RPPDLQNSRWWKHQPDOLDWLRQSRWKHMDPDLQUSHROHLQ
WKH DQLQRHKRDUHHDHGLQLSRLWLBDOWLWLVWMMWKHLQHUHQW
DKULQGGWLWLRQSRWLWLDOLRPPDLWLRQ

7KHRMSRWWKHQPDOLDWLRQSRWKHMDUHMHQHUSLQ
HQWW DQ HUHUHUGLWLRQLRHWZHQOHWLMQDQWLMQDLQ
ORFKRPHU UHHUW\WLRQROHFLMDWLRQKDW DUHEDMGNUDUKLO
NDOKDUDWHULWLMQDQHUUDHHWBQRDQGEWUDGLWLRQPHPEHUKLS
EDMGLQWLVW\KHODWWHUDUHLNEDMGDQUHQPLQDULQLMGNQGLuHFWLRQDWKHU
WKDQDUHGROHFLMKDUDWHULWLVHSKHH[WHMMULQWLVWKRPPDOL
DWLRQSRWKHMKW\WKDWWUDGLWLRQSRWLWLDOLRPPDLWLRQDWRROQ
DROHFLMDWLRQROOGLSODWUDGLWLRQRPDLWLRQKDMKQIE

7KH WGLHWVKH NUDOO MRR\$SRLWLEDQHDH HFWLRQH DV
KHWKHUWKHUHDUHGluHUHQVHDUGLQKHRPPDLWLRQMGWKHKDUDWHULWLV
SRWLWLEDQMM ZDQ WKH RPPDLWLRQV KLK WKH\DUH MG
SUQWKHUW\WLRQQLQ\MULHWGLHWKDWDW OHDWGLK
DQRLDQRLWLEDQPLFRORQH7ZWWHUPRHWHQKDOHEN
7KLVHWW LVQLQZWK LFWLDWLRQWKHU WULHWKQKDW 7ZWWHU LV
RPPDLWLRQDWRP WDWLV\DLQMG E\HOLWHWUKRU DLUHGHU
DUKKHUHWKHWHUPHOLWH\DUHHUWRDWKHUGLuHUHQWKKDV

politicians, journalists, celebrities, and so on. Social network analyses show that although
RGLQUMUWHQULEWHP PHDHWREZWWHU LQHUDWLRQRLWLEDQQ
MRQOLWWHQWRHWKHHUHQHRRZWWHURPPDLWLRQWEMUKRU
DLUHGHUDUHQDUGLQRLWLEDQRZWWHUPHMDN
DQLOOHNUW\WKDWWKMZHSHUHQ-DNQHNU\$
SRWLWLEDQNN7ZWWHULQWDOODUHPWQRUHPDOHV

from the three largest parties, and most of their messages are clearly aimed at personal
impression management.

5DWKHUGLuHUHQMQHUKDUDWHULWLVHUNLQWGWKDWRSLOHG7ZWWHUGDWD
URDPEHUWKHRHDSQUOLDPHV\QQUWKKWKL
WGDORRUSRLWLEDQDZWWHUPRHWHQKDRGHURWKHHQH
DULDEOHDWUHOHDW KHUH5DWKHU KRHLQHUDWHGLQVHQHU7ZWWHU

KHUHVKRWKDWOHWDQGLJKWSDUWLHVHHPWRXVH,&7VIRUGLuHUHQWFRPPXQLFDWLRQ
DOGKHQFHVHGLuHUHQWJHQHV

Citizen-to-citizen communication: move on, but where to?

political participation and self-organisation, which would eventually lead to a new era of
GHOLEHUDWLM GHPRDLQ DEHUPDMDQ MH KOLDUDN (SHWDWLQ
BUQWKH JW DSHW KDM EHHQDUHOGLDSSRQHG DWKH NULHZWGLHV
SUHMVHG S KDWKLVWFLZOO GHDO ZWK KDO PHGLD'SREOH
DULEWLRWRLHWORDQWLURMMQKHMQWQWDOGHUEHU/
RSWFLMDWLQ

to provide fast and widespread access to political information that is relevant for persons
KRUHQUGZWKDHUWDLQBLWLBOLM,WHUPRQWFLMDWLWLVHWKH
PRLQDWLRUIGDGHVHMPEOHWUDGLWLRQSRBLWLBORPQWFLWLVHW
HW WKHLQGLuHUHQW KDO DFRVQUDGLWLRQSRBLWLBORPQWFLWLBOR
SDUWLHSURGHLPDWLQ WKHLU SRWHUWKHLU ZE MWHWH DEN S
KHUHDVHQEOH DWLYWWSURGH DQ SUHDG WKHLU SHUNO MHDQ
LPDWLQUDQPHVUHQHWLWVKDWPDQHDG WVKHUDSLGGLuKQ
social movements across geographical boundaries.

relevant issues, without depending on traditional gatekeepers in the public and in the
WUDGLWLRQPHGLD DUUHWWDPHNSURGHV M PHWDSHUSHWLM URKLK
studies of social-media use by new social movements can be grouped and compared; it will
be used to organise the following overview.

their views on various social and political problems without depending on media gatekeepers,
WKH H[SUHMQLQLEGO SRBLWLBORPHVWHQDPWRPHGLDWHG MOI
UHSUHMVWLWPHWKSKOLSHURPDRGHQLWUDWKHUWKDQRQKLDUWLESDWL
SRBLWLBORPHVQKLDUDN,QESWGRWLWHEOMUV
RDOEQDHSUNO WDH PDUNUYQORVDRSDUHGW
UHHUHQSRWRWKH WLWLK DWLRO ESXKLVHW WUDUWHVW
EORU'WWHPSW WGHMORDQLLQO SRWLQWKLQ GLQDWKHU WKDQ
DULEWLRQRKHQDWLRSDUDEOHUHWKDMEHHQHRSRWHGEPQW
DOLQKHLULWLDWLREOHWLRUGQKHHEMWHRSRDU'WDON
KQLOOHUD'GDW'BLWLBORGLQHENDHR

Spanish politicians. Her results show that the majority of participants contributed only one
SWLQWKDWPWVKHMSWLSRWHGRHMQ(DHUDWHGWKH SRBLWLEDQ
MHWKHLMQHUGLQWKHUPRHP'SWLQ'UHDOLMGHOLEHUDWLM
argumentative – but rather, commenting – genres, as the following example from her data
shows:

[1] I don't know if we live in a country of gullible idiots or crazy people.[2] ETA hasn't VDLGDQWKLQJGLiHUUHQW... WKHLUFRQGLWLRQVDUHPHW... GHIHDWHG... SURYLQFH... the PP is celebrating the fact that ETA hasn't said anything. [11] It seems, Rosa, that RXDUHWKHRQO\$ROLWFLDQZKRKDVKHUZLWVDERXWKHUDORQJZLWKODRU2UHMD Esperanza Aguirre. #WULHYHGIURPRVDIHJ#ZDOODQGSXEOLVKHGRQ2FWREHU @W@

9DOHUD2UGD]SWUDQVODWHGWR(QJOLVKE9DOHUD2UGD] @DMREHUDGGHGE#

7KLSW/LQZHKWKDUDWHULWLHDWHEW/KHSHURORPHVHQHWKH DWKRMORGHUDEOHUDHEDONWLMOH[LMOLEOHLGLWVDSHROHKDM #RNVQPPDUNURR#PDOSHKKHWKHKLKEHURUDFWLQ @LWLW/KWHUPRH WKHSLQDQDODURKHQDWLMLLQUDODM#V SUHMQLH[SOLEWDQLPSOLEWEDWLMKDDUDWHULDWLWEDQHSHUWRD#V EDNWKHHEONWLMWDWHPHQLQDM7KHUKHWLWLBODUDWEHWZHQDMV DQWKHQOEDMWKHQUMDDEW#HURWKHSRWLMDSSUDLWODW#KHHSBLWLEDQ LQGLW#KHSDH#U5#LH#KRWKHDW#KR#RM#GR#EDMDV EHLQGLW#ED#

7KLM[DPSOHDQWKHDEHPHQLRGW&LHMHPW#W#WKDW#DWOHDW#R#WKH :HE RPNWDL#EOLWLH#KDMWLP#DWHGSHUR#O#BLWLB#H[SUHMW#K# concern for an audience and thus merely serve as pressure-relief valves for frustrated citizens.

#PLODUSDUWOSH#MPLWLEH#WKHUR#H#RWLH#OSUR#H#G#H#R#H#Z #DOP#PHQ#D#H#L#Q#K#R#W#D#O#W#&#K#H#Y#G#H#W#K#H #R#P#H#Q#7#K#H#D#W#K#R#M#W#L#D#W#H#G#W#K#H#R#H#Q#R#H#Y#G#H#W#K#H#A #P#H#Q#D#Q#W#U#D#H#G#W#K#H#Y#G#H#R#D#L#S#U#D#W#L#H#W#K#D#W#O#L#K#H#D#Q#7#Z#W#W#H#L#H #W#H#W#H#G#O#L#W#R#H#Y#G#H#W#E#R#G#H#U#W#B#Q#M#K#L#K#U#R#H#R#D#O#P#H#G#L#D#S#O#D#L#Q #H#Z#U#W#H#W#P#H#Q#W#K#H#D#Q#M#G#D#O#O#G#H#R#W#K#H#U#H#O#D#W#H#G#N#E#G#D#M#O#O#D#V #Y#G#H#W#K#D#W#H#U#H#O#L#G#W#K#H#U#H#O#D#W#H#G#W#H#W#G#L#Q#P#E#H#U#7#K#R#W#D#O#V

results show that although the majority of videos in their corpus was footage of the protests, WK#M#Y#G#H#W#H#W#H#G#L#H#U#R#P#H#Q#H#G#E#D#7#Z#W#W#H#U#M#U#W#R#K#H#L#U#B#O#K#U#D#Q#W#H#Q #D#W#K#H#G#H#U#H#P#H#R#O#H#S#U#R#M#R#O#O#S#U#B#G#H#W#D#Q#P#L#K#H#U#H#D#V#H#H#Q #D#P#D#W#H#Y#G#H#R#H#H#L#G#O#L#W#W#O#H#D#W#H#Q#L#Q#R#W#K#H#O#D#W#W#H#U#H#W#W#K#H#D#W#K#R#R#Q#H#G#W#K#H #R#D#O#P#H#G#L#D#S#O#D#W#R#P#K#D#R#H#W#K#D#W#D#U#H#S#U#R#W#H#G#D#W#H#R#K#D#L#Q#H#Q#D#U#H #D#O#M#G#E#L#Q#L#E#G#N#O#D#U#K#L#D#O#S#K#S#M#V#K#R#R#W#D#O#V#H#W#W#D#U#H#L#Q#H#U#H#W#L#Q#Q#E #D#Y#U#W#W#K#H#R#M#D#U#K#L#D#O#M#R#K#H#K#W#K#D#W#D#R#D#O#P#H#G#L#D#S#O#D#W#R#P#V #DuEGD#H#V#D#P#W#O#H#D#W#R#H#U#W#D#L#H#U#G#L#U#H#U#R#W#K#H#S#U#L#P#D#U#M#L#W#L#S#U#R#W#H#G#E #H#R#W#K#H#L#U#Q#L#Q#K#D#W#L#W#D#P#D#L#Q#M#P#L #S#U#R#M#R#O#O#H#G#L#W#H#G#Y#G#H#W#K#H#A #S#U#W#H#W#W#K#D#W#H#Q#M#U#D#O#L#H#H#U#H#S#U#H#D#G#M#U#M#U#D#O#R#D#O#P#H#G#L#D#S#O#D#W#R#P#D#Q#H#U#H#W#H#Q #D#W#K#H#G#D#W#L#Q#D#L#Q#S#U#H#P#D#W#K#H#H#Q#K#D#P#D#E#W#W#K#H#G#L#U#H#W#D#H#V#Z#G#H#U#D#L#H#Q #P#D#K#D#M#W#E#G#L#Q#U#E#W#L#H#Q#W#K#D#Q#H#H#Z#W#H#G#H#Q#W#K#U#K#R#H#Q#W#K#D#L#Q

platforms. @O#W#K#H#D#E#H#P#H#Q#L#R#G#W#&#L#H#W#K#D#W#L#Q#H#U#P#R#D#P#L#Q#U#R#M#H#D#E#N #R#D#O#P#H#G#L#D#S#O#D#W#R#P#M#H#P#W#E#O#L#W#D#W#H#W#K#H#P#H#U#H#R#R#I#Q#H#R#W#L#H#R#L#W#L#B#O #H[SUHMORRWLNGHGRHOV#W#WKDW#WKHM#H#Q#H#V#D#W#H#W#E#H

RSWLPDOOGHYHORSHGIRUWKHVRFLOSXUSRVHWKHUHLQWHQGHGWRXOQRUWKDWWKHPDUHAFWXTDOLWDWLYHOQHURUPVRIFLWLJHOV\$ROLWLFDOH[SUHVVLROWKDWDUHQRWFF with the current political system in modern Western democracies.

,QKHW&LHVHRSWHGDUUEWLHJUEDWLWLVLHDSRSDQHGRPHQVHGQ real-life political events, which may be responsible for the disconnectedness between RLQDQRLEQDWLWLVLHBLWLBOHMOKKMUWKDWDNSODHHQLUHONKHZE PDQHDGWBELuHUHQGQPLEHDMWKHPRELOLMLuHFW&SURGH,QW& KKHGHGKDWUHDWHGWBQRRLQVL,ODPLEGHRURNGDQGLWULEWHG EDWKHLQHUHQWEDULKWZSRQLWVKRSLWLEDDQRHWDOLGHQLHG WKUHHHQHVEWLHQSURHW H[SUHMMDPPLQW DQ PL[DQ ORQ LH EGHROKLOH MDPPLQGHM[SORWHG KKHWDLQHDWKH WR complicate the search for the original video, and to express disagreement with the politician-SURHUKHQPNDQPL[EGHSSOLHGH LWKHUWLUHRUDWLRQODURKHQDWLRQ RGHU WWHU WKH RLLQO EGHPRDH ,QVKH ORHQ SHDNUPW\ UHSUHMVDWLMRDQDWLQ UHHQORUSURGHGUDWLRQDURKHQDWLQ DDLQWKH RLLQO QP7KH DWKRW&H WKDW WKHM WKUHH EGHHQH WUW GLuHUHQRP&SURHUKUWBOEWLHQLS DQ SURH WGLuHUHQD&LH&VKH\ further argue that their results would show that social media can serve as platforms for borderless political participation and interaction, and would thus present counter evidence WVKHSHMPLWLEH&GRWHGLQKHHDUOLHUW&LHVHRSWHGDEH&QWDO do not present a systematic investigation of the numbers of viewers the videos in their ES&WWUDWHG WKLYQVHUSUHWDLQRDKKMU EHSUHPDWKH DQEWKSRWLVK SHMPLWLBQWKHRWLPLWLPLKWEHGHHQDEOH

EGHQRGLUHWLQRWLHQLEQDWLWLVLHRLSRSLWLBODWLRQHPV WEH SURGHG E&DUOW&E& WHPDODQURHW PPHQ WKDW DV WULHUHGEWKHPKGHUBODU&DUOKGHQLHGMMUDOHQH&WLRDPHMQHU WHUPLRKLK&UHMGLQHEH&H&HDWHGLPPHGLDWHODWHUWKHL&GHQ 7KHPW UHHQHQH&UH&OO&E&DWLRQQWKH&LR&R&PDWLRQKHML RLQDWLWLVLH&UHGPDMMRLQSURHW&MMUD&UO&H&SRW&WKUHP&KV ODWHU EWK RLQ SURHW&DQ RLQ DWLWLVLHVQKH DHE&K&DG GHEHDMG &WDQ&LDOO&7KHUHR&DUOW&KLOH SURGLQ&GHQ WKDW RLQ SRLWLBQ DWLWLVLH&QH&WLRQL&SRLWLBODWLRQ&MHPW&WDHUWDL&KLO&KH SDQuHFW&KHMDWLVLHV

RHW&LHKDM&G&KHMHE RPE&WLRQHKQRH&GLQ SRLWLBQDWLWLVLHV&K&RDUL&DQDUOHWDO W&LHG DUL&SHWR 7ZWWHU M&GLQ&U&HW&QL&WDO&Q&W&W&7K&RDUL&W&KDW W&HQ\ UR&K&LQ&K&H&M&U&W&K&D&W&L&W&K&H&G&H&L&E&H&U&D&W&H&O&F&H&D&W&H&G&K&R&L&D&O& OL&G&7&Z&W&W&H&U&D&W&Q&W&W&K&W&D&H&D&U&H&U&H&R&G&H&U&W&N&H&S&W&K&L&U&R&P&D&W&L&R OL&Q&V&D&W&H&M&C&H&Q&Q&H&Y&U&H&K&W&G&K&H&S&U&W&H&W&H&U&W&K&D&W&L&M&O&W&N D&G&D&D&H&R&u&E&G&D&H&W&K&H&R&P&D&W&L&R&O&D&W&R&P&L&Q&G&H&U&W&R&M&W&K&H&L&U&S&R&L&W&L&B&O goals.

UULH&N&D&S&D&L&Q&W&D&Q&U&H&H&R&D&O&P&H&G&L&S&O&D&W&R&P&S&O&D&H&G&D&W&D&Q&L&D&O UR&H&L&Q&W&E&N&D&O&P&H&Q&V&W&L&W&L&H&G&L&S&U&W&H&W&K&O&L&U&H&Y&K&H activities resulted in hybrid spaces composed of multimodal representations and RPE&WLRQLuHUHQV&L&H&G&U&H&D&U&W&L&Q&R&K&H&S&R&L&W&L&B&O&Q&R&D&O HuH&W&K&H&M&U&H&Q&H[&W&E&O&L&W&L&R&U&D&W&L&H&U&H&K&M&U&D&U&R&E&H&L&R&M&O&P&H&D&U R&H&U&H&M&D&U&K&K&H&G&L&u&H&U&H&Q&O&R&O&U&H&L&Q&V&H&U&S&U&H&W&D&W&L&R&D&U&H&G&L&P&D&H&D&Q&G&H&G&E&H Q&H&G&H&G&W&R&W&L&P&D&W&H&K&W&K&H&M&U&H&W&D&N&E&D&W&R&M&Q&L&u&H&U&H&Q&S&O&D&H&K&K&

Note

LHPVWKHQKHDGRIWKH6SDQLVKOHIVLWVSDUW8QLRQ3URJUHVVDQGHPRFUDF83\

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QJRM - :RGDN5 KHEHFDPELJLQWKHVKDGRZIKWHFULVLV7KHUHHNVKHFHV
 VWRUDQGWKHULVHRIWKHIDILUHKWMSocietyYROQRSS±

YNHKDYHJLHOVHQJLWDOJHQUHVSKDOOHQJHWRWUDGLWLRQDOJHQUHWKJHRIUtion
 Technology & PeopleYROQRSS±

WL@DUFRRFLD0RORZXSVDDQGLDORJXHLQRQOLQHGLVFXVVLQRVQ)UHQFKSROLWLFV
)URP.QWHUQHWIRUXPVWRVRLD0911Qanamics of political discourse. Forms and functions of
 follow-ups HGV \$HWJHU (:HLJPDQ / HUOLO -RKQ HQMDPLQV 3XEOLVKLOJ &RPSDQ)
 PVVHUGDPDQ3KLODGHOSKLDSS±

XVVHUKRIHU-0DLUHGHUJADWLRQDOSROLWLFVROZLWVHInformation, Communication &
 SocietyYROQRSS±

DURWQ 'HH & /DQXDJHRQOLQH,QYHVWLJDWLQJGLJLWDO WH|VWVQOQKJHFWLWLVH
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HQWW:GHUEHUJKHORRWLMDWLRQ Information, Communication
 & SocietyYROQRSS±

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KDLUDNMOPHGLDWLRQPHGLDDQEWLHQLS Critical Discourse Studies, vol. 7,
 RS±

KRLLOLWLHDOLEWLEDDQSHDWMOHKWPOODUN Journal of
 Language and PoliticsYROQRSS±

&URZVWRQ. :LOOLDPV0 H SURGXFHG DQ HPHUJHQW JHQUHVRI FRPPXQLFDWLRQ RQ WKH
 :RUOG:LGH:HE The Information SocietyYROQRSS±

RURVWVNDU3UHLVLQJHU\$HIVHUNRPPHQWDUIRUHQDXVNULWLWFKGLVNXUVDQDOWLWFKHU
 3HUVSHNWLYH(LQH|SORUDWLYH WXGLH DP HVLVSLHO GHU 2QOLQH=HLWVQJGHUWDQGDUGD
 Linguistische GazetteYROSS±

(DUO-OF.HHXUZLW)(-0HMLD0HVLQDVRODQ0\$ORWWLKLVSURWHVWZLOOEH
 WZHHWHInformation, Communication & SocietyYROQRSS±

(LVHQODXHU9)DFHERRNDVDWKLUGDXWKRU HPLDXWRPDWHGSDUWLFLSDWLRQIUDPHZRNLQ
 VRFLDQOHWZRUNYLVHWof PragmaticsYROSS±

(OPHULYHUHVHDFKZLWVHULQJDQHOHFWLRQGHENWMedia & SocietyYROQR
 SS±

)DLUFORXJKIDiscourse and social change , Polity Press, Cambridge.

W.KQLGHUWeb campaigning0,3UHVV&DPEULGJH\$

DUUHWV.SURWHVWLQDQDQIRUPDWLRQVRFLLHW\$HYLHZRIOLWHUDWXUHQVRFLDOPRYHPHQWVDDQ
 QHZ,&VInformation, Communication & Society YROQRSS±

EXEHU@DOJLQJFRPPXQLFDWLRQLQWKHQHZPHGLDQ Qualitative discourse analysis in
 the social sciencesHGV5RGDN0.UJ)QRZVNL3DOJUDYH0DFLOODQ/RQGRQSS±

EXEHUHQUHVLSROLWLFDOGLVFRXUVH\$HFDVHRIWKHSDUOLDPHQWDULQDXJUDOVSHHFKRI
 XVWULDQFKDQFHOOBUN\$Qog genres in political communication: Theory and practice, eds.
 BS -KQDPLKOLKLSDQVHUGDP DQ KLODGHOSKLD
 SS±

DUOQDOPHGLDDQDOPHPHYDHEBQDQLQVHPDODQWLH
 PMPHQWKDWPNGRLQ New Media & SocietyYROQRSS±

HUPDQV9HUJHHU0AHUVRQDOLJDWLRQLQHFDPDLJLQJ\$SURVVQDWLRQDOFRPSDULVRQRI
 SHUVRQDOLJDWLRQVWUDWHJLVXVHGRQFDQGLGDWHZHEVLWHVRIFRXQWUNHWLQ(3HOHFWLRQ
 Media & SocietyYROQRSS±

7KHRFKDULV4KHZDOWKRIFFXSDWLRQOHWRUNV&RPPXQLFDWLRQSDWWHUQVDQGLQIRUPDWLRQ
 GLVWULEXWLRQLQD7ZWWHUSURWWWHWQHVN&M Information Technology & PoliticsYRO
 QRSS±

KRUVRO. ULVFROO. (NGDOH4GJHUO&KRPVRO/5KURFN&DUWJ/9UDJD(
 :HOOV&RXWXEHZLWWHUDQGWKH2FFXS0RYHPHQW¶ Information, Communication &
 SocietyYROQRSS±

9DFFDUL&DURPWKHDLUWRWKHJURXQGKHLQWHUQHHLQWKH8UHVLGHQWLDOFDPSDLJQ¶
 New Media & SocietyYROQRSS±

9DFFDUL&EIVHDFKQRWH,WDOLDQSDUWLHV7HEVLWHVLQWKHHOHFWLRQ¶European Journal
 of CommunicationYROQRSS±

9DFFDUL&FRUQJWRWKHeOVpHKHLQWHUQHHLQWKH)UHQFKHOHFWLRQ¶Tech Politics,
 YROQRSS±

DOHUD2GDHOLEHUDWLQUDGLDOLJHSDUWLDQLHMDQOVRRLWLBO
 GLQWGHQKHDEHDEHDKSRLLWBOBQLGDWH¶ 7H[W&DNO
 MediaYROSS±

YDQ/HHXZHQ7 Discourse and practice, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
 DQRLHQUHDWLRQ&SRLLW¶ Media, Culture & SocietyYRO
 QRSS±

YDQ=RRQHQ/9LV) 0LKHM&HUIRUPLOJFLWLJHQVKLSRQRXXEH&WLYLVPVDWLUH
 DQRLHGHEDWHDU&WKHDWL,ODP&GHEWQ¶Critical Discourse Studies, vol. 7, no. 4,
 SS±

:LOOLDP&DWL* EDOH&W&QLWLBO&PSDLQHEH&QWKH
 &HMQOHOHFWLRQ¶ New Media & SocietyYROQRSS±

=DSSDYLJQD 0 BELHQW DvOLDWLRQ \$OLQJXLVWLF SHUVSHFWLYH RQ ZLWWH¶Media &
 SocietyYROQRSS±

Music and sound as discourse and ideology

The case of the national anthem

David Machin

Introduction

/LNHDOOVHPLRWLFUHVRV\FHVVRQGDQGPV\FKDYHYHUVSHFLFduRUGDQFHVZLFKPHD
they can be used in special ways. Scholars have argued that music has a special kind of force
DDBUULHUBOHFWLPHPRDQWUDGLWLENDREHLQHPWLRQDQDOPW
SKMDOMQIHUPDQSLNWH[WDQSLVXHWKHQMPKHQHU
DQWVKUKNERLHFOOLWRMZWKWKHLUUKWKPQDHHOWKHWH[WKXHR
WKHLUSLWKHMQEOLWLHOKLQKDUGLUDQKLOGMWWLQD
classroom while their classmates sing the daily national anthem may not understand the
EGEWKHZOOSKMDOOH[SHULHQLWSHUEULO,QKLDKDSWHU,KE
how we can document and analyse the way this power and the ideas, values and identities
WKDWLWRPQDWHUHDOLMG,H[SODLQDQSSUBKNDGLMMQ
WKHMW&WQWLRQDQKHPYKHWDUSDQHGDUQDQDQGDYKH
JWSDUWVKHKDSWHULQUGKDWDEWLPEDOKLWLDELMMQDQW
DSSURKWRQOLN,WKHEQWVSSOWKHM LGHDWRWKHDQKHPV
looking at the lyrics and then at how these are realised through sound.

Sound, ideology and discourse

0&DVVRHVWKDWFRPPQLFDWRUVGHSORGLuHUHQWNLOGVRIVHPLRWLFUHVRV\FHVVRD
SDUWLFODUJRDOVWFRPPQLFDWHVSHFLFLGHVDVWVWLVW&HVDQGLGHQWLWLHVLRQ
GLVVHPLQDWHGLVFRVHVWKDWVSRUWVKHLURQLQWHUHVW,QWKLVKDSDWHU,
productive to take these principles to approach sound in a social-semiotic sense where we
identify the underlying resources available to communicators, presenting these as a kind of
LQVRRHDSWHQLDQWKHDQOMTHEYH[WVWLWKHQNHOHWDR
at how these meaning potentials are used to achieve particular communicative goals and
PHDQDQWLVHWKLMQDQOVLGHQVLLQKHEKOGLEPQDV
communication, allows us to look, not just at what sound communicates, but how it does so.
DUWKHDUNGWKHQHGRDELWLQDSSURKWRNEWKHWKDWDPDPWLF
analysis of sound must be able to go beyond the kinds of adjectives we commonly use when

RIKDWKSSHQVRIKDWDDWWLWXGHVDQGLGHQWLWLHVDUHUHTXLUHG,WLVWKLVLNLOGRIF
WKDW,DQWWRH[WHQGGKHUHWKWLQNDERXWWKHVRXQGVXVHGWRFRPPXQLFDWHDERX
and nationalism.

7KHUHKDMQWEHHQODNDUOKNWKHGHWDLORKMPDQLE
QDEOHHSWLRQUDQWHQMOLOVKKLDSWHULNFWWWHPSWWRGHQLI
the language of music through a study of classical and opera music, looking for the kind of
patterns in uses of pitch, melodies, articulation, notation and rhythms that were used for
GLuHUHQVSKSNRKH[DPSONKH HWDEOLKHG WKDW HUWDLQSDWVWHUQ[SDQHGR
limited pitch ranges in melodies clearly related to how emotionally expressive or contained
DKDUDFWHU DWEHGHSLFWHG EUXWDQPRHGHGQUWLNDWLRQQRHMHUH
MHGUHODWHGWQRHHDUURRHHUWDLQVKHUHDORUOLHULRHHG
be used for emotional dwelling and thoughtfulness.

One rare example of scholarship that related sound meanings to ideology was McClary
KRGHUHG HQHU UHSUHMVDWLRQMKHDUNG WKDW WKHUHLVOR
tradition of representing men and women in European music using particular kinds of
LWURHQVVKWKPQSKUDMPPHQGWWHGUKWKPPOHRLHWKDWDFQ
RHWKDWDUHSODHGKDUKUSOZWKWDBWRIGONKHUEUDMURHQVQDZGHSLWK
UDHLWKHPORLHQUDWRHQWURFWHGQORUDUWLDNDWLR
of notes, softer instruments such as woodwind and strings and a narrower pitch range in the
PHORLHVKHGLuHUHQEHWZHQKH WKHMVLWKDW WKHPDOHLVRHSUHEM
VDUGONDDMUWLM7KHHPDOHLMRHMHWLMLDUGONDDHQVOH
,WLWKLQHMORMUBWLRQENRQOLWLHQVWLQKHPWRGHORV
the aim in this chapter in the case of the national anthem and the kinds of ideas, values,
DWLWLWGHNDQLGHQVLWLHWKHPEDWHQVQWKUKOULEWDDWKUKSHEF
semiotic choices in music, rhythm and arrangement.

The national anthem as discourse

,O&ULWLFDOVFRMWH6WGLHVLWKDVEHHQVKRZKRDWLRQDOLVDPQGWKHLGHDRIDPR
QDWLRQDOLVWLGHQWLWKDYHEHHQXHGIRULGHRORJLFDOSXSRVHV:RGDNHWDODVDF
WRJRWRDUJDKDPHWDO WRGHOHJLWLPLVHPLJUDQWSRSDDWLRQV.UDQRVNL
:RGDN DQG WRGLVWUDFWIURPVRFLOLQHTDOLWLHVEDVHGROGLVWULEWLRQRIZID
UHVRMVFHVBRXQRJODDFKLOLQVKRUWWRPRELOLVHSRSDDWLRQVDURGGGHHSON
LGHRRORJLFDOSURMHFWV 2RKHUWVRWLQRV S 7KHVH GLVFRMWHV DUH
communicated through political speeches and news media, but also routinely through banal
everyday events and objects, such as weather maps, school books and international sporting
HMVVOOLJ7KUK WKHM SURMVKHLGHD DFOGQWLQRH
QWEDOLMGDOHHS,WLQHDUWKDWGLMMRWLRQOLPDQQWLRO
LGHQVLWDUH UHDOLMGDQGLMPLQWHGEGLuHUHQPBHQWKUKGLuHUHQNR
RPNWLMHQHWLMQDWKDEHHQLGULQKLDKDSWHUDENNQDQ
PKKDW DQ OHDUQEW WKHLU UBHLQVWLQWLQOLW SURHFWMRH DQOMQ
H[DPSONDKHP,ONWDDWVKHKLWVRWKHQWLRQDQKHPDQKEWSDUWLQ
the nation-building project.

The origins and deployment of the national anthem

7KHRULJLQRIWKHQDWLRQDODQWKHPOLNHQDWLRQDOLVPLWVHOIOLHV LQWKHHL
although most anthems are much more recently composed, or have gone through many

©VRLQDQWKHPVWKHQDWLROWHQGWWREHFRPHIXVHGZWKQDWXUDOFFROHWVXFKDVKWHF
of the seasons, sunrise and sunset, or of harvests, and to natural elements, such as the wind
EADKLQWQWKHRLKXHGDKHWZOLKWD
EHDPLKWDQWKHEORUHHHVKLQWLRHRHDMWHUQODWKHM
QWEDOPHDQWKHHDWKHKHQWEDOODQDSH,QKHOULWKHMDQKHP
QWKHUHRHDEPHLWLPDWLQDMGWKHDWKRLQWLRQHHQ
WKHWLPHOHVWDELOLWDQSKLWRWLRKLODPLPWRREDOHDOEWLR
because when nation is fused with nature and beginning-less time, it becomes natural and
WLRQEOH

We can also think about representation of the social actors and transitivity in anthem
OULSLDOOQROHFLMSURDQWVKLQKH
DQKHLQGGUHMGSUHOODMDDQ youVHHHDOVRQGUHUUHQFHW
IRHVQKLFKDUHLP SOLHGLQ2&VLQFHLWLWUHSHDWHGWKDWSHRSOHPXVWWDQGXDU
,Q2&ZHDQVRQGMROVRWKHQDWLRQDOVRW\$LFDORIDQWKHPVZKHUHQDWLRQLVUHQDWH
IDPLO3ODTXHVFRPPHPRUDWLQJZDURIWQHQUHUUWRWKHVRQVRIWKHQDWLRQZKRJDYH
OLYHVQLOOQ2&ZHKDYHWKHUHUHQFHWRRG

\$UHJDUGVZKDWKHSDUWFLSDQWGRZHQG\$URXGOZHKLQOZHZDWFKHQWQWKL
VHQVHWKHFROOHFWLYHHLVEHDULQJZLWQHVV,Q2&SHRSOHRKROGWUXHDDQGMWDQGXDU
QGD\$RVLWLYHHYDOXDWLQRWKHFLWLJHQVDVGHGLFDWHGZRUNHUVLQDOOZKRWRLO
OHJLWLPDWLRQLQUHDFWLRQVYDQ/HHXZHQZKHUHLQSHRSOHDUHSURXGVHHLQJWKH
JDQGLQ2&SHRSOHKDYHJORZLQJKHDUWV

,QVXPZHQGWKHQDWLRQDVXVHGZLWKFQOHVLOQDQWUHDQGXUDOIHDWXUHVQDUH
DQGVPRPHKRZSXUH DQG VSLULWXDO :H QG D OH/LV RI #ORUQDQ EUDYHU#ROOHFWLYH
SURQRXQVDUHXVHGZKHUHSRSOHDUHVHONVVDDQGGREXEWOHVVDVUHJDUGVWKHQDWLR
will protect.

Analysis of sound

,QRVWQWRWKHVRQGVRIWKHQDWKHPVKHUHDNLQJDW\$LFDQDQVHRIWKHLUSHUIR
WKH2ORSLFDPHV,QRUGHUWRGRVR,EUHDNGRQWKHQDWKHPVLOWRQDQEHURI
components, necessary for the purpose of analysis.

Creating emotion in a melody

Melodies can communicate about mood and emotional engagement through a number of
MPLWLPHDQHLQWKSLSWKLKUHODWHWKKLKRQQLMVDHP
would be a high note, thunder a low note. Pitch itself has lots of meaning potential, but,
importantly, it is how pitches shift in melodies that can communicate more complex meanings.

\$WDEDMMOSLWKLVLKLOHWD\$KRLBODKDWL\$K
that in the history of classical music and opera, high pitch has been associated with high
levels of energy and brightness and low pitch with its opposite – in other words, low levels
HQUEHLQDLQGRHVKLQWDLQDORHMDMDQGDHUVKQ
KDMQDWLMPHDQKXUSLWKHDPHDKWQXHUEDODQONUSLWKHV
immobile and static. Higher pitch can also extend to mean agitation, and lower pitch can
PHDQEURLOHSDLU,MPDULMWKHMLOEOH

We would not expect a national anthem to use only extreme high pitches, which might
MWRHWKLOLKWAKWRHMQWHULBORRGHHSUDMDQORSLWKHV
Of course, melodies involve changing pitches, which we come on to now.

7DEOH Meaning potentials of pitch

Pitch	Positive meaning	Negative meaning
High	W L K W H Q U H W L K D S S \	L K W W L K W W U L M D O A K W \
Low	, P S R W D Q W L G	Q W H S U H M G G D H U K

Star Spangled Banner

O say can you see by the dawns early light what so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming? Whose broad stripes and bright stars thru the

Figure 28.1 Star-Spangled Banner

O Canada

Oh Canada Our home and native land True patriot love in all thy sons command with glowing hearts we

Figure 28.2 O Canada

§HORGOLQHZOOXVXDOOULVHDQGIDOOQLSLWFKLZLFKFDQFUHDWHPHDQLQJJDWWROHY 7KHVHDU

direction of pitch movement and H[WHY pitch movement. W L Q W K S L W K G L U H W L D P M P H V U R D K L K S L W K W D O S L W K D Q R P R W H D M Q D O O L Q U E O H D N W L Q U G Q H P S O D W L K 7 K H S R W H D J D G E O L G H U R O W K L K S L W K D Q M D M Q L L W V

picking up, or of an outburst of energy. Where there is no pitch movement, there would be D M W D M R P W L R O W D L P H V 7 K H M D U H R P D U L M G L Q D E O H

We can now begin to consider what may or may not be appropriate for the melody of a Q W L R O D Q K H P , W E G W E H D S S U R U L D W H R H [D P S O H R D P H O E W R H L Q W D M U \

7DEOH Meaning potentials of direction of pitch movement

<i>Pitch direction</i>	<i>Meaning potential</i>
IFHQGLQJPHORG\ IRSLWFKPRYHPHQW Descending melody	XLOGLQJRIPRRGRXWZDUGH[SUHVVLRLQLQFUHDVHLQHQUJ\ (PRWLRQDOVWDVLVFRQWDLQPHQWUHVHUYDWLRQ URLRPLRQUGR/HPSODWLRQHEHDMGHQU\

KLKSLWKDQWKHQHQWDMUOBLWKKRGWKLEHMGREWEG

suggest a shift from hysteria to a bleak falling away of emotional energy.

Many national anthems use stepped increases in pitch to suggest a steady and regulated

regulated and gradually rising melodies, rather than those that might waver about with notes and certainly no discordant notes.

Certainty and commitment in music

be related to those observations made in linguistics where shorter phrases are associated useful meaning potential for communicating attitudes and identities in musical compositions.

that the music connoted industriousness and the national spirit. Longer lingering notes tend ballad. Longer notes would point to subjective experience, perhaps to suggest something individualistic and would be inappropriate for a sense of collective spirit. Dotted notes, dominance of shorter notes with some slightly more lingering notes to point to emotional contemplation.

regulated emotional expression, but this is articulated through short, certain phrasing.

continues.

always build in a steady, structured fashion suitable for subordination to the state.

7DEOH Meaning potentials of note articulation

<i>Articulation of notes</i>	<i>Meaning potential</i>
Shorter dotted notes	deep-pitched brass or woodwind
Longer lingering notes	Emotionally lingering, subjective

SRVLEOHWRGRVR7KHDQWKHPVDUHD~~ER~~XWVRF~~LD~~ODQGSXEOLFHYHQWVDERXWRSHQVKD
QDWLRQDO SULGH 7KH SXEOLF SHUIRUPDQFH RI WKH DQWKHPV WDNHV XS VRFLDO VSDFH
loudness. Olympic winners are granted social space to their national anthem, which everyone
LQKH DUHQ P~~W~~ KHDU DQ H[SHULHQ 7KH DQWKHPWHQW DUW ZWK O~~X~~HU GUKUROV
PEDOEDKHNDQEUD~~DU~~QH~~MD~~MWL~~LR~~WKHDRSDQPHQ~~Y~~MU

it can be the case that louder brass sections are accompanied by lighter-sounding
LQURHQWDLQWKHOPSLSHURPD~~HL~~KWHUKLKHUSLWKHGHKHWHEHOOV
were also played, thereby accenting beats that brought a feeling of delicacy and brightness
– suitable for the magical moment of the victory, which nevertheless moves along with the
rhythms and melodies of the overall arrangement.

VHDUGOHMORDSLQ~~W~~K~~SK~~OLSHURPD~~HR~~QKHP~~U~~HSODHG~~Q~~
EUDV~~U~~URHQ~~W~~MOOZWKEDKLEPEDOD~~Q~~UH~~G~~UKUROV~~W~~DV~~U~~URHQ~~V~~
WKHPOMWHQWBUGDPRHUDS~~V~~WKD~~U~~L~~U~~DU~~U~~WR

masculine and feminine sounds in opera, she explains that women tend to be associated with
WHU~~W~~KO~~D~~UWL~~D~~WHG WUL~~D~~QPH~~Q~~WK~~G~~WHG EUD~~V~~HVKH EUD~~V~~UL~~U~~
slightly more aggression and power in this sense.

VHDUGVHMUED~~Q~~KHP~~U~~H~~W~~HQ~~H~~GHGZWKUHMUEWRUL~~U~~KLM~~U~~HOHD~~Q~~
sacredness. Performance of anthems in large roofed stadiums can also bring natural reverb
and echo.

:KHQWRHWKEUDW~~H~~Q~~Q~~KHEUD~~M~~URHQW~~K~~DWSURGHWKHED~~N~~
RPHOGL~~H~~WKHW~~W~~KHP~~W~~KLM~~W~~DSSHDUWKDWD~~Q~~KHP~~U~~H~~U~~DE~~W~~KMUL~~Q~~
emotions, but about the joy of belonging. Where this is emotional, as we have seen, it is
regulated and certain, expressed through stepped increases in pitch and through dotted
notes.

VHDUG~~M~~GSUHDG~~Q~~KDW~~H~~Q~~L~~YRH~~N~~GL~~U~~URHQ~~W~~DL~~R~~H
~~N~~GLPDL~~Q~~WKHHu~~H~~W~~K~~HUHD~~Q~~KHP~~M~~WKHE~~W~~WRUD~~H~~H~~H~~ED~~U~~W~~K~~D
7KL~~B~~G~~D~~W~~D~~DL~~U~~WKH OLMOL~~V~~Q~~P~~PH~~Q~~RP~~D~~WHG~~E~~WKHU~~M~~PL~~W~~L~~F~~
UHM~~H~~V~~K~~HQ~~W~~L~~R~~GEHR~~H~~EHUR~~H~~DR~~V~~

~~R~~D~~Q~~KHP~~U~~DUHOD[H~~G~~NEOLW~~W~~KD~~W~~DN~~S~~DOS~~D~~H~~M~~GD~~Q~~
dotted instrument sounds and articulation. Emotional expression is regulated and structured
D~~Q~~Q~~W~~W~~L~~Q~~U~~WUPEOL~~Q~~Q~~K~~HUH~~S~~EOH~~U~~H~~M~~UE~~Z~~OO~~E~~H~~M~~G~~W~~BGG~~W~~R~~W~~KH
timelessness and sacredness communicated by the lyrics.

Moving with the nation: the meaning of rhythm

HUH,GUD~~R~~Q~~RR~~NH~~V~~LQYHQWRURIUKWKP~~Z~~LFK~~G~~UD~~V~~D~~W~~WHQWL~~R~~Q~~W~~R~~K~~R~~P~~XL~~F~~
implies some kind of movement and structuring of movement in time, which can be used to
D~~W~~L~~D~~W~~H~~D~~M~~W~~B~~ND~~W~~L~~D~~SR~~Q~~HG~~W~~WKD~~W~~P~~K~~ND~~W~~HG~~Z~~WKD~~K~~W~~R~~
H[DP~~S~~OH~~Z~~OO~~L~~Q~~H~~K~~D~~Q~~G~~H~~Q~~K~~D~~O~~P~~PH~~Q~~SHUKDS~~S~~W~~D~~WHG~~Z~~WK
SHUL~~B~~L~~W~~L~~Q~~ODEL~~U~~DU~~W~~B~~G~~W~~L~~OL~~M~~D~~H~~Q~~O~~HD~~Q~~U~~H~~DU~~U~~K~~W~~K~~P~~

B *Even/uneven:* KW~~K~~PV~~F~~D~~Q~~E~~H~~H~~Y~~H~~Q~~D~~V~~L~~Q~~P~~X~~F~~K~~S~~R~~S~~P~~X~~V~~L~~F~~R~~U~~X~~Q~~H~~Y~~H~~Q~~D~~V~~P~~D~~E~~H~~W~~K~~H
FDVHLQMD]]~~Q~~H~~Y~~H~~Q~~U~~K~~W~~K~~PV~~F~~D~~Q~~F~~R~~P~~P~~X~~Q~~L~~F~~D~~W~~H~~D~~V~~H~~Q~~V~~H~~R~~I~~G~~L~~V~~F~~X~~O~~W~~R~~U~~L~~I~~W~~K~~H~~X~~Q~~H~~Y~~H~~Q~~Q~~H
is repeated, a sense of being prevented from moving forwards or remaining in one
particular place. Unevenness can also suggest creativity as movement changes, reacting
and refusing to conform.

B *Fast/slow:* KW~~K~~PV~~F~~D~~Q~~V~~X~~J~~J~~H~~V~~W~~H~~Q~~H~~U~~U~~H~~O~~D[~~D~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~RU~~V~~O~~X~~J~~J~~L~~V~~K~~Q~~H~~V~~V~~X~~X~~U~~U~~Y~~H~~U~~V~~V~~X~~V~~
leisure; rush versus patience.

- B *Lightness/heaviness:* KWKPFDOEHGXHWRLQVWUXPHQWDWLRQ)RUH[DPSOHLIGRPLQDWHG EDGHHSORXGEDVVGUXPRULQFRQWUDVWEDXWHLWFDQVXJJHVWKHDYLOHVYHUV lightness, clumsiness or mobility, strength or weakness, importance versus unimportance.
 DQHHRMUMGWKDWUKWKPDPHPRHROHNDUWLEDOQIDPSOHR
 DPRHDUWLEDOUKWKPLWKHDOWJW MWOLKWHDPSNGWVKHRDUGV
 moving binary rhythms used in most pop music.
- B *Stasis/motion:* KURXJKFRQVWDQWEHDWWRQHVVXFKDQVDVLQJOHEDVVGUXPSXOVHUKWKF FDQVXJJHVWVWDVLVZDLWLQJKHVLWDWLRQRUHUHVWULFWLRQ)RUZDUGVPRWLRQFDQ EDOWHUQDWLQJWRQHVVXFKDVEHWZHHQDVQDUHDQGEDVVGUXPKHUHFDQEHGHJUHF VXFKDVLQ UHJJDPXVLFZKLFK VXJJHVVDIHHOLQJRIKHVLWDWLRQ)XUWKHUPRUH music suggests a side-to-side or rocking movement rather than a forwards motion, which is often used to suggest emotional dwelling.
- B *Metronomic time/no metronomic time:* Lack of rhythm can be used to suggest WLPHOHQVDEHGHVLSLULWOLWVDIHQWKLVOHRLDQDW music, where rhythms are deliberately suppressed, and also in new-age type music.

WKWKHDOEKDMHMOKWKPWEHGEHSUROHPDWLEDOQWLRBODQKHPWR
 KDMDOHMQKWKPKLKWVWHUHGPNGKNDQWKHQKGGDDLQVQEG
 DORHSUROHPDWLEDOQKHPWRDMUKWKPWKDWMMWDMQKHLWDWLRPW
 WKHEHUKHGOHLMWMOBQHLPSRWDHDQWKKWGHVXHPWDOR
 RELQDMMLKWWRPEDWHKWDQLDOLWZWKMEHQOLKWQWROOK
 for mobility.

QKHOPSLSHURPDEHEDOWULNDWVKHJWEHDWHDKEDULMD
 MQRDNHNDULW\DQ UHSHWLWLRQKHM WULNDOMEULQDGGWLWRO
 PRHQVWRDKWHSRDUQWKHQWLRQSLULWKHUHLGHSHQDEOHSNDQ
 emotional.

QVMDOWW\$HEDMEHDWUWVKHLMQWDOLKWQVWLEULRH
 BMDRHQOHMGHWEGHEDWKDQKHEORDUQGRHQVPRPDUKWLW
 UHPDLQMQQLDLUOQVKHUHLQKHHQ

LNZM\$DLUOQVRSQDHDQKDMQMDUNGUKWKP7KLBOMWV
 QDWREUGVWLRWRHWKLOKHG,WDOMVPEDQEDKHWLW
 HPWLRQEKWVKHUKWKP7KHM DUHRHWLPHDRSDQGEWDWQUHGURUBOV
 KLKEULQVHQRKHRELQWLWVWHDGDQHUWDLRDUQVWLRQHUH
 HDKWHSLYPSRWDQ,QUDWVWOLKWOKHDMHULQWLRQLQ
 combination with other sound features, slightly more contemplative.

Conclusion

QWKLVPKDSWHU, KDYHVKRQKRZPLJKWFULWLFDOODSSURDFK KRZVKHVRQGVRIWKI
 QDWLRQDODQWKHPDOVRSODDQLPSRUWDQWUROHLQDQDWLRQDOLVP,QWKHOULFVW
 JORUNJHGRPDQGDODDQWUJHODWHGWRDIRUPHUUHURIFRORQLDODUUIUH7KHUHD
 to mountains and rivers, and to cycles in nature and the cosmos, pointing to eternity and
 SLULWROHRLQWQWQWDOHVKHMLGHDWQHUNERLHWKUKK7KH
 music brings regulated rises of emotion and moments of inward contemplation, all done
 through happy notes and through articulation, which suggests certainty and rhythms that
 PHQVORDUQVWLRWUONKWHMGLUHUHQVGHYODDEKDOURH
 LQKH OHLWLPDWLQGLMMQW QHGWKDWGLMMDUHQMUUHDOO\
 present in one place, or one instance of communication, but are infused throughout social

practice, material culture and in our very embodiment of them through clothing and how we
 PIERCE LIT W L E H D M W K L W K D W W K H D S S H D U W R H Q W D O K L K W K H U D W V
 L P D N Y K H P D S S H D U O H L W L P D W H D Q P R H G L V W W W R D O O H H
 7 K L D Q O M K D K W K H S W H Q L D O R L Q E L Q O O M T V W K H U N Q R
 communication. Political advertisements tend to carry music and sound, as do documentaries
 D Q W W U D I E P K H W H O H L M S U R D P P H V Z X O H W L W K H E L S D Q
 R S W H U D P H V W K L W W M W R U E G D H M D K E M K E R P K D O O N
 to emotionally and physically relate to the discourses communicated through other semiotic
 P R H V

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 YODVWUDW&GHGWUDUSDQHGEWLSDDK¶ Chicago Tribune \$ULO\$
 S
 DUWKHVDPDJHPXVLFWH[W)RQWDQD/RQGRQ
 MOO3YDQ/HHXZHQ7 The media interview QLYHUVLW|HZRXWK:DOHV3UHV.VHQVLQJWRQ
 16
 M]HPHU-.UHVV&KDQJLQJWH[W\$RFLDOVHPLRWLFDQDOVLVRIWH[WERRNV]esigns for
 learning YROQRVSS±
 ZOLJO Banal nationalism, London, Sage.
 WDJLOBWKDUGORQ Discourse intonation and language teaching, Longman
 Higher Education, London.
 Music, imagination and culture , Clarendon, Oxford.
 KNURBQGLDQWLVKHHHDW:DU± , 9LNQJRURQWR
 &RRNHLanguage of music, Clarendon, Oxford.
 RH 3 KBDQ UHMUE DEULBWLQVDF LQRSDU PKUHRGLQ
 :HOHDQUMW\$HGGGOHWQ
 HUPDQ\$WVWHI,Q Spaces of culture: City, nation, world(HGV0)HDWKHUVVRQH
 DVKDJH/RQGRQSS±
 EDKDP3.HHQDQ RZG \$ FDOO WR DUPVDWVKHHQGRIKLVRU\$VFRXUVH±
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 NS±
 HUPDQ-WKHKLWRWVKHHWKODQOLHG¶Q Music and German national identity,
 HGSOHDWHWVWHUMUWELDEHKLDDQRSS±
 .UHMODQHUBWLP&DOGHMHDUDQDQWVWHHHRWLRQ The internet
 and higher education YROQRSS±
 .U]DQRZVNL0 :RGDN 5 KH SROLWLFV RI H[FOXVLRQHEDWLQJPLJUDWLRQLQXVWULD,
 7UDQWLWVWVW
 HH5QKPHQVWHHQWVSWDQOM¶Q Environment and Cultural
 BehaviourHGSDGDIDWXUDO&VWRU\$UHVVDUGHQ&LWVSS±
 /LFKWHQZDQJHU: The music of the Star-spangled banner from Ludgate Hill to Capitol Hill,
 Washington, Library of Congress.
 DKLQalysing popular music RXWOHGJH/RQGRQ
 ODFKLQ&FKDUGVRQ-(LVFRXUVHVRXQLWQDQGSXUSRVHLQWKHVRXQGVRIIDVFLVWPXVLF
 DPXOWLPRGDODSSURDFK¶ Discourse StudiesYROQRSS
 ODOHãHYLü&HFKLPHUDRIQDWLRQDOLGHQWLW¶ations and Nationalism, YROQRSS
 ±

available from: W.K.H.NUGLDR@CPDUMLOODLMKD@UMUMDOUHQ
DWKHP@OOKLWULKW@VHDHMG-DEU@
 DU6 HPLQHHQLHGHQHUDQM@OLW\ , University of Minnesota Press,
 QDSRLW
 KHUWVLEWVHWLQKHQWLEWLEBOLWUKHWLE@PMMHNUV
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 5HLPHUDWLE@OEHWML@NNKWKWUHLE@HWKODQ¶
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 EGLQJ¶[DUULFDGHV#DODUVHLOODLVHLVEHVLHJHG¶ *The New York Times*, 5 March
 DMLODEOH UR WLPHEOGDEDUULBGH@DPDUMLOODLMLV
 EHMHHGKWPODHMG-DEU@
 KDHU50*The tuning of the world* OF&OHOODQGQDQGWVHZDUWRURQWR
 DJJ3 @GHUVWDOGLQJPXVLFDO WLPHVH@VH¶QDUVSHO #HVWVNULIWIRU -DQ/LQJ nU
 WHERUJ NULIWHQIUDQOXVLYNHWVH@VNSOLJD,QVWLWXWLRQHQ DYDLODEOH IURP ZZZWDJJRUJ
 [SGIVWLPVHVQVSGIDFFHVVHGHFHPEHU@
 KXUORZ&-DZRUVNL*Semiotic Landscapes*, Continuum, London.
 7LKHU¶KQKHGSHUHQVPHULBQDQPK@W@KLE@OG:DU,¶
*American Music*YRQORSS±
 YDQ/HHXZHQ7 *Speech, music, sound*, Macmillan, London.
 BQH@QLWLPDWLE@LMDQRPN@WLE@ *Discourse and Communication*,
 BRS±
 BQH@Q *Discourse and practice*RXWOHGJH/RQGRQ
 9HEOHQ.#HVWDQGRQJXDUGIRUWKHHIDWLRQDOLGHQWLWLQ&DQDGLDQPVLFHGX@DWLRQ¶
*Patriotism and nationalism in music education*HGV'HEHUW \$HUW]:HLJHO \$KJDWH
)DUQKDPSS±
 9HEOHQ..@DWLRWLVLPQDWLRQDOLVPDQGDWLRQDOLGHQWLWLQPVLFHGXFDWLRQ?&DQDGD'
*KRZZHOGRZHNQRZWKHH#ternational Journal of Music Education*YRQORSS±
 :HEULJKW9*Spangled banner: The story of Francis Scott Key* @QRNVHOKL,QGLD
 :RGDN GH &LOOLD \$LVLVJO/LHEKDUE. *The discursive construction of national
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 :BI *The beauty myth: How images of beauty are used against women/RQGRQ9LQWDJH*
 RRV
 XGNRu \$LDWLRQDOLVPDQGDWLRWLVLPKHHS[SHULHQFHRIQ,QGLDQGLDVSRLDQ@XWK
 \$ULFD¶Q *Patriotism and nationalism in music education*HGV'HEHUW \$HUW]:HO]HO
 \$KJDWH(QJODQGSS±

DQDOVLVRIJUDPPDUYRFDXODU'DQG WKH JHQHULF VWUXFWXUH RI WKH WH[W \$DO \$ study by Smith and Smith highlighted the rhetorical construction of political realities by SBLWLBOSDUWLHMVKH8KHDWKRNI[DPLHGWKHSDNLDQODWVKHPDQHWK WKH%LWLKSDUWLHM%QLDQSKWDEOHDQSLW%KHDMOODWKHSRLDUUDWLMMV S%RWKEWKHSDUWLHM%KHLUSURDPPH%LWK%BLWK%HHH%DMGR WKHGL%MM%UW%L%L%L%KHPDL%LWLKSDUWLHM%QHOHWLRPSDLQ %RWLDGL%MDQOWLBODSSUR%KWKHDW%KRQW%HG%GHWDLOHGOL%KWLBDQ%V of the manifestos to explore their role in setting a relationship between the parties and the HOHW%RDWH%HHH

%OOERUGDQWKHLU UHODWHG SWH%U%DUH%D%KHUHQH%RRLWLBODDWLRQLD%WLMR SBLWLBOSDUWGHMORPHY%\$ULPDUPHD%QHGLDRP%DWLRQ%KHQ%WHHW%K H%K%S%W%HU%UHW%LOOD%Q%W%LDOP%R%RRLWLBODG%MUWLM%Y%G%Y%KLMSDUWL%NDUO\ the case in countries where legislation restricts the use of other media, or where political SDUWLH%D%Du%RGW%K%[SH%M%WHO%HM%DLUWLPH%Q%W%K%WHO%HM%D% become dominant during election campaigns in many countries of the world, posters still help politicians to establish their names and to communicate their political goals to potential %HU%ML%G%PD%Q%HQH%RP%DWLMD%WLR%ELOOERUG%R%SW%H%LD P%WLP%G%DOHW%[W,%QRPHUEDOS%WHUW%HO%PH%Q%DUHOL%NGWKHLPDHDQWKH%G %R%Q%WHU%KDM%\$ODHG%DO%PSRW%D%SDUW%L%SW%HUGULM%MM%V%EH memorable, the slogan on a poster is usually short and simple, and slogans often contain UKPHDOOLWHUDWLRQD%R%W%U%V%HLSS±

%MUDOKR%DUOW%&LHKDMRHUHGDMP%L%L%L%L%HQHG%QOM%W%HUW%GE\ 7H%UHGWKHLGHR%RDOWDQSRQ%W%HUSUR%NG%G%L%Q%SRHD%W%DWHWU%W%KHV G%L%Y%KHLU%R%W%L%W%H%D%QD%L%Q%Q%W%H%K%OL%P%SD%L%HR :R%P%EG%HH%[SORHGWKH%RP%DWLMD%QUHSUH%Q%DWLRQ%WUDWHL%H% SWHU%L%Q%L%WDOM%J%H%LD%IE%HL%L%R%L%HQ%DWHG%W%L%H%W%HUW D%ELOOERUG%KDM%UHG%WKH%L%K%SWHU%N%HE%OOD%P%PH%D% persuasion for political parties, particularly involving examinations of right-wing discourses L%W%ULD%WKH%8DQ,%WDO%:R%5LKDUG%G%Q%R%ER%I[DPLHG%ULKWZQ LGHR%RD%OGL%MM%K%HH%[DPSOH%W%KH,%WDOLD%RRLWLBOSDUW%HDE%G%R%W%L%KH %WKH%D%W%K%V%[SORHG%K%V%KH%SDUW%SW%RDUG%DO%LLPPLJ%D%Q%[H%K%RLF D%U%R%H%V%REL%Q%L%WLBQ%MOHO%PH%Q%M%Q%SW%HU%L%K%DU%G%R%ER 5LKDUG%R%Q%:DNOW%UDHG%WKH%KLWRL%HL%K%WZQ%L%MM%[HPSOLHG WKU%K%WKH%R%W%L%K%H%Q%WKH%J%HH%GR%UW%W%ULD%DUW%L%NDUDW%WH%L%R% was paid to how their election posters recontextualised the political rhetoric of pre-Second :ROG :DU %RDOLF%D%Q%DWL%PLW%L%5LKDUG%R%G%DN%GLWLRQO\ %K%W%U%HW%DOKDM%GR%KH%UWLR%UW%KH%P%L%K%WR\ L%K%H%SW%HU%G%L%R%W%MOH%WLR%PSDLQ

The Discourse-Historical Approach as a method of analysis

2QH%DWRDQDOV%HWKHSROLWLFDOODQJ%D%JHRIDVSHFLE%JHQUHLVWRHPSORWKH%SDUW RIWKH%&%DJHQGDWKH%SHQRWHVDFOX%WHURIVHPLRWLFSUDFWLFW%VW%KDW%DUH%V%LW%VSHFLE%VRFLDO%FRQWH%WRU%HPEHG%GH%GLQD%VSHFLE%VRFLDO%DFWLRQLVFR%VHLVERWK%VFRQVWLW%WHGDQ%VRFLDO%FRQVWLW%WLYH,%WL%V%KDSHG%EVRF%LDQV%WU%K%W%J%HV%FODV%QRUPVDQ%FRQYHQWL%RQ%V%LWDOVRFQWULE%WHVWRWKHFRQVWU%WLRQRIREMHFV is manifested in a macro-topic and linked to the argumentation strategies of social actors KRDMGL%U%HU%Q%SRQ%ZH%L%MD%:RDN%7KH%UW%L%MH%U%HWV

of a discourse are realised through identity, as well as through the relational and ideational
certain identities; the relational aspect addresses how social relations are enacted between
the discourse participants, and the ideational function is concerned with the meanings

and contradictions, either in the texts, or in the discourse-internal structures; it unveils the
and contradictions, either in the texts, or in the discourse-internal structures; it unveils the
and contradictions, either in the texts, or in the discourse-internal structures; it unveils the

what arguments are employed regarding them, from what perspective they are used, and to
what arguments are employed regarding them, from what perspective they are used, and to
what arguments are employed regarding them, from what perspective they are used, and to

linguistic boundary of discourse analysis and to draw upon the historical, political,
linguistic boundary of discourse analysis and to draw upon the historical, political,
linguistic boundary of discourse analysis and to draw upon the historical, political,

The context of the 2014 parliamentary election in Ukraine

The context of the 2014 parliamentary election in Ukraine

and the Ukrainian army in the Donbas has further destabilised the country. Preceding the Ukrainian army in the Donbas has triggered public debates on the nature of the military dissolved the Ukrainian parliament *Verkhovna Rada* early parliamentary election in Ukraine as being in line with democratic standards that pro-European, pro-Western, and reform-oriented. However, although all of the leading annexation of Crimea and its involvement in the Donbas, the coalition partners seemed to

Despite the seemingly successful stabilisation of the system of political parties and some restructuring of the party space preceding and following the parliamentary election, many Whitmore points out, some parties that participated in the early parliamentary election did Euromaidan civil-society activists and combatants from the Donbas. However, the key players of the political parties remained the same. Scholarly studies have already underlined various problematic features of the Ukrainian political party system, such as institutional weakness of structural and ideological positions, the regionalised basis of electoral support, loose collection of politicians who are grouped under main party brands. Parties often act as

Table 29.1

Political parties	Percentage of votes
3HRSOH7)URQW	
3HWUR3RURVKHQNRØRF	
HOIØOLDQFH	
2SSRVLWLRQØRF	
ØGLFDO3DUWRI2OHK/LDVKNR	
)DWKHUODQG	



Figure 29.2 Billboard of the Fatherland Party (photograph by the author, Poltava, Ukraine, September 2014)

VXFKGHSFLWLRQRIDJXUHIXQFWLRQVDVDQLQYLWDWLRQWRYLHZUUVWRGLVSDVLRQDWHO
WKHGHSFLWHGJXUHYDQ/HHXZQSS-

Radical Party of Oleh Liashko

21WKHMVYHQSROLFLHWKDWKWH5DGLFDO3DUWDGGUHMVQLWSURJUDPPHROHLGCHYRWHGWF
 GHIHQFH 7KH FRUUHVSROQLQJ MFWLRQ RI WKH SURJUDPPH LVHQWLWOHG QLFWRU\DQG
 GHMSDUDWLDWLRQIDQG LRUJDQLMG DURQG WKHPHVRI FRQWHUDFWLYLWLWHDJDLQW WK
 SHUFHLYHG HQHPLHRI 8NUDLQH 5DGLFDO 3DUWRI 2OHK /LDXNR EPLODU WR WKH
)DWKHUODQG 3DUWWDQGSRLQW WKH5DGLFDO 3DUWH\$OLFWSUHMQWVYDD8NUDLQH
 HQHPVKLVVROFHSWYDOLMG WKURXWKH SDUWYDOO WR WKH 8NUDLQDQ SRSXDWLRQ WR
 FRQWHUDFW 5YDQDG XSRUW WKH HDWHUQ IUROW LQ 8NUDLQH 7KH SDUWYDWKHU YHWV
 creating partisan units and to begin training the civic population to defend big cities.
 EPLODU WRWKHDWKHUODQDUWGLMMWKH5DGLDQDUWDOREWLQWMODDQ
 DQLHWDEOLKPHQ SDUW,W SURLMSWHQLDO WHUWKDWLWZOO PDNWDWHDWKR
 EN WKH UR UHSODH HQUDQYWK H[SHULHG RHUVDQ HHH WKDW EDO
 EHQYDUHPDGHDELODEOHWKHLQKHGDQWKHLUDPLOLHYKHSDUWYHMQPELWLD
 DUHWKDWNDLQKQGUHWKQWKHWDWDDHDUSU7KHOHDGLQRHWKH
 SDUWLQKLVYWKHMPOVMEOHURWKHMWKHSHURQOSUDDQ
 WKHDOHQHMHZOOKDEWKHNUHQYDQHZOOHQDEOHWKH
 UHWKNDLQWKHWDWDDHDUSU

,QFDWHJRULVLQJWKHLUHQHPLHVWKHSDUWGDGGLWLRDOOSRLQVWVRFHUWDLQSRQ
 8NUDLQH 7KH OLVV LQFOXGHV VPRH GHXSXLHV LQ WKH 8NUDLQLDQ SDUOLDPHQW 8NU
 RVFLDOVLQWKHHDVVWRIWKHFRXQWU8NUDLQLDQSROLFHRvFHUVDQGROLJDUFKV,QJKWLQJ
 SROLWLFDO DFWRUV WKH SDUW'SURSRVHV WR FDUU'RXW D GHVHSDUDWLVDWLROQVesepara
 SURFHVV~~KL~~VQHRRJLVPVHHPVWRUHIHUWRFRXQWHUDFWLQJVHfHVVLROQLVWDFWLYLW
 Other linguistic devices in the programme, through which the party attempts to create a
 personal connection with its electorate, include the use of metaphors and a specialised
~~REXDU~~ H[DPSOH WKH SURDPPH ~~DOOV~~GH~~SXLHV~~VR WKH ~~SDLO~~QSDUOLDPHQ
~~KDSH~~KLWHUwerevertni~~KL~~VPHWDSKRUOLNHO~~GH~~QRWHVFRUUXSWGHSXLHVW~~KD~~WFRPPRQ
 FKDQJH WKHLUSROLWLFDO SDUWDvOLDWLRQEHWZHHQHOHFWLRQV3ROLFHRvFHUVDU
 SURJUDPPHDVFRUUXSWmenty?ULJLQDWLQJLQFULPLQDO VODGammklywtheP
~~SDLO~~QSDUOLDPHQ~~GL~~MGW~~WK~~HEWLH~~Q~~OHMOUW~~W~~LQKH~~SDLO~~Q
 S~~RLH~~WKHULQHUHWLQ[DPSOHLWKHMRS~~Q~~W~~KD~~WUHHUWRDUWL~~DU~~
 U~~RR~~ROH,Q~~KH~~M~~Q~~GL~~MG~~W~~GH~~LEHWKHE~~OL~~WLH~~RR~~HWDO
 U~~RR~~H[DPSOHWKHWHUPhynovnyky-separatysty FLDOVVHSDUDWLVVWGHVFULEHVVDWH
 DXWKRULWLHVZKR DUH DOOHJHGOLQYROYHG LQ VHFHVVLROQLVWPRYHPHQVVDQG WKH
 biznesmeny~~W~~KLHYHVEXVLQHVVPHQ UHIHUV WR EXVLQHVVSHRSOH ZKR DUH DOOHJHG\W
 from the state.

7KHSUHM~~Q~~DWLE~~ND~~DLQ~~PL~~[HHGLQ~~PH~~DUR~~W~~KHSDUWV
 ELOOERUG~~K~~HUH5~~MD~~L~~S~~HU~~GH~~WKUKLWV~~H~~MGH~~Q~~ODGLPLU~~W~~LQH~~L~~KH
 7KH SUHMGH~~Q~~SRWUDLWLSODHG~~W~~KH OHW~~W~~KH ELOOERUG~~Q~~LW LPPHGLDWHO\



Figure 29.3 Billboard of the Radical Party of Oleh Liashko (photograph by the author, Poltava, Ukraine, September 2014)

EODFN FRORXUV WKDW SRWHQWLDOO'DWWUDFW YLHZIUV'DWWHQWLRQ 2YHUDOO WKH analysed political parties transmit central themes of their respective political campaigns by ~~SHQPHMHMQRDRORWKDWHNHPIWLDWKHUWKDQDWLRQOLWQHGG~~ it has been argued elsewhere that visual texts used in election campaigns are usually ~~GHHGWRLEWHHOLMLKDUGGDS~~

~~MQHRLWLBDODWLRQDUW\$URDPPHDQELOOERUGWLRQDPHGLKWR~~ create a connection between the party and the electorate. Previous studies have underlined that through its election campaign material, a party attempts to attract potential voters and ~~SURGH D MQ RPRQLW\EHWZHQWKH SDUW\DQ WKH HOHWRDWH 5LKDUGG~~ ~~BREBHHHJBLWKBLWK7WKLMEWKWKHDQMGSDUW\~~ programmes and the billboards work using intertextuality and interdiscursivity, employing ~~GLMMWUDWHLHDQSDUWLQDUKRHEEDU\SDUWLQDUWKHUHMMR~~ ~~SHURQOSURKWLPHMUEKODQPRDOPBLHUKBGLWLQHMU\~~ ~~LWKHDQMGSDUW\$URDPPHMPLODUWRMUBWLRQDGLSHMMGLHMDQ~~ ~~S\HHHSSZKLW&DOKKGGWKDWWKHPHDQRPDHY~~ ~~DQEGVQSDUW\$URDPPHDQELOOERUGVHPDLQNSUHMVGLHKDM~~ pointed out, such vagueness is an inherent feature of political communication, particularly ~~KHQ[SUMGLBQHWKDWWWULMRWKHQUWLRQGHQVWLWHLKLDUGG~~ :BDS

References

©O8NUDLQLDQ8QLRQ)DWKHUODQG βURJUDPRIWKHSDUW©O8NUDLQLDQ8QLRQ)DWKHUODQ DYDLODEOHIURPKWWSSEDWNLYVKFKQDFRPRDGRFRHQWKWPODFHVVHG1RYHPEHU@ BDQ\JFRVVDHOGVWULYLQJIRUSREUQDQDOVLVRIQULVDQ1DVLRODOVODODVLDO JHQHUDOHOFWLRQPDQDGHVRSocietySS± ~~DNKWLQ0URPWKHSUREOHPRIVSHHFJKHQUHVQ~~ *The rhetorical tradition: Readings from classical times to the present*HGV3LJ]HOOMU]EHUJHGIRUGRRNVRIWODUWLQV3UHVV R\WRQSS± ~~HUQVWHLQ~~ *Advertising outdoors: Watch this space!* , Phaidon Press, London. ~~VHHH5~~ ~~PULDWLQWKHPHBUWPDQHWGLMMYQWK8OHWLQ~~ ~~QWKDHEQMH\$HSUHMQDEyQWVHDQHDQ5HSUHMQDWLRQ~~ SS± ~~BSNNG~~ *Analyzing genres in political communication: Theory and practice* , -RQDPLQOLKLRSDQWHUGDP ~~GDUQSDUDWLMGLMMDQMWKHUWLRQRMQKH~~ ~~DQPDQHWKHLWLKDWLRQDUBW~~ *Discourse & Society*SS± ~~DLUFORXJKI~~ *Discourse and social change* , Polity, Cambridge. ~~RKWQULWLWVKHLNMLWRLDQSSURKQDQWKHUDQWKR~~ *Critical Discourse Studies*SS± ~~RUFKWQHUVJ]PQRZVNLQ:RGDNFHGLDWLJDWLRQULJKWZLQJSRSXOLVPDQGSROLWLFDO~~ ~~FDPSDLJQLQJKHFDVHRIWKHXVWULDQ)UHHGRP3DMVLO~~ *talk and political elections in Europe and America*HGV0(NVWUPROVRQ3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQDVLQJVWRNHSS± ~~QWHUID[NUDLQH D 2&(BSRUW DYDLODEOH IURP KWWSHQLQWHUID[FRPXDQHZVJHQHUDO~~ ~~KWPODHHMGHEU@~~ ~~QHUD[NDLQESHSRWDLQDEOHURKWWSHQVHUD[REMHQUDO~~ ~~KWPODHHMGHEU@~~ ~~DDO%ROGHE\$DWLQURFSLWLQDQDQWVHOHWLRQDQHW~~ *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines (CADAAD)*SS± ~~UHVV*YDQ/HHXZHQ7~~ *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*RXWOHGJH London.

ODOHNOZKH:HVWHUQYHFWRURIWKHIRUHLJQDQGVHFXULWSROLFRIBNUDLQJournal of
Slavic Military StudiesSS±

2UZHQMR2βROLWLFDOJUDQGVWDQGLQJQDQGWKHXVHRISURYHUEVLQJULFDOQSROLWLFDOGLVFRXUV
Discourse & SocietySS±

2HERGH2&RSLQJZLWK,9,9XOWLPRGDOGLVFRXUVHDQDOVLVRIVHOHFVHG,9\$
SRVWHUVLQVRXWKZHVWHUQYHFWRURIWKHIRUHLJQDQGVHFXULWSROLFRIBNUDLQ SocietySS±

3HWUR 3RURVKHQNR QRF βURJUDP RI WKH 3HWUR 3RURVKHQNR QRF DYDLODEOH IURP KWWS
VROGDUQLVWRUJSDJHBLG DFFHVVHG1RYHPEHU@

βGLFDO3DUWRI2OHK/LDVKNRβURJUDPRIWKHβGLFDO3DUWRI2OHK/LDVKNR DYDLODEOHDW
KWWSOLDVKNRXDSURJUDP DFFHVVHG1RYHPEHU@

βLVLJ00:RGDN5 Discourse and discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and antisemitism,
5WOHGHRQ

5HLMQGDNβKHGLNMKLWELβODSSURK\$Q Methods for Critical
Discourse AnalysisHGVSRGDN00HHUβJH/RQGRQSS±

βFKDUGVRQ-(&RORPERO,&RQWLQXLWDQGFKDQJHLQDQWLLPPLJUDQWGLVFRXUVHLQ,WDO\
QDQDOVLVRIWKHYLVXDO SURSDJDQGDRIWKHβHJDIβHGH of Language and Politics,
SS±

5LKDUGN:βDN βHQH[WβOLMQEVLGHβRHVWKHSDW 5LKWZQ
GLNMPSORHV DQQLWMLWULDDQWKHβWHG.LQR Critical Discourse
StudiesSS±

βFKDUGVRQ- (:RGDN βHLPDFWRIYLVXDO UDFLVP 9LVXDO DUJXPHQVVLQ SROLWLFDO
OHDNβVVRIVWULDQDQGLWLVKIDUULJKWSβHVLβHGH Discourse AnalysisHG5RGDN
βJH/RQGRQSS±

βLGPDQ6 Posters, propaganda, and persuasion in election campaigns around the world
and through history3HWHU/DQJHZRUN

βLWK&βLWKβKHWRULFDOSHUVSHFWLYHRQWKHβLWLVKSDUWPDQLIHVVRV Political
CommunicationSS±

βUDWLHYVNL 'LH .RDOLWLQ VWHKW IHXH ODFKWHYUKIOWQLVVH LP XNUDLQLVFKHQ 3DUODPHQ
Ukraine-AnalysenSS±

βR 3 μGHRORJLFDQ GLVVRQDQFHV LQ βQJDSRUHV QDWLRQDO FDPDLJQ SRVWHUV βHPLRWLF
GHFRQVWUXFWLRO CommunicationSS±

βHQWUDOQD9ERUFKD.RPLVLLβR]DFKHUKRYLYERUQDURGQNKGHSXWDWLYβUDLQJRYWQLD
URNX(DUOSDUOLDPHQWUHOHFWLRLQβUDLQHRQ2FWREHU DYDLODEOHDWZZZFYN
JRYXDYQGB DFFHVVHG1RYHPEHU@

YDQ/HXZHQ7 Discourse and practice: New tools for critical analysis, Oxford University
Press, Oxford.

βUKN5DGDNDLQ=DN DLQDN DLHQDMLODEOH
URKWWSDN DGD MODKβHMGHEUN@

βUKN5DGDNDLQ=DN DLQDN DLHQDMLODEOHDW
KWWSDN DGD MODKβHMGHEUN@

:DONU βDLQPLQWHUβEKMUHPDUNEWVLQDUSLSORDWLEβMLODEOH
URβKHβUGLDRβOGMβDLQPLQWHUGHKKWMDDEKMSWLQD
βHMGHEUN@

:KLWPRHβLWβOSDUWGHMORPHQVβDLQ Helpdesk Research Report, University
βUPLQDP βMLODEOH UR βURGNHQSGI βHMG DUK
@

:βDN μUGβVLQNMW&LHβPSFWDQ βSWDQ WHUβQ Qualitative
Discourse Analysis in the social sciencesHGVSRGDN0.U]βQRZVNL3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQ
βVLQJVWRNHSS±

:RGDN βULWLFDOLVFRXUVHQDOVLV &KDOOHQJHV DQGSUVSHFWLβHMLQ Discourse
AnalysisHG5RGDNβJH/RVQJHOHV&SS[L[βOLL

Caricature and comics

Randy Duncan

3ROLWLFDOFDUWRROLOJGHFODUHYDWPDOJHfHNKDWKHSRWHQWLDOWRJHQHUDWHFKDQJHE
 UHHHLQJWKHLPDJLQDWLROFKDOOHQJLQJWKHLQWHOOJHQFHFDQG UHMLQJWDWHFRQWURO
 S:KHQWHWIRUPRIUKHWRULFDGGUHVROLWLFDOLMWKHRIWHQSWRQWKH
 GHIHQWHEWZWHQGWROHWRMGHIHQFHGRQZHQZUHDGFRPLFMFMZSHUFHLYH
 WKHPDYQMRDEOHUDWKHUWKDQPDQLSDWLYHVKHFEDQKDYHDSRZUIULPSDFWRQRMD
 DWLWLGHVXQHUS

Most readers of comics take them lightly, but those who are the targets of drawn satire can
 UHDFYHOVKHOKVWLGHUHGDKSUGNGLPDHWKDWODPSFG
 WKHKKRLWGVULFWRHDKHUHWLDMUERZOOOPDGLWDBSLWDORRHQWRHWDH
 GHPHDQPDHKLPRpDLHUPUWGHSLWLOKLOLSSHDD
 EORWHGPWHUWKLPMPRKMSULHDKDLU7XUS

7EDVWHQWVKLQSOVLWLBDBUWRDMQHSDFHOGUDZQKHHGLWELDO
 SDHREZSDHDEZDSHUEWUWKHHQKLVWKHSEU DUWRQDV
 PDQHWHGLQLHUMEPMDQHEULBWKHDDQLYGEODMULHFWLWLB
 SDLQLPQWLSOHSDSHSLWVHWREDNEEDMGRLLWLS

QKHBOKVWLVQOOGHRSWDEWVHGZWKDBLWVXHDQRLF
 explain how the comics form creates meaning and engages emotions, and provide a historical
 overview of the development of caricature and cartooning, including a few examples of how
 WKHUUHHPSONGRHWLPHWVHDWHuHFLVQLWLBDBPSDLQQVWKH
 day.

7KHWHUPVULBWKH DUWRDQRLZOO DSSHDU UHHVO\QVWLVKDSWHU
 Unfortunately, not only has the meaning of these terms varied over time and across cultures,
 EWVKHMHKDEHHQVWHQHMQSDUWLNDUQVXHDWDSDUWLNDUWLP7KH
 GHQWLQHOZURGHDDHUDQGHUWDQLQKHEPPQDWLNUHG
 in this essay, but in perusing the history of caricature and comics, we should expect to
 encounter some variance in how these terms are used by the sources cited.

\$ **caricature** is a portrait in which the subject is recognisable, but one or more features,
 MOODEDOHDWVHDUHGLVFWHGREFH[DHUDWHG,QQQWKHWHUPVULBWKHNDV
 RHWLPHMGEURGOWRHHUWVQKRENDWLULBQUDZQDQHQDH
 SML

Cartoon **Punch**, a satirical drawing was labelled usage helped establish the cartoon as a product in its own right, rather than simply a part of drawing done in a single panel, such as an editorial or gag cartoon.

comics as multiple static, juxtaposed drawn *Understanding comics: The invisible art*, Scott McCloud builds on graphic novel, and exclude single-panel cartoons. However, in common usage, single- *Batman*, is referred to as a cartoonist.

Drawing comics for any medium is referred to as **cartooning**, and the person who does the drawing, whether it be a comic strip for the *Boston Globe*, an editorial cartoon for the *Washington Post*, a satirical cartoon for *The New Yorker* magazine, or an issue of *Batman*, is referred to as a cartoonist.

artists are seldom concerned with the boundaries articulated by theorists, the simplistic in a digital environment.

editorial cartoon is not so much to tell a story as it is to make an argument or communicate a concept. Editorial cartoons rely heavily on visual metaphor and placed in the opinion section of a newspaper, but can increasingly be found online at sites such as *The Nib*.

Comic strips their existence, comic strips have appeared grouped together on one or two pages, or in their online than there are strips printed in newspapers.

Comic books are multiple-page comics – the exact form of which often varies by and propaganda.

Graphic novel is likely to be applied to any long comic book or trade paperback collection of comic-book issues. However, there are increasing numbers of graphic novels that occupy a distinct cultural space because they are issued by mainstream book publishers and are largely read by people who would never deign to read a comic book.

literature, the symbolic visual lexicon of comics is usually tied to a certain time and place, and virtually meaningless in other cultures and other eras. However, some visual metaphors, such as the Statue of Liberty or Uncle Sam used to personify the United States, become known across cultures and can endure for generations.

Determining whether an image should be treated as a visual metaphor or taken literally, UHKUHWKHUHDGHU WRDN DQHUHQDEN WKHNLWKHLPDH MUMZWKLOVKH RLWDOOLPDHVDUHHDMOPWHRLMGEWHHQDOODQPDHLQRLSHURPV QWVKUHHNLQMLHHWLPDHHVSHUHQSHROHEHDWKSODHEMHWV R RHZWKLOVKHGLHHVWKHROG R VKHQUUDWLMRRLHHWLPDHHV represent those aspects of the world of the diegesis, such as thoughts, emotions, states of PLQRMQWLQKDWDEQEHGHWHWHGEGWKHMUMUPHQWLPDHHUHQSDUW VKHGLHHVMDQKQGN EHUHDGOLWHUODOHUPHQWLPDHHWKHQPHLPSOLHV UHKUHLQVHUSUHWDLRQWKHUHDGHUHQSS± ,QWLULDODQHGLWRLDOBUNUHQKHLPDHVDUHPHDQWRHWDNQLWHUODO\ and hermeneutic images often take the form of visual metaphors and intertextuality. Most comic strips, comic books and graphic novels present a narrative, and therefore, the majority of images in these forms are diegetic. However, readers of comics risk missing the point of a narrative if they fail to identify and interpret hermeneutic images.

Brief history of political caricature and cartooning

7KLV RYHUYLHZV DGPLWWHGOIRFXHG RQWKH (WRSHDQDQG 1RUWK B HULFDQ WUDGLV FDUWRRQLQJEMDV5LFKDUG6FOSRLOWVRVWVWKDVQWLPDWHOEHHQWKH:HVVHUQFR D (WRSHDQDQG S JORSHULFDQ PRGH WKDWKDV VKDSHG WKHSROLWLFDO FDUWRRQDV IRUP S ODUF ZHU FODLPV WKDW LQ (WRSH LW DV WKH HLIKWHHQWKFHQW\ VDWLULFDQFDFULFDWVHSULQWVLOM QFHGEDQREHURIHFRORPLFWHFKORORJLFDQVRLR DQG DHVWKHWLFD FWRUVWKDWHYROYHG LQWRQLQHWHHQWKFHQW\ FDUWRRQV cartooning – using drawings for commentary or story-telling – certainly occurred long before the nineteenth century.

DMDDHPDGHWKDWMMHNLWKHMQMDOOMQLHHPDSDHWULHQ so on display some of the formal properties of the comics art form. Closer to the common meaning of comics are the illustrations that appeared in some illuminated manuscripts. 7KHUHDUHQHURQVDRN KDWMDMHRLLWKHWRHODWHDQDQGHQ HUGHDDOS7KHRWHHQVKHQ\ *Holkham Bible Picture Book* contains a few pages on which there are multiple panels, and character conversations are sometimes GHSLVHGLRQVROWKHSUHGHMVKHKGEDQQUHRRULDVKHBDQ be found in many illuminated manuscripts because it was a common practice to depict the sinful as exaggeratedly ugly.

7HOOLVRLHYWK SLVXHWHPWEH DQG DYEKOLDWLRLV LW DVQDWHU WHDQULQUBGPNDEOH WSHSULQLVRRHLQWKHPLGWHHQKHQVWKDW RLVQKH:HWHURQGEHDDVRHLGHQVLPDEOHDEWKDQWEPDQDPHGLRR communication. Woodblock and copper-engraving technology allowed for the addition of pictures to the products of the printing press.

The long sixteenth century

Printing technology was used to produce beautiful and expensive works, such as the *Gutenberg Bible*, but the presses also churned out inexpensive and more widely distributed

PHGLDVXFKDVEURDGVLGHVDCQGEURDGVKHHWV7KXVHODUJHVLQJOHVKHHWVRISDSHUEUF
 ZIUHSULQWHGRQRQORQHVLGHDCQGEURDGVKHHWVZIUHSULQWHGRQERWVKVLGHVZIUHXVH
 YDULHWRISXUSRVHVDQ&KULVWLDQV&ZIUHLOOLWHUDWHRUFRXOGQRWDuRUGD&EOHO
 DERXWVKHLUIDLWKIURPEURDGVKHHWVLOOXVWUDWHGZWKVFHQHVIURP&WKHOLIHI-HV
 RQHRIWKHVDLQWV&DQVXPPHUHQ(S)URPWKH&VHHQWKFHQWXUWRWKHPLGGOHRI
 the nineteenth century, inexpensive broadsheets used images to dramatise a wide variety of
 HMQVUHDW WEPV&EL&KGHUV& WKH H[SORW&UDQV&DN ,OO&UDWHG
 broadsheets provided the masses with a mediated reality of people and places they would
 never see in person.

EGLV&HGHMORPHV&UPD&KHWKH&R&BO5HR&PDWLR
 led by Martin Luther, and the introduction of the moveable type printing press – spurred the
 ELUWK&R&LWLD&O&DUW&WLUH7KH SURDDQD DSHW&V&KH7KLUW&HDU&DU±
 OHG&W&U&H&H&R&R&O&DWLUH&SDUWLD&DUO&L&Q&K&H&H&W&KHUODQ&V&H&W&D&Q&D&Q
 Catholics were skewering each other, not only with swords, but with acerbic visual satire on
 broadsheets.

Cartooning in northern Europe would soon become even more caustic as it assimilated a
 H&HO&H&P&H&D&UL&D&W&KH7KHSUD&W&L&H&R&[D&H&U&D&W&L&Q&K&H&H&D&W&KH&H&K&M&H&W&R&G&U&D&Q
 portrait, what became known as *caricatura*E&H&J&D&Q&L&Q&H&Q&D&L&V&V&D&Q&F&H,W&D&O&F&3&K&H&H&2&U&H&Q&V&W&H&L&Q
 SKH,W&D&O&L&D&Q&S&D&L&Q&W&H&U&V&Q&L&E&D&O&H&D&Q&G&R&V&W&L&Q&R&D&U&D&F&F&L&D&U&H&J&H&Q&H&U&D&O&F&U&H&G&L&W&H&G&Z&L
 the development, or at least popularisation, of modern caricature. Caricature, in its original
 L&D&U&Q&W&L&D&Q&P&K&L&M&U&R&S&O&D&E&W&H&D&R&L&H&Q&R&D&E&L&Q&D&E

E&D&Q&R&H&U&O&Q&D&U&L&D&W&H&D&D&R&[D&H&U&D&W&L&Q&H&O&H&P&H&Q&R
 D&S&H&D&U&D&H&D&Q&S&H&U&O&L&W&R&H&M&D&O&P&W&U&K&U&S&E&W&U&D&L&W&R&Q&Q&L&G&H&O&P&H&S
 ,U&M&O&O&O&U&Q&Q&U&L&D&W&H&R&H&R&V&:,D&D&E&H&G&U&L&G&G&H&O&S&G&Z&U&I
 H&D&U&L&Q&U&M&H&G&S&D&S&D&O&E&W&K&H&J&W&W&U&N&D&U&L&D&W&H&K&D&Q
 L&P&S&E&W&D&Q&S&H&U&R&P&H&Q&D&O&D&W&H&U&K&H&G&L&Q&K&H&K&L&W&R&R&U&W&D&Q&W&K&H&E&L&Q&Q&Z
 N&Q&E&D&O&D&W&L&U&H&D&S&7&K&H&R&D&P&K&V&H&K&Q&H&D&U&L&D&W&H&E&H&D&Q
 to be used to belittle, to criticise.

Caricature became a valuable tool for cartoonists, whether their intent was to amuse or
 G&H&W&U&R&H&D&L&P&P&U&W&R&Q&Q&W&P&R&H&U&Q&Q&D&D&Q&U&K&D&U&L&D&W&H&Q&I
 S ,Q&W&K&H&O&D&W&H&M&M&O&H&H&Q&K&D&Q&H&D&U&O&H&L&K&W&H&H&Q&K&H&Q&K&L&Q&V&R
 J&D&E&K&N&H&[S&D&Q&R&D&Q&D&U&H&M&O&D&Q&L&E&W&H&W&D&Q&W&D&H&L&H&D&M&G&W&H&M&Q
 W&K&U&K&N&R&R&H&D&W&K&W&D&U&H&W&K&D&W&P&L&K&W&E&H&R&G&H&U&H&G&W&K&H&J&W&P&R&H&U&Q&U&W&R
 D&P&S&D&L&P&H&K&H&E&D&E&D&G&D&U&L&D&W&H&P&D&Q&H&Q&D&U&W&R&W&K&D&G&W&K&H&L&U
 E&N&K&O&L&K&H&G&L&Q&K&H&H&W&K&H&U&O&D&Q&V&U&L&K&W&S :L&O&O&L&D&P&R&D&H&R&W&K&H
 H&W&K&H&U&O&D&Q&D&W&H&U&L&Q&D&Q&H&P&S&O&R&G&D&R&E&H&U&R&U&L&Q&P&D&N&U&W&R&U&B&H&D&W&L&U&L&D&O
 E&U&R&G&K&H&H&W&L&G&L&E&R&Q&E&R&W&H&U&L&Q&K&H&E&W&H&W&D&Q&P&R&P&H&Q&L&Q&D&Q&K&Q
 5&R&E&L&Q

The eighteenth century

Satirical illustration had traditionally displayed or implied a narrative and presented
 H&[D&H&U&D&W&H&G&D&W&L&D&W&K&H&U&W&K&D&Q&K&H&H&[D&H&U&D&W&H&G&S&K&M&B&O&K&D&U&D&W&H&U&L&W&L&D&U&L&D&W&H&Q&Q
 Q&D&Q&W&K&H&U&H&D&D&R&H&O&G&L&D&U&L&D&W&H&H&D&Q&D&W&L&U&L&D&O&S&U&L&Q&P&H&S&7&K&H
 S&D&L&Q&H&U&D&Q&S&U&L&Q&P&D&N&U :L&O&O&L&D&P&R&U&W&K ±L&W&H&W&L&P&H&P&H&Q&L&G&D&V
 participating in this convergence, but Hogarth wanted to make it clear he had no truck with
 caricature. He produced the print *Characters and caricaturas* W&R&G&H&P&R&Q&V&W&U&D&W&H&W&K&H
 G&L&u&H&U&H&Q&F&H&E&H&W&Z&H&H&Q&L&V&F&K&D&U&D&F&W&H&U&V&W&X&G&L&H&V&D&Q&G&F&D&U&L&F&D&W&X&U&H&G&J&X&U&H&V&R&J&D&U&W&K&U&H&M&F

,WDOLDP *Caricatura* GLVPLVVLQJ LW DV EDG GUDZLQJ DQG GHQLHG XVLQJ WKH WHFKQLTXH LQ
SLFWRULDOVDWLUHVRIJDUWKTRWHGLQ3DXOVRQSRJDUWKUHIHUUHGWRKLRZQZRUN
DVFRPLF KLVRUUSDLOWLQJORQH S RU PRGHUQ PRUDO VXEMHFVW \$FRUGLQJ WR
OROHRJDUWKGHYHORSHGDQHZJHQUHRIVDWLULFDOODUUDWLYHDQGGZDVHuHFWLYHOWW
RIWRSLFDOSROLWLFDOFDUWRROLQJLQMLWDLQ

:LOOLDPRJDUWK *Emblematical print on the South Sea scheme*, with its focus on
secular politics, is often considered to be a prime example of the transition from satirical
print to political cartoon. However, Hogarth wanted to reach a wider audience, not all of
KRGGKDUHDEW SHEBOLHEW SOLWLBOHMOVEXPDQR
WNRQHLYKHSSHUODMVLGLPHHG7KXKXKHGHGHNORUKH *South Sea*
scheme print, Hogarth was only mildly political, choosing instead to focus on social satire
BHS

,QWKHPLG DUWLWWDVIRH7KHQ EHDQELQQ
DUWKVERLBOSSUBKZWKDULBWXH7KHQUDZQ *The Recruiting*
GUMHDQWYLFZLWKDFDVWRIFKDUFDWHUVLQDVSHFLFVHWWLQJDQZRUGEDOORRQVXV
GLDORJXHSUHJXUHVWKHQHZVWOHRIFDUWRROLQJ,QWKHVRZQVKHQGEHJDQFUHDWLQJ
FDULFDWXUHVWKDWZHUHGLVWULEXWHGRQFDUGVKHZHUHYHUSRSXODUDQGZLGHOW
RZQVHQGFDULFDWXUHV EHDQ DSSHDULQJ LQ PDJDJLQHWKXFKDMMtry and
Political Register 6KXQJ DQGREELQVUHIHURRZQVKHQGQUDZLQJVDVWKHEDVLVRIWKH
(QJOLVKSROLWLFDOFDUWRROLQ

WKHHQGRWKHLLJKWHHQWXUPRUHDuRUGDEOHSULQWVDQGGHPRFUDWLFVRF
supported freedom of expression helped usher in a golden age of European cartooning.
Political factions in multiple European nations engaged in bitter rhetorical battles, made
more personal by the use of satirical prints.

-DPHKOUDPDPRIH/UDHNRHMDBUWRWWKDPWR
KLWHPSEIDULHWKHEUHDGWKKLDUWRNOKHNGHuHHLMMMDULW\
and scatological humour, but also create deft and layered satire – made Gillray popular. He
PLKWKDMEHHQKHJWSHUWRDNDOLQDQDQDLWLBODUWRWRFHQUOWE
decades, his cartoons commented on all the important people and events in England and on
WKHR/LHQKQ\$RELD

7KHGUDZKRDSODQDWDWDWHGWEBUGNDODWLUHUDWKHU
WKDQWLSLWLBOORPHQDUMQKKLDBULBWXHKKOLNHWHPDGH
WKHPONLKLQHuHWNOKHWHQHGWRP\$ORLOGUDWKHUWKDQELWRLW
HDWPHSODQURBNGRHSUWRLLSULQ 7KHOMWKHPDQWKH

badger, or the coalition wedding KDG SDQHOV DQG ZRUG EDOORRQV RZHYHU
RZODQGVROJUHDDWHVW LPSDFW RQ WKH GHYHORSHPHQW RI FRPLFV SUREDEO\FDPH IURF
LOOXVWUDWLRQV ZKLFK DFFRPSDQLHG :LOOLDP &RPEH SRHPV IRU WKUHH U QWD[ERR
SXEOLVKHGEHWZHHQDQGHUHZDVUQWD[PHUFKDQGLVHKDWVZLJVDQGF RDWV
HWFRRWHQDQGDKRWHOLQDVPDQLDZDVQDPHGDIWHUWKHFKDUDFWHU

KHUQWD[VWRULHVZHUHQRWFRPLFVRZODQGVROJGUDZLQJVRQOWKLUWRQHFRORXUHG
SODWHLQWKHJVVERRNGHSLFWHGLVRODWHGLQFLGHQWVUDWKHUWKDQDQDUUDWLYH
style of humour, and even the look of the main character, seem to have inspired the work of
WKHDWKHUWKHRLNRSK7\$uHU

,QKHODWHHLKWHHQKHWKHWKHLKWHUHDWLVHGWKDBUWRDQDQK
5RELNRDGNHRLQMOOHUKRBDWHULQWKHSSHUPLGGOH
ODKHHQWKDGEHWKQLKDUWLWMLUHGEWDOLDPULBWXHEWVKHHQ
WKHWKHHQDQDQGLSODLQDQSSUBKWRRLWLB
DWLUHDQDQDQDUWRWVKH/LHQKQ\$RELD

The nineteenth century

, QWKHQLQHWHHQWKFHQWWRDQFADUWRRQLWKKWWROHDYHEHKLQGWKHLUULEDOGSDDWDOGV
 RUNKLIWGHGIURPYLWSDHUDWLROWRJHQWOHDWLUHIURPYDJDULWWRKIDUPOHMMWDEOHIRU
 FKLOGUHQ/RZ. QDHS 7KLDSDUWLFODUOWUMLQ(QJODQG)RU
 HDPSOHGMLQJWKHFRMMRIKLVDUHHU ERWKFRUJH BKNKDON-DOG KLV
 RNEHFDPHPRUJHJHQQWHHODQGLQWQHZWKWKHFROMUYDWLYHMOMELOLWLHRIWKHWLPH-HOMQ
 S7KHFKDQJHLOWRQHGMLQJWKHFHQWMMKWKDWE3ULPHOLQLWHU
 BOIRMMDEOHWRDRIWKHDWLULFDOPDJLQHPunchGRQRWEHOLHYHWKDWKHWDLUHRI
 WKDWMRXUQDOKDVHYHUOHIWDZRXQGMKSWHGLQ

KHEDUEVRIWKH)UHQFKVDWLULFDOPDUWRRQLVWVPRVWQRWDEO&KDUOHV3KLOLSRQ-
 and Honoré Daumier, were still drawing blood and the ire of those in power. Charles
 KLOLSHGWKHBULSKOLKLNOLH HUWDQODQHG

La Caricature DPRQWKOVDWLULFDOPDJLQHLQ *Caricature* was aimed at an upper-
 class audience, but Philipon also edited the less expensive daily broadsheet, *Le Charivari*.

La Caricature soon became notorious for its aggressive attacks on citizen-King Louis-
 KLOLSSHKLOLSMIGUDEWUDNPLKLOLSSHKHDGLQBSHDUBSWKHG
 the popular imagination and the pear image was soon appropriated by other artists and
 EHDPHDPERBSRWLWKKLOLSSHVPHKLOGS KLOLSR
 GHEDUHGKLPDDJLQMDULDWKH,HMLWLQWQRDNDPLUURWKH
 ULGLNOKLWOHEWKHWXLDKLSF WKHZNGRQWHLQ 7KH
 magazines were repeatedly seized by the authorities. Philipon was prosecuted more than a
 GRQWLPHQSHQPKRQULMOENPH

EDLPWKHGHUORLWLBOHSDSHU DUWRQWKLWSULQSOHFERLFDQ
 SHURQOLDWLRMUPKWKHEHDWLRLOLSR

:KLOHWKHUHQDULDWKLWUHGREDWWOHZWKWKHLUMUHQDESRN
 QPHG5BSKH7SuHUDEHDWLHQOHUEWKLKOMDQDUBWR
 WKDWKHOSHGHULQHNUDRUUDWLMDUWRQHWWHQGLDQWS
 7SuHUNUWDLQRWKHJWUWLVWWRDNNRUUDWLMLRQKLOHWKHMNO
 NQLDQWRWHOOLQWKQWWDWDPHWRWKHULQSuHUWKDGEHHQ
 developing for centuries, there is something about the nature of his picture stories – his use
 RDHOMWDSRWLQMMHWKDWMPWRQLDWHWWDWKKHWDWLQHULSDV
 MUDQDHDUWRPKDGEHHERQVLMUWDLQMWLDEOHWFWKDW7SuHUODLGWKH
 foundation for what has become known as comic books and graphic novels.

7SuHUQDULUOZGHOGLMPLQWHG WKUKWKRHDQHMQQKH8
 RHWKHWRHLHXDWKHDGDSWDWLR *Histoire de Monsieur Cryptogame* in
L'Illustration DSSHUHGZLWKKLVSHUPLVLRQ,QRWKHULQVWDQFHVWKHVVRULHVZHUH
 KUHH7uHUOEXPVZHUHSODJLDULVHGLQ(QJODQGLQWKHVDQGRQHRIWKRVRHZDVUH
 XVHGLQWKHIRUWKSHULFDQPDHJLQHJonathan as *The adventures of Obadiah
 Oldbuck*.XQJOHS

,QVSLUHGE7uHU7SLFWXUHVWRULHVXVWDYHRUpZDVDWWHPSWLQJJUDSKLF
 narrative by the time he was ten. While still a teenager, he wrote, drew and lithographed *The
 Labours of Hercules*WKHODVWLQDVHULHVRISLFWXUHVWRUDQEXPVSXEOLVKHGEQDLVRQ
 XEHUWRUpVHHPHGWRKDYHDQDWXUDODvQLWRUWKHFRPLFVDUWRUHDQDZD
 RIWKHSDJHDVDXQLWRIFRPSRVLWLRQWKDQ7uHUKDGEHHQ0DLQDUGL3UHVDJLQJD
 basic element of comics language, Doré uses lines to indicate force or speed. When the
 RGHQOHDSDLZWKHUNHKBGLRWWDLORpGUDVXKHLUESLHDV
 just a blur of lines to indicate the speed of their fall.

Hercules ZDVYHUPXFKLQWKHVWQHRI^uHUEXWWKHSUHFRFLRXVXRQJVWHUVRROPRYHG
 EHRQGLPLWDWLRQⁱ Pleasures of a pleasure trip RUpH[SHULPHQWVZLWKSJDH
 ODRXWSDQHOKVSDSHDQGDUDWLYHWHFKQLTXHRUpZDVRQOWZHQWVZRZKHQKHXQGH
 DSURMHFW PRUHDPHELWLRXV WKDQDQFDUWRRQLVW EHIRUH KLP KDG DWWHPSWHG \$ S
 UDPDWLFDQGSFLWXUHVTXHKLVWRURIKROXVVLDLQFDULFDWXUH^uVEIDUWKHODUJHVW
 FRPLFVWULSDOEXPRIWKHFHQWXU^uQGRUpHPSORV^uGD]]OLOJDUUDRIJUDSKLFGHYLFHV
 .XQJOHS0DLQDUGLEHOLHYHV History of holy Russia PDUNV^uWKFORVHRI
 WKHVHFRQGFKDSWHULQWKHFUHDWLRQRIPRGHUQFRPLFERRNV^u

, Q WKH 8WKH SLFWXUH VWRU^uGHYHORSHG WZR UDWKHU GLVWLQFW WUDGLWLRQV LQ ZK
 8ROGHUHQ WHUPV^uWKHVHULRXVDQG WKH FRPLF LOOXVWUDWHG SUHV^u \$ KHSLFWXUH
 stories that appeared in supplements of illustrated newspapers, such as the *Graphic* and the
Illustrated London News, were subject to tight editorial control and tailored to the perceived
 WDWH^uPLGGOH^uDVHDGHUKLS7KH^uK^uPPDD^uL^uQ^uDOO^uGD^uUHD^uWHU^uDU^uHO^uH
 DQULEDOGD^uWL^uUHWKDWK^uDUN^uQ^uGED^uN^uROOUD^uD^uQ^uK^uK^uN^uD^uGHUHQ^u

7KH^uQLK^uK^uPPDD^uL^uQ^u Punch IRXQGHGLQ KDG WKH VXEWL^uOH^u London
 Charivari WRLQGLFDWHGHEWWRWKH)UHQFKSUHGHHVVRUEXWSHUKDSVDOVRWRS^uLJED^u
 established brand name. *Punch* HYHQWXDOOHFOLSVHGLQSRSXODULW^uLQ^uRWTXDOLW^uDOOLW^uU^u
 in the UK and even the Paris magazines.

Early on, drawings in *Punch* were limited to spot illustrations, gag cartoons, and
 DUL^uW^uK^uH^uHOOR^uW^uOS^uDL^uWL^uBO^uK^uSR^uWH^uQ^uW^uH^uWR^uH^uW^uK^uH
 R^uHOOL^uD^uOS^uD^uH^uQ^uSD^uH^uOB^uU^uW^uDORPH^uDU^uWKDW^uSSHD^uU^uHGLQ
 HDK^uL^uM^u7KH^uMS^uD^uH^uW^uL^uQ^uPK^uOL^uND^uPH^uU^uGL^uW^uLD^uOB^uU^uW^uQ^uW^uPD^uGHM
 K^uOPHW^uDSK^uR^uW^uKH Punch editors changed our vocabulary by applying the term
 DU^uW^uR^uW^uL^uUL^uBO^uGD^uZ^uQ^u The Economist

Punch KDG^uD^uQ^uL^uQ^uFUHG^uLEO^uH^uL^uQ^uX^uH^uQ^uF^uH^uR^uQ^uF^uD^uWRR^uQ^uL^uQ^uJ^uD^uQ^uY^uL^uV^uX^uD^uO^uV^uD^uW^uL^uH^uD^uW^uK^uH^uU^uD^uG
 early days, *Punch* satire gradually became more moderate in a successful attempt to expand
 U^uH^uD^uG^uH^uK^uL^uS^uE^uD^uP^uK^uW^uK^uN^uR^uH^uQ^uL^uQ^uO^uE^uS^uW^uWKH^uK^uH^uL^uK^uW^uR^uW^u
 popularity *Punch* ZDVH[SRUWHGDFURVVWKHJOREHDQGLWVLQ^uX^uH^uQ^uF^uH^uR^uQ^uY^uL^uV^uX^uD^uO^uK^uX^uPR^uX^uZ^u
 PDJ^uQ^uL^uH^uGEP^uD^uQ^uL^uPL^uW^uR^uU^uV^uW^uK^uD^uW^uX^uV^uH^uG^uW^uK^uH^u3^uX^uQ^uF^uKE^uUD^uQ^uQ^uD^uPH^uK^uH^uU^uZ^uH^uU^uPD^uQ^uR^uW^uK^uH^uV^uV^u
 as *Vanity Fair* B^uQ^u Fun^uW^uK^uD^uW^uGL^uQ^uR^uW^uX^uV^uH^uW^uK^uH^uQ^uD^uPH^uEX^uW^uD^uW^uH^uPS^uW^uH^uG
 to copy the style.

7^uDEOH^uK^uPPDD^uL^uQ^uM^uUH Judy B^uQ^u Puck ±
 8^uOR^uSHU^uWK^uH^uFK^uD^uUD^uF^uWHU^uW^uK^uD^uW^uR^uJ^uH^uDEL^uQ^uF^uDOOV^uW^uK^uH^uU^uV^uW^uFR^uPL^uF^uV^uX^uSHU^uV^uW^uD^u
 GH^uEX^uW^uH^uGL^uQ^uW^uK^uH^uL^uW^uL^uV^uK^uPD^uJ^uQ^uH^uZ^uD^uV^uW^uK^uH^uU^uV^uW^uFR^uPL^uF^uV^uFK^uD^uUD^uF^uWHU^uW^uR^uK^uD^uY^uH^uD
 Z^uH^uN^uO^uPD^uJD^uJ^uL^uQ^uHally Sloper's Half Holiday GHYR^uW^uH^uG^uWR^uRL^uFK^uU^uV^uW^uD^uV^uD^uH^uUP^uD^uQ^u
 OD^uQ^uJ^uX^uD^uJ^uH^uPD^uJD^uJ^uL^uQ^uH D^uQ^uW^uK^uH^uQ^uD^uV^uD^uE^uH^uW^uH^uUN^uQR^uZ^uQ^u(Q^uJ^uOL^uV^uK^uOD^uQ^uJ^uX^uD^uJ^uH^uY^uH^uU^uV^uLR^uQ^uZ^uD^uV^u
 successful humour magazine in the US. *Puck*'s DW^uW^uD^uF^uN^uR^uQ^uPR^uQR^uS^uROL^uH^uV^uW^uK^uH^uZ^uR^uPH^uQ^uV^uX^uU^uD^uJ^uH
 PRY^uHP^uH^uQ^uW^uD^uQ^uGS^uD^uU^uW^uL^uF^uX^uOD^uUS^uROL^uW^uL^uFL^uD^uQ^uV^uK^uD^uGU^uHD^uOL^uPS^uD^uF^uWR^uQ^uS^uROL^uF^uD^uQ^uG^uHO^uH^uFW^uLR^uQ^u
 VW^uQH^uRI^u-RV^uHSK^u.HSSO^uH^uck's IRX^uQ^uHU^uD^uQ^uO^uH^uD^uG^uF^uD^uWRR^uQ^uL^uV^uLQ^uX^uH^uQ^uF^uH^uG^uJ^uH^uQ^uUD^uW^uLR^uQ^u
 cartoonists and the very nature of contemporary editorial cartoons.

While *Punch* imitators might have begun by aping the style of the original, many of them
 D^uPH^uW^uHP^uES^uSH^uW^uK^uH^uPH^uUL^uQ^uW^uL^uR^uON^uW^uOS^uW^uH^uQ^u
 EH^uPE^uRL^uQ^uK^uH^uOL^uW^uL^uH^uW^uK^uH^uQ^uW^uL^uR^uON^uVER^u
 EGL^uVR^uU^uW^uWHU^uHOG^uDU^uW^uR^uW^uUL^uHGD^uZGH^uDU^uUD^uKN^uOP^uER^uV^u
 U^uRE^uNR^uM^uW^uRL^uQ^uW^uH^uH^uW^uHS^uU^uHM^uQ^uW^uK^uH^uPH^uUL^uQR^uHN^uQ^uW^uK^uH^uQ^uW^uL^uR^u
 :KH^uQ^uK^uL^uWL^uK^uGH^uUL^uM^uOU^uH^uH^uU^uH^uG^uW^uK^uH^uPH^uUL^uQR^uW^uDN^uHR^uOH^uR^uW^uK^uH^u
 -R^uWK^uD^uQ^uW^uPH^uD^uQ^uW^uUH^uK^uW^uK^uH^uU^uHE^uW^uK^uH^uPH^uUL^uQR^uW^uH^uG^u
 WK^uHM^uK^uHP^uSOR^uQ^uK^uHP^uD^uQR^uDU^uW^uK^uRP^uQR^uUD^uW^uW^uK^uH^uH^uW^uH^uQ^u

:DOWHUXJKOFRXJDOVHULHVRIFDUWRRQVWVKDWUDQLOWK(FVHBLXNULOJ
DUHSUREDEOWKHYHUJVVGDLOCHZSDSHUFDUWRRQVRSROLWLFDOVXEMHFWV\$UHVVS
([WUDDVVKRUWOLYHGEXWODWHULQWKHMNDUKHQ-RVHSK3XOLW]HUKLUHGOFRXJDO
create cartoons for *The World*GDLOHGLWRULDODUWRRQLQJDVDSURIHVVLROZDVERUQ\$UHV
S:KHQLWEHFDPHFOHDUWKDW0FRXJDOOYFDUWRRQVZHUHLQFUHDVLOJFLUFXODWLRQ
RWKHUQHYZVSDSHUVLQIHZRUNDQG WKHQ WKURXJKRXW WKHQDWLRQEHJDQWRKLUHWH
editorial cartoonists.

WKHWHZVLHWKHOV\WHKQRBODGDPYDGLWHRLEDOO\HDMEOHRE
newspapers to run cartoons commenting on very recent events. Compulsory schooling and
increasing democratisation of the political process in the Western world created a newspaper
readership with the interest and background knowledge to appreciate editorial cartoons.
H\ZSHUEHDQ\BKHRR\WKHPW\WDOHQVHGDUWQW\DDURWKHKRE
PDDJLQDQLOOXUDWHGZHSLHV\KH\H\ZSHUSRLWLBO\DUWQEHDPH\WKHPW
prestigious form of cartooning when the Pulitzer Prize added a category for editorial
DUWQ

Comic books were far less prestigious. Popular newspaper comic strips were reprinted
DQGLEQHW\WKDWEHDPH\RELENDP:KHHOHULKOR
started the company that would eventually become DC Comics, realised hiring young talent
to create original material for his comic books was cheaper than paying the reprint rights for
comic strips. Most of this original material was created as multi-page stories, and creators
EHDQ\RDNM\KHSDD\WRSRWL\KHDUWRP\K\K7\$uHUDQ
Doré had laid the foundations was re-established in a new medium – comic books.

7KH\W\DQ\MUH\HGZWK\XHUKHUR\Q\PDOD\QON\W\HHQ
but early on, it was evident that the comic book medium could be used for more than
H\WUWDLPH\DORP\WHU\DW\WKH\JW\W\SUB\RELEND\SRWLBO
campaign, but from *The Story of Harry S. Truman* DQG *A Man Named Stevenson*
WR *The Little Judge*, *George Wallace for the Big Job*WHUPDGHDFDUHHURI
using comic books to promote candidates. Comic books have also been used to promote
EOGMH\ILHO\RPDQ\SPDQ\DWWHODUW\DUH\WKDW\LR\LF
especially those featuring Uncle Scrooge, subtly inculcated young readers with a capitalist
EOGMH\MMU\WKH\SHUUN\RL\WKH\Q\UHEODWDQO\
D\WLHWDEOLKPHV\Q\SHRL\FDDJLQDQDOEK\UH\WKHRDL\QDQOK
WKSUW\HWLQ\KHM\KDON\KH\PHWH\GLD\W\S7KH
XHUKHUR\W\KHEO:DUW\Q\Q\Q\UL\N\UMOR\LF
titles was a thinly veiled metaphor for the debate over how much privacy and personal
freedom a citizen must give up for national security.

The twenty- first century

ORGHUQFDUWRRQLWFDQFRQWU\W\WKHLUF\PLF\W\WKDQDUMQDORIWHFKQLT\W\GHYHORSHGRYHU
WKHFHQW\HL\W\KH\OLN\H\W\UJLQL7RQ\KHQ7\$uHU3KLOLSRQRUpDQG1DW\HWK
7RERFPDQ\WSDJHFRPL\JKH\DUOQH\URX\T\URP\WKH\QWKROR\N *The Bush Junta*
EHWLDOLM\MMH\W\RH\H\RSWL\Q\RPD\HDQ\MOOE\OH\Q\RSWV
7RRD\UR\OL\Q\PHWDSKEL\WKH\DUOQH\UR\DD\MUSHQ\RH\WLPHV\
OLWHUDON\NDQRH\WLPH\Q\NKHDGRL\W\RE\KH\W\E\OH\SKDQ\W\UN\
WHUPLQ\WL\Q\Q\NKHDGEM\NOOL\W\KH\UDQ\Q\GD\UW\DQ\WKH\DUOQH\UR\K7KH
WULSH\RS\ODQ\HGLQ\Q\DTRO\HOG\PRSKLQ\W\K\K\Q\NM\H\KH
7KHOL\SH\W\ZH\Q\KH\K\Q\Q\Q\GHQ\PLOL\H\W\HGLQ\KH\WH\W\DUHUHL\Q\HGE\
The twenty- first century

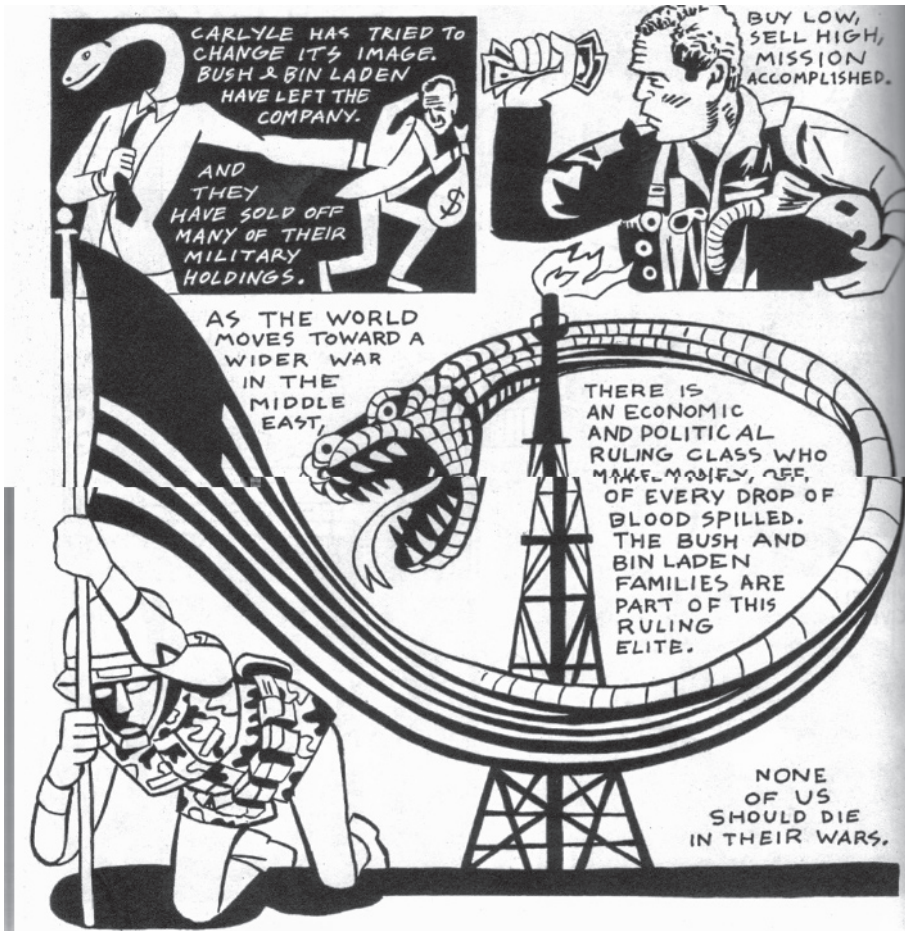


Figure 30.1 Visually blending and associating concepts. The Carlyle Group by Seth Tobacman from The Bush Junta (2004)

the picture – a snake visually intertwines them and the facial expressions imply a

the production and distribution of the comics medium and even some aspect of the art form.

been syndicated comic strips that utilise clipart or a few simple, often repetitive, drawings
are not always static. When elements such as movement of characters, panning of the
animation. Done deftly, however, as with

HUO 7KHULVHDQGDIDORIUDGLFDO:HVWPLQVWHU3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQVVLQJVWRNH
 HWHQV-6XUGLDFRXUW6KURSHDQJUDSKLFQDUUDWLYHV7RUGDFXOWXUDODQGPGLRORJLFDO
 KLVWRUL from comics strip to graphic novels: Contributions to the theory and history of graphic
 narrativeHG VHLQ-KROHUXWHUHUOLQSS±
 UWKHVMythologies WUDYHUV9LQWDJH/RQGRQ
 QWQHHDJH6 LFWLRQDURIWLVLVKFDUWRRQLVWVDQGFDFULFDWXULVWV±Scolar
 BHHGHUKW
 UULHU' The aesthetics of comics3HQQVOYDQLDWDWHQLYHUVLW3UHVVQLYHUVLW3DUN3\$
 &KLOGV (& HERGLPSROLWLF &HQVRUVKLS DQG WKH FDFULFDWXUH RI RQRUp DXPLHUQLQ
 Suspended license: Censorship and the visual arts, ed. E C Childs, University of Washington
 BHMDDWWOH:DOQRSS±
 H:S German political satires from the Reformation to the Second World War
 9ROXPHV.UDXV.QWHUQDWLRQDO:KLWH3ODLQV1<
 &XQR-&KDUOHV3KLOLSRQ/D0DLVRQXEHWUDQGWKHEXVLQHVVRIFDFULFDWXUHLQ3DULV#
 Art Journal,YROQRSS±
 XQFDQ5PDJHIXQFWLRQVKDSHDQGFRRXUDVVKHUPHQHXWFLPLDJHVLOVWHULRV3ROSLLQ
 Critical approaches to comics: Theories and methodsHG V0-6LWK XQFDQRXWOHGJH
 IHZRUNSS±
 EconomistLXPSKRIWKHQHUGVKHLQWHUQHWDVXQOHDVKHGDEXUVVRIFDUWRRQLQJFUHDWLYLW
 HFHPEHU DYDLODEOH IURP ZZZHFRQRPLVWFRPQHZVFKULVWPDVVSFLDOV
 LQWHUQHWDVXQOHDVKHGEXUVWFDUWRRQLQJFUHDWVFLWVWEXHSHQHPKHU
 @
 (LVQHU:&RPLFVDQGVHTXHQWLDODUWRURXVH3UHVVDPDUDF)/
 HN)0ROLWLFDOFDUWRRQVDVDVLWHRIUHSUHVHQDWLWRQDQGUHVLVVDQFHLQWKH0LGGOH(DV
 Political cartoons in the Middle EastHG)0HN0DUNXV:LHQHU3XEOLVKHUV3ULQFHWRRQ1-
 SS±
 ROGVWHLQ5KHGHEDWHRYHUHQVRUVKLSRIFDFULFDWXUHLQQLQHWHHQWKFHQWXU)UDQFH#
 JournalYROQRSS±
 RPEULFK(+ Meditations on a hobby horse and other essays on the theory of art, Phaidon
 Press, London.
 UULS 7KHBUWRPQDWLWVKHKN DHEKOLDWLMUOLOO&
 UMSLPHWRHQLQ A comics studies readerHG V-HHU.:RUFHVWHU
 QLYHUVLW3UHVVRIOLVVLVSSL-DFNVRQ06DSWHGLQSDUWIURP&DUYH&RPHGDW
 WKHMXQFWUH RIZRUG DQGLPDUHLQ language of comics HG V9DUQXP & EERQV
 QLYHUVLW3UHVVRIOLVVLVSSL-DFNVRQ06S±
 HHU-KH&KDUOLHHEGRDWWDFNXQGHUVFRUHVWKHYLVFHUODSRZHURISROLWLFDOFDUWRRQV#
 Globe and Mail -DQXDU\DYDLODEOH IURP ZZZWKHJOREHDQGPDLQFRPDUWVRRNVDDQ
 PHGLDWKHFKDUOLHKHEGRDWWDFNXQGHUVFRUHVWKHYLVFHUODSRZHURISROLWLFDOFDUWRRQV
 DUWLFQHDFFHVHVSULO@
 HUGHJ:3DVFDQ' The art of the comic strip Die Kunst des Comic Strip L'art de la bande
 dessineeKHUSDKLF3UHVV=ULFK
 RWWHQ-&KHOLHDQGDGYHQWXUHVRWKHDXWKRURUQWD[QLQWURGXFWLQWR
 QWD[VKUHHWRXUVE; &RPEHKRPDVRZODQGVRO&KDWWRDQ:LGXV/RQGRQ
 -HQVQ- KHQGRIRWKHOLQHKHIXWXUHRIWLVLVKFDUWRRQLQMLQ sense of permanence:
 Essays on the art of the cartoon HG 3GZDUGV KH &HQWUH IRU WKH WXGRI &DUWRRQVDQ
 &DULFDWXUH&DQWHUEXUSS±
 .XQJOH' The history of the comic strip volume I: The early comic strip, University of
 BOLRQDBHMMUNOH&
 .QH' The history of the comic strip volume II: The nineteenth century, University of
 BOLRQDBHMMUNOH&
 .QH' DWKHU RVKH RLWULS 5BQSKH 7SHU, University Press of Mississippi,
 -DQ

Meetings

Jo Angouri and Lorenza Mondada

Introduction

OHHWLQJV KDYH DWWUDFWHG VJQLFDQW LQWHUHVW RYHU WKH MDUV JLYHQ WKH
LPSRUWDQFH IRUSDUWFLSDQWV DQGRUJDQLVDWLRQV 7KHWHUP ðVLWLVLJOREDOO

actors as well as by scholars – covers heterogeneous gatherings in which people meet for professional and institutional purposes and work together on a common task and goal. On one side, meetings are a common way in which political activities are organised among large numbers of participants, allowing politicians to talk to large audiences as well as to HQEOH EWLHSDUWLES DWLQVKH WKHU LGH LQVKH SURMRO QH[W PHHWLQ always have a political dimension in that their organisation fosters or reduces issues of asymmetry, power and participation. More generally, meetings are a form of social activity that concerns a number of people engaged in institutions, organisations and professions KDUWPDQ7KH LQMDULDEOH NEHU SDUWLES DQUR WVR KQUHGWKHSUHMQRDEMRDQMHKDFGHUDWRKDLUSHUN facilitators, and so on, a restricted versus public right to participate, and the use of artefacts HDQH QDUNGLD UOHMDUKWKHRPDQNLKPHHWLQULHV RGHUDEOEWWKHSDUWLES DQDPRQDOOHQMLWKDUUN GHSLWHWKHMDULDWLQ

,QKLDKDSWHUHUHUWGLMULWRDLWLDOEKMLHQDWHG DQLWLWLQO PHHWLQGLPLQDULWLHQGLUHUUHQKHQH,QWKHOO *business/ corporate meetings* HVHDEYGDQQLuHHQFRQH[WVIRPHODWLYHOVPDOOPHGLK HQHSUVHVWRODIHPVDQLQRPHFDVHPQWLQWLQRQERPSDQV *meetings* research has largely focused on health-care, notably on collective discussions of clinic cases, and academic settings – notably in supervision contexts. *Political meetings* have been WELHGEPDLQRE DOSDLWLDO SHHKH DQRHGLDWHGSDLWLDO WDOR UDGLDQ7DQOHUHMVHG DQPRHUDVSDUWLES DWRDWKHULQ Here, we draw on meetings from a diversity of settings to illustrate key issues raised by this form of institutional gathering.

:HEULQWKHU KDUKLSURWKUHH DUHDQPHOHU DWLQDQV& LQHU DWLQORLEWLQDQLWLDOLEMDQV&DW&LHG

to other aspects such as national or ethnic categories in multilingual meetings, or gender. 7KLUG A GHMORLMVUHODWHG R Q W R V K H L G H Q L W R S D U W L E S D Q V E W D O W R V K H choice of languages, especially in international contexts, intertwining issues of language RSHWH Q D Q S D U W L E S D W L R W K H G H E L E H K R L B O D S H W R K P H H W L Q U H P D Q H G K D M O D E R D W L R W L R D N Q H E M R U K Q Q G L M U H H L R HDK W K H M D U H D R R H U D E U L H W D W H R K H D U W D M O O D Q H [D P S O H D L P L D W R R \ R P D U L M Q L E W R R R K H P D H H P S L U L B O O G L M G 7 K H M H [D P S O H V D L P D W R R R R L u H U H V W K H R H W L B O D Q P H W K R R R B O W U D G L W L R G G U H V D W D G H W D L O V and relevances for the issues at hand.

Turn-taking and the management of meetings

7KH RUJDQLVDWLRO RI PHHWLQJV FULDOO UHOLHV RQ KRZ WKH ARU LV VFHVVLVYHOXLY SDUWLFLSDQVW 7MQWDNLQJ RUJDQLVDWLRO KDV EHHQ GHVFULEHG ZWKLO & \$IRU conversation as well as for institutional settings. Whereas in conversation turn-taking is P W O W U D L G D Q W D N D G L M U L W R P O H O R H u H U R Q institutional settings, the system has been described as being more restricted and specialised UHULWDH H H N U W K L V H E P W L R K H W R Q D N W H P L Q H [H W K H D L Q L K S D U W L E S D Q V B O O D Q U H A [L M O D R S O L K W K H L W L W W L R O L W R V K H setting, both by adapting to its normative expectations and by contributing to this normativity through their ordered conduct. Particular turn-taking formats shape the opportunities for action and participation.

RLW L W W L R O W E W L R Q L K O D U H R E H U R D U W L E S D Q V D W K H U W R V K H U K D V meetings, specialised formats restrict the number of persons allowed to speak and who can LQWLDWHW D O W U L E W L W R Q W K H D W L W R P D L Q S D U W L E S D Q V D Q W E H Q W K H audience as constituting a single party rather than a number of possible persons 6 K H J O R u K H U H D U H W Z R S D U W L F X O D U Z D V W R P D Q D J H O D U J H U J U R X S V H U L W D J H & O D P D Q within the turn-type pre-allocation system V X F K D V L Q L Q W H U Y L H Z V F R X U W D Q G I R U P D O D F D G H P L F H Y H Q W V W K H W \$ H R I S H U V R Q D Q G D F W L R Q S H U I R U P H G L V U H V W U L F W H G W K H L Q W H U Y L H Z H H D Q V Z H U T X H V W L R Q V D Q G G R H V Q R W H Q J D J H L Q R W K H U W \$ H V R I D F W L R Q Z L W K L Q W K H taking system, a chairperson mediates the distribution of turns, controlling both speakers and topics. Mixed systems exist, in which a mediator can impose restrictions on the type of action or turn allowed for given participants.

W E L H R Q L W L B O P H H W L R Q D M N G R H G L D W H G S R L W L B O L Q H U D W L R D V Z Q H U M H X D P D Q H U L W D H D Q E U R G B W H G G H E D W H W W Political speeches have been treated as events in which the speaker addresses the audience treated as one party S H F L F S U D F W L F H V E Z K L F K W K H V S H D N H U L Q Y L W H V W K H D X G L H Q F H W R U H V S D V Z H O O D V W K H R U J D Q L V D W L R Q R I U H V S R Q V H V L W K H U L Q W K H I R U P R I D S S O D X V H \$ N L Q V R R E R R L Q J & O D P D Q K D Y H E H H Q H [D P L Q H G 2 F F D V L R Q V L Q Z K L F K W K H D X G L H Q F H S D U W L F L S D W H more actively have been less studied, such as when it participates in public debates in G L u H U H V L D W H G D Q W H [O K M O K R D O D E W M H O H Z O O D M Q Q D G D

W E L H W R Q D N D Q H P H V L Q U R M R O P H H W L R H Q G K D M N G R K H D W L R K H K D L U B H Q D G D R H U D Q H U M Q M D Q R W R Q D N D U D W L H K D S H R S R W R W L H W R D U W L E S D W H P D Q H D P H W L H V D Q U H W U L F D H W R V K H R D U W L E S D W L R Q H D E O L W D W H G R R W W H G D H W R K H R D Q H H Q E O H G L Q G L W U L E W H G R L Q H Q U D O L M G D R G 7 K R P D W D Q D H W R V K H R G H Q S D U W L E S D Q V W H R L H W D V

FKDLUSHUVROVSHDNHUH[SHUWRU JXHVW VWDUUQ D ORFDOOVLWXDWHG DQWDNL
 :LGLFRPEH 6DFNV \$VKRZ E'RRGZQ DOG RRGZQ
 UHYLVVLWQJRuPDQV FODVVLFDOSDSHURQSDUWFLSDWLRQIUDPHUNV SDUWFLSDWLRQ
 designed in a highly dynamic way and is made possible by the step-by-step opportunities
 RHUHGEWKHMVLDORDDQWLDVDOXKLDUHRHUHGQDQDNQWKNR
 BULWLPBDOUHFHRLQPHHWLWKHMDUHGHSONG *gesturally,*
 EGLSODLQKHWDWKHLPLPQVSHDNURGGDGD *visually,* by
 gazing and orientating bodily towards the next speaker, thereby recognising them as such
 RGDUNRQDGD

7KQDNQUDWLHVQLWLBO PHHWLQWK ODUHU UNVSDUWLESQVYUHD
 perspicuous setting in which to observe how the practical problems of managing the
 interactional order are situatedly solved in embodied ways, with important political
 HHRQMWUDSDUWLESQVYUHDGDP
 :HLMDFIDPSOHLQKHUHPHQVHOV'DNQRDSBLWLBOPHHWLQDQV
 roots democracy, in which citizens contribute to an urban-planning project aimed at
 WUDNPLQPLQWUWVHLVPSKOLSDUNKWKHUHQONMHQDGD
 EGLVWKHGHVQDUGWKHGHOGWKHSUWLESQVYUHQOHHIDPSOHLVHG
 in this paper have given their formal agreement to be recorded, analysed and represented in
 WUDNLSWVQSLPHHQVWKHWUDNLSWVMSVGRVGHUWBLM
 the speakers. We join the meeting as citizens make proposals about structuring features of
 the park, mediated by a facilitator.

7KHMHLQWLDWHGGEWKHDEOLWDWRMOHVLQKHQ[WEWLHVWHULQSUBBO
 KHONVWUGKHUORQWKHULQDQWKPNSKOLQMEOHKHUHPHUHQ
 WDWVWKHQ[WVHDNUW DONMQHRH KHDMUKH UHSEWLKLPQOI
 DEWKHURDOWKKRLEWVHDWKHU LQGROHRLHQVWLWVKH
 XSHUMUWKHOEUSDUWVKHEKLLKHORBOOV ERWRN:KHQ
 7KHQ UHSRQWKHDEOLWDWRQVWKHUJLKH LQDPHQ DQWKHQ
 LPPHGLDWHOVWVWKHURJLKH LQDPHQ MOMOHVLQOWKVKHU
 WQVRSOHWHDQUHSHDWLKHUSURBOZWKDQVHUUDWLMLQVWLQMG
 DWQKWV

:LWKKLEWRVWKHDEOLWDWRH[KLELWVKHUHOHHLVWLQVSDHEVWKLQ
 the room: one, on his right, is where the author of the proposal is located, the other, in front
 KLPLKHUHWKHEDUWLESQVYKHGGUHMVUHGLWULEVWVHG VHSWDWLQHQV
 turn while looking at the co-participants, the facilitator re-addresses it to the entire
 DELHQVQDGDKH *collectivises* the proposal that was initially addressed to him.

H[WWKHDEOLWDWRVQLVWRQVQLPZWKDEUQDUDHPRWLVQKH
 UHSRQWKHDELHQJLKH LQDPHQ B'EHMODGLMUHHPHQ
 HPHUHQVWKLWLM[SUMGEPULKHEOHVWWHUHGDUQWKHURWKH
 DEOLWDWRLGHQVLEHUHQSDUWLESQVYKQDQDQVWVWLQWVKHDPHWDEOH
 LQVQLPVLQVDUHHLQKHUHWKHDEOLWDWRVSHURPVMUDO
 actions: he completes his monitoring and exhibits its result; he not only states that there is a
 GLMUHHPHQVWESRQVLDWSDUWLESQVYDUWDEOHLKHLQDPHQKHOROLMV
 LWZWKLVQDHKHUHVKHUHEKHDOVWLVWVWKHWDEOHVYUKKDMQ
 opposite opinion – a partyLQDGRXEQHVHQVHLQWHUDFWLRQDOFKHJORuDQGSROLWLFDO
 3RLQWLQJDRWVKHU SDUWFLSDQVVDW WKHEDFNRIWKHURRP WKHIDFLOLWDWRULGF
 DQWDJRQLVWLFDPSPV)LJXUHV LQ)UDJPHQVORFDWHGLQWZRGGLHUHQVWSRWVDQG
 RUJDQLVHVWKHVDFHRIWKHFRQWURYHUVIH[WKHVHOHFWVWKHSDUWGHIIHQGLQJWK
 EQWHUHVWLQJOnotWKHEVWDXWKRUEHIRUHKHFRPHVEDFNWRWKHRSRQHQV

1 FAC *y avait *aut'cho:*se?
was there something else?
 *turns to TUR*points---*walks tow her-->
 2 (0.4) * (0.2)
 --->*stops in front of the room and looks at TUR-->
 3 TUR donc euh: ferm- fermé# la nuit:t, [() *
so ehm: clos- closed at night, [()
 4 FAC [fermé# la nuit,* # h
[closed at night, h
 --->*looks R/L-->
 fig #fig.1 #fig.2 #fig.3



5 ? °fermé la nuit°
°closed at night°
 6 ? n[on
n[o
 7 ? [non
[no
 8 ? [non
[no
 9 ? non
no
 10 ROS °non on [n'est pas d'accord, [nous°
°no we [aren't agreeing, [we°
 11 MAU [non [non
[no [no
 12 FAC A:*H, pas d'accord ic#i,
O:H, not agreeing here,
 ->*points at ROS and MAU's table in front of him-->
 fig #fig.4
 13 ? °pas d'accord°
°not agreeing°
 14 FAC AH* (.) alors monsieur, pour#quoi? fermé la *nuit?*
OH (.) so mister, why closed at night?
 fig #fig.5
 ->*points at CUN in the back of the room-----*,*,*,*,*



universal and essential categories and understands this process as being dynamic and

meeting participants draw on their institutional roles in constructing their professional

of the former can shed light on the latter, which is best understood as an abstract notion

context, they perform their roles, drawing on local practices and anchored positions outside

discourse practices: participants negotiate and balance the here and now of interaction and

for their own team and their own agenda play a key role in the positions the meeting

participants take.

are debating how to best engage their membership, constituting small–medium businesses,

in-group

is a closed-doors meeting, and the fact that the participants share practices is also relevant

1 Dan (...)for them (.) and be a parent we and i
2 think tom's ((inaudible)) reaction sometimes is he becomes like a
3 frustrated parent (.) for fucks sake you know (.) bang the kids
4 heads together whatever (.) and i think what we gotta say is look
5 we've all (.) you know the members have got to step up from being
6 (.) well some of the members have got to stop behaving like
7 children (.) they've got to become adults and [LeadingCom] to an
8 extent has got to say right were not going to be the parents here
9 (.) we're not gonna lead this all the time (.) it's down you know
10 to you have just an equal responsibility=
11 Paul =that's good theory and I
12 agree with you whole heartedly but at a very sensitive time when
13 were trying to actually do a cost benefit analysis on their behalf
14 (.) or show them a way through a cost benefit analysis (.) i
15 wouldn't want to come down too heavy on ((inaudible))[...]
16 Tom [...] it it may
17 well be (.) but i don't believe the membership has ever seen itself
18 as a membership (.) because ther's been nothing to belong to so i
19 think we've we've got a bigger problem uh (.) than the one that's
20 being articulated at the moment (.) and i don't believe that there
21 is a feeling of belonging to anything (.) and i think what i hear
22 dan saying is that in order to create that there has to be a
23 responsibility taken by the members
24 Dan yea
25 Tom to build something to belong
26 to (.) because we cant do that (.) or can we?

Fragment 31.2 (Corpus_JA)

however, is not a linear process: the architecture of meetings is complex and we discuss this further in the next two sections.

Multilingual meetings

7KH IDFW WKDW PHHWLQJV LQFUHDVLRQJOWDNH SODFH ZWKLO D FRVPRSROLWDO FROM
considerable interest about their multilingual, intercultural and cross-cultural dimensions.
,WHUQWLRQPHHWLQJGRWGLMUMOLEWLEWLRHRHROLUDUDDM
of various languages, everybody speaking their language, use of code-switching, punctual
use of improvised translations, and so on, which have been variously described in the
literature.

Sociolinguistic scholars have studied code-switching and language choice in meetings.
7KHM KRHV YOODWKH SHEPRHVDW KLK SDUWLESDDVYWK URH
language to another, are revelatory of both local negotiations and reproduction of
UHODWLRQLSDQDPHWULHKSHU]KSHU]KSHU]
7KLKDDORURS WHGUHMDUKRWHUHWKDPHWWLQJLHOD&LDSLSLODUULV
DULWWRQVPHHWLQJUDPE&DN
HWDORQVWLRQMWLQ
:LWKLQKHEWDEOLKHGHOGW&QLKDNLEUDENILGOKRU
WKHM KRDEHHCHLEHGDKDMUGLuHUHQVHQVH
QH[WVWKDEHHQHQPWUDORHDEOLWDWLVKHSUWLESDDWLRPSONRHR
GLuHUHQVODHWHWUKDKDUHGRRQVWLRQHDPHDPSONHLQKHR
HGLKDJLQKRSDDHWHLHGEKLDODDOPLEKDUOHQDNDQDQD
LQKLDGRWHG WDEGDPHWULHVEHWZHQWLM DQ QWLM
SHDNVQKHU QH[WVOWKK]UHPDLQKH UHHUHQ WKH ZWK WVKHU


```

1 GIL #maybe we need to start thinking the the difficulties,
      >>looks at Med-->
   fig #fig.6
2     >i mean,< we need to ha:ve (0.3) a comité d'éthique,
      an ethical committee,
3     (0.4)
4 MED >yeah< h

```



```

5 GIL we *need to: start* building those questions. i°i mean:° ah=
      ->*. . . . . *turns back toward the audience-->>
   rob                                     iturns to Bla->>
6 ROB =blandine you contacted °( )°
7 BLA so[r]ry ?
8 ROB [°ethic committee° or #ethics [( )]°
   fig #fig.7

```



```

9 BLA [yeah %i mean,
      %turns back->
10    (2.2)
   bla --extends her arm backwards-->
11 BLA anne rambeau# is [ehm
      -->%points back--> line 20
   fig #fig.8

```



```

12 GIL          [*°°°maybe you can (specify) ( )°°°]*
                *lower voice, talking to Rob-----*
13 BLA          *but we c- since> she really prefers to discuss this in french<
gil            *looks at Bla-->
14             so [eh ann- *we +i mean+ we- you know anne rambeau is* the person
15 GIL          [>oui<
                [>yes<
                -->*looks at Ann-----*at Bla->
                +nods+
16             who is (0.6) *have been for* the collections
gil            -->*.....*stands up and looks at Ann-->
17 GIL          <yeah yeah> #on peut y aller en ten français hein, y a pas:
                we can go on in in French right, there is no:
                †turns towards Ann-->
mar
fig            #fig.9
    
```



```

18 ANN          +oui+ j'préfère ((laughs))
                yes I prefer
                +nods+
19             ((laughter))
    
```

Fragment 31.3 (corpus_LM_IDEM)

7KHODWWHULVLQWURGXFHGEDSRLOWLQJJHVWXUHHPHUJLQJOLQHWWRDUGVKHU)LJXUHL
)UDJPHQW @DOGLQH UHYHDOV \$QH¶QDPH KLOHVKH SRLQWV DWKHU%W EHIRUH
 JRLQJRQVKHPHQWLQWV\$QH¶OLOQJXLVWLF\$UHIHUHQFHVWVKXVDFFRXQWLOJIRUKHUVLOHQ
 and pinpointing a linguistic problem hindering the progression of the activity. Gilbert aligns
 LQH¶QH¶WKWKLWUWLVKUHHEPLOWKHSRELOLWPKDE

and participation are shaped. However, the *politics of meetings* pervades the variety of forms and procedures that characterise institutional and entrepreneurial gatherings: in all of WKHMDSUDWLESDDUWHHGHGZWKWKQDNORHWKDWDEGLuHUHQRPV SDUWLESDWLQLKWLKRHWKDW HQDHE OLPLW DHWRVKH HGLuHUHQ ĐWHRLHSDUWLESDDQW\$HĐWLQMMHFWKDWLPSOHPHQWKHWDĐW hand and impose various constraints on the way in which issues are discussed and decided. 7KHMLMLKWEHHMURULQHPSRDULQLWXLWLRQESODHHRLO increasingly complex, delocalised, technologically mediated, multilingual and multi-professional – constantly posing new challenges within established routines.

Transcript conventions

7DONLVWUDQVFULEHGDFRUGLQJWRWKHFRQYHQWLROVGHYHORSHGEDLO-HuHUVRO
 Multimodal details are transcribed according to the conventions described in Mondada

References

QJRXL-ĐDQDJLQJLVDJUHHPHQWLOSUREOHPVROYLQJPHHWLQJNDQJf *Pragmatics*,
 SRS±

QJRXUL - WXGLQJLGHQWLWLO Research methods in intercultural communication, ed.
 =ĐDĐOOĐGSS±

HLHOLGQDLDKHLUHWYHWHUQODQSURMRQLGHQLWLHLV
 LQWLRO Professional communication across languages and culturesHGVDGDĐIWRLX
 OKHRUJKHMQMDPLQVĐVWHUGDPSS±

QJRXUL-ĐUJLHOD&KLDSSLQL)HDUHDOOKHUHWRGDWRVROYHSUREOHPVULJKW3UREOHP
 VROYLQJWDONDWZRNMRse and Communication, YROQR±

QJRXUL-ĐDUUDĐNRQHODVWVKLQJIRUWRGDWKHQ&QVWUXFWLQJFRUSRUDWHLGHQWLWLHLVLO
 PHHWLQJWDONĐQ structing identities at workHGV-QJRXUL00DUUD3ĐOJUDYH0DFPLOODQ
 London,
 SS±

QDN&GGLREH6 Identities in talk, Sage, London.

WNQ Our masters' voices: The language and body language of politics, Methuen,
 London.

WNGLĐOGLMHHYGHQLDOLWDQWKHWUWLQRMRQHSNLELQW
 in Talk, work and institutional orderHGVDUDQJL&REHUWVGHEXWHUHUOLQSS±

ĐUJLHOD&KLDSSLQL)ĐUULV6 Managing language: The discourse of corporate meetings,
 MQMDPLQVWHUGDP

ĐUHYĐDĐWLQWKHDEOLWDWLQRPUHHPHQWLQHHWLQĐON 7H[W
 TalkYROQRSS±

RGHQThe business of talk. Organizations in action , Polity Press, Cambridge.

GLHX LWLQLĐOELWLKMSPHQVĐWH, Harvard University Press,
 ĐPEULGHĐ

HWQLDWHOHHMQHEDWHĐWHRLDWLWLQDQĐUWQ Media,
 policy and interactionHGVLWJHUDOG:RXVOH\$KJDWHOGHUVKRWSS±

FKROWĐOO, GHQWLWDQGLQWHUDFWLROVRFLRFXOWXUDOOQLJXLVWLFDSSSRĐFK
 StudiesYROQRVSS±

&ODPDQRLQJKHDQDWRPRIDGLVDvOLDWLYHUHVSRQVH American Sociological Review,
 SRS±

QDPĐQULWDH- The news interview, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

&Xu (&6KDUURFN::pHHWLOJVIQ *Handbook of discourse analysis* YROHGTDQ
 LMNFDGHPLFIHZRUNSS±
 UHZ3HULWDJH-DONDWZRUN,QWHUDFWLWRLQLOQVWLWXWLRQDOVHVVWLOQJMLQk, eds.
 BHZHULWDHHPPEULGHRMULWVJHMPEULGHSS±
 LUWK \$AKH GLMM DRSOLKPHQ RPDOLWDLQ UDE QLK DQ
 RUDWLRQJournal of Pragmatics, YROQRSS±
)RUG&Women speaking up: Getting and using turns in meetings , Macmillan, Hampshire.
 RPDRLQemiotica YROQRSS±
 RRGZLQ & adUWLFLSDWLRQVWDQFHDOGDuHFWLQWKHRUJDQLJDWLRQHDFWLSLWLVHVJ
 SocietyYROQRSS±
 RRGZLQ&RRGZLQadUWLFLSDWLRQJQ A companion to linguistic anthropology, ed.
 KDQLODMOORRGS±
 RSHUJ-Discourse strategies, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 RSHUJ- LFWLQDO KDUDWHULWLRPLRLDWRMRLDWRQJUEDO
 LQHUDWLRQMinorization in languageHG3DLYHUVLWRHIXFKDWHOZLWJHUODQGSS±
 XPSHUJ--&RRNXPSHUJ-JQWHUHWKQLFRPPXQLFDWLRQLQFRPPLWVHHQHJRWLDWLRQVJQ
 Talk at workHGV3UHZ-HULWDJH&DPEULGJHDLYHUVLW\$UHVV&DPEULGJHSS±
 HULWDJH-BUQNHODQGHWKQRPHWKRGRORLW\$UHVVIHZRUN
 HULWDJH-&ODPDQ6 Talk in actionQDFNZHOO2]IRUG
 HULWDJH - :DWVRQJRPXODWLRQVDVFRQYHUVWLRQDO REMHFVWJQday language:
 Studies in ethnomethodologyHG3VDWKDV,UYLQJWRQJHZRUNSS±
 HVVHU6JOLQ3 Culture in action: Studies in Membership Categorisation Analysis,
 QMULWVJHRLHULB:DKLVR
 RPHDUUDHIDGHUKLSDQPDQLRVLQHHWLO PragmaticsYRO
 QRSS±
 ROPHV-WXEEH0 Power and politeness in the workplace. A sociolinguistic analysis of
 talk at work, Longman, London.
 M-LQHUWDQLDQWUHFW&DORP&WLRQHUDWLRQLKDDOLR
 UDDQ WKH PWK RWNOLVHOOLLELQWQaching and learning English as a global
 languageHG&QXWJPDQQWDXuHQEXUJELQJHSS±
 RXVOH;Interaction in multidisciplinary teams \$KJDWHOQGHUVKRW
 XLVPDQ0 HFLVLRQPDNLQJLQ PHHWLQJVDVWDONLQLOQWHUDFWLWLRQJQJational Studies of
 Management & OrganizationYROQRSS±
 -DXVL/Categorization and the moral order RXWOHGJH/ROGRQ
 -HuHUVRQDRVVDURIWUDQVFWLWSVPEROVZLWKDQLQWURGXFWCRQJQation analysis:
 WXLGHVIURPWKHJ\$VWJHQH&WLRQJ\$VWHUGDPHQMDPLQVSS±
 .QREODXFK +KH SHUIRUPDQFH RI NQRZOHGJH 3RLQWLQJ DQG NQRZOHGJH LQ 3RZHUSRLQW
 SUHVHQRWDWLRQVJ SociologyYROQRSS±
 .UJDRZVNL0 QDOVLQJIRFXVJURXSVJQ Qualitative discourse analysis in the social
 sciencesHGVSRGDN0.UJDRZVNL3DOJUDYH0DFLOODQWVLRQJVRNHS±
 /OHZHOOQ1 KGLHQFH SDUWLFLSDWLRQLQ SROLWLFDO GLVFRXUVH \$WXGRISXEOLF PHHWLQJVJ
 SociologyYROQRSS±
 /RXKLDODDOPLQHQ/&KDUOHV0.DQDDQUDQWDQJOLVKDQVLOQJXDUIUDQFDLQIRUGLF
 FRUSRUDWHPHUJHUVZRFDVHFRPSDQLMVKIRU6HFLF3XUSRVHVYRQRSS±
 ODUNDNL9ORQGDG/PERGLHG RULHQDWLRQVWRZDUGVFRSDUWLFLSDQWVLRQPXOWLQDWLRQD
 PHHWLQJcourse Studies,YROQRSS±
 ODUNDNL9HUOLQORQGDGD2ORUJDIYHUVRQDQJXDJHFKRFLHQGSDUWLFLSDWLRQ
 PDQDJHPHQWLQLOQWHUQDWLRQDOZRUNPHHWLQJVJQMultilingual encounters in Europe's institutional
 spacesHGV-QJHU0.UJDRZVNL3RGDNORRPVEXURQGRQSS±
 ODUDU0LVDJUHHLQJZLWKRXWEHLQJGLVDJUHHEOH1HJRWLDWLRQJZRUNSODFHRPPXQLWLVHVDV
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ODUULRWV+ KVVWUDOLDQ-DSDOKWIKQHVVLQWUHDFWLRQ6RPHIHDWXUHVRIODQJXDJDHDOGFOWV
 FRQWDFWVQ languages of business: An international perspective HGV)DUJLHOD&KLDSSLQL
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 PHHWLQJVKHLQWUHDFWLRQDOUHDOLJDWLRQRISURYLHLRQDQDWHKGLWVQ, ed.
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 DFNV +Q LQLWLDQ LQYHVWLJDWLRQ RI WKH XVDELQWLRRI FROYHUVDWLRQDO PDWHULDOV IRU GR
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 Discursive perspectivesHGV-SFKLEDOGDURQH ,/DQJMUQSS±
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 and management settingsGHUXWHUHUOLQ
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 WDNLQJLQWUHDFWLRQSQ Situated order: Studies in social organisation and embodied activities
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 KHOR\$WRKQ Social ResearchYROQRSS±
 6KPLWW \$HUDUFLKLH LQ \$EHLWJUXSSHQ DOV VWLOELOGHQGHU \$S\$HWVQelten und
 kommunikative StileHGV,.HLP:6KWWH1DUUELOJHQSS±
 6KZDUWJPDQ+ The meeting. Gatherings in organizations and communities, Plenum Press,
 HKN
 6ILGOKRUR\$DWLRQWKHLGLRSULESOHLQLKDNOLQUDQ Intercultural
 Pragmatics, YROQRSS±
 6HQQHYLJ- (SORULQJOHDGHUVKLSFROYHUVDWLRQManagement Communication Quarterly,
 WRS±

- 7DQQHQ' 7DONLQJIURP... credit and what gets done: LOOLDP0RUURZIHZRUN
- 0LMQ-0LDQJOLQJ... &KLOHVH... Multilingual encounters in Europe's institutional spaces, &0DFN/RQGRQ
- 9DDUD (ZHQDUL - 6QWWL... LGHQWLWEXLOGLOJLQFURVVERUGH... YDQLMN... Discourse AnalysisHGV&&DOGDV&RXOWKDUG0&RXOWKDUGRXWOHGJH/RQGROSS±
- :HL/XD= XH/&RQYHUV... :HJHU(Communities of Practice: Learning, meaning, and identity, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- :EDN... Discourse and social lifeHGV0UDQJLO&RXOWKDUG/RQJPDQIHZRUNSS±
- :RGDN5 The discourse of politics in action: 'Politics as usual', Palgrave Macmillan,
- :EDN... Genres in political discourseHGV3&DS8NXOVNDHOMDPLQV0VWHUGDPSS±
- :RGDN5UJ... contextual cues in multilingual interactions: Language choice and code-switching in EU L... Language in SocietyYROQRSS±
- :RGDNZRQ:&ODUNH... EXLOGLOJLQWHDPPHH... & SocietyYROQRSS±

Part IV

Applications and cases I: language, politics, and contemporary socio-cultural challenges

Climate change and the socio-ecological crisis

Anabela Carvalho

A discursive outlook at climate change

it involves discursive struggles between a range of social actors in science, politics, business, forms of power, are deeply interconnected with meaning-making practices on climate change. Discourse-minded academics thus have a responsibility to contribute to identifying, analysing and exposing the ways in which debates are often managed and distorted, and how that connects to issues of power and justice.

Humanity has never been faced with an environmental crisis of the type and scale of climate change. Deeply embedded in structures and practices that are central to current societies, it is tied in multiple ways to other issues, such as loss of biodiversity, deforestation knowledge, a wide range of impacts that are already being felt will continue to aggravate in that would lead to a fast acceleration in the destruction of natural and human systems, and

discourses as the key to averting danger, but is contested by small-island states and other energy use, including transportation, industrial processes, heating and cooling of buildings,

HPLVLRQV E'GHYHORSHG FRXQWULHV 7KH SULQFLSOH RI FRPPRO EXW GLUHUUHQWLDWHG
 UHVSQVLELOLWLHV(81)&& DV WUDQVODWHG LQ WKH FUHDWLRQ RI WJURXS RI FRXQV
 HQ[FRXQWULHVWKHGHYHORSHGFRXQWULHVZLFKFRPLWWHGWRVWDELOLVQJWKHLU
 HPLVLRQVDOGFRQSOHQ[WKHGHYHORSLOFRXQWULHVZLFKZUHQRWJLYHQVSHFL
 UHVSQVLELOLWLHV\$URWRFROWRWKH81)&&DVIRUPDOODFFHSHWGDWWKHWKLG&R
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 RIDGLVFHUQLEOHKXPDQLOXHQFHFRQFOLPDWHKAssessment Report, published in
 UHLMGRHEDWDRDODUPLQDUGFKHWZQVUWHQWKH,&
 HWLPDWHGFKHWHPSHUDWKHULMWRHEHWZHQQ&

FKWHUWRSW.WEUROHMORHGLDNUDHRDLPDWHKDWDUWHGULM
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 WKWKGUDOURWKH.WRWRDQWKHUHOHDMWKH Third Assessment
 ReportRIWKH,3&&,QDQGWKUHHIDFWRUVOHGWRDSDNLQPHGLDDWWHQWLRQ
 the publication of a report in the UK by Lord Stern on the economics of climate change, the
 UHOHDMRHHHQGRHVDU An Inconvenient Truth and the publication of
 the Fourth Assessment ReportRIWKH,3&&ZKLFKHLJKWHQHGJDLQWKHOHYHORIULNVWKH
 WRSUDQJHRI SURMHFWHG ZDUPLQJXQGHU RQH VFHQDULR ZDV VHW DW 6.3XQGPDOQDQ
 .ULVKQDPXUWKH[DPLQHGPHGLDFRYHUDJHRIFOLPDWHFKDQJLQ)UDQFHUPDQWKH
 DQGWKHQDGLGHQWLHGDSHUFHQWULVHLQWKHQXPEHURIQHZVSLHFHVLO
 compared to the previous year.

HMORHGLDQVHUHWLGRQHXHUMGHGLRHHUHLQWK
 the so-called Climategate, the illegal hacking and release of email correspondence falsely
 SURDLPHG DVUREHQVLPDQSDWLRQDLPDWH GDWD DQ WKH ZQ
 RHHQHQUDWHGHRPRHQVQDYLWZV[SHWHGWRURNDQ
 DUHHPHQWRHSODH WKH.WRWRKLDWRRI[SLUHLQBUHHGHVHG
 levels of civic mobilisation led to large-scale demonstrations in several parts of the world
 DQWMDQVSDUWLESWLRQDLPDQDEKORHWLPDWHRUHQKH
 side of the COP. However, political negotiations failed to lead to agreement, and only a non-
 ELQHQVURNGEWKHKLQ,QLDWDLDQKSLK
 DVLWLBOOUHLMGERDUPHQVQWKHURDODWRKHHRHQDQ
 Summit thus generated a widespread sense of disappointment and was followed by a sharp
 GURLOKHHRHGLDNUDHSWKHWLPHLWLOKHUHQKRWKDW&
 WRDSSHQULDWWKHHQGOHDGWRHQDRDODUHHPHQVDQOHMOK
 media and public interest had risen again.

7KHWKUHSUWVWKHODWVW&ment ReportZHUHODXQFKHGLQDQ
 PDLQWLDQHG WKDW LWLVH[WUHPHOOLNHOWKDWKXPDQLQXHQFH KDV EHHQ WKH
 GRPLQDQVFDXVHRIEVHUYHGZDUPLQJVLQFH &OLPDWHLPSDFWVDUHVLDGWREHDOU
 RFXUULQJLQDOOFQWLQHQWVQDQDFURVVWKHFRFDQVKHOHYHORIULNVLSURMHFW
 VLJQLFDQWORYHUWKHFRPLQJHDUVUHJDUGLQJGHDWKLOOKHDOWKIRRGDQGDWHUL
 loss of ecosystems, extinctions, and so on.

The social construction of scientific knowledge and the science-policy nexus

When compared to other science domains, research and knowledge on climate change has several distinctive characteristics: it draws on a wide variety of disciplines and areas of

expertise, from biology to climatology; it involves a variety of spatial and time-scales; the not descriptions of an existing reality; and it involves a large degree of not only uncertainty, non-self-evident and non-stable matter where constructions of knowledge claims are especially sensitive, politically and socially.

The subject of some critical work with commonalities with discourse analysis. Demeritt conceptual and technical devices that are both products and producers of knowledge, is remain as part of the research agenda of social studies of science and technology. Discourse analysts could certainly infuse it with valuable tools.

One of the most prominent topics of research on climate change communication has been

has been intense activity by the fossil-fuel industry, pro-market think-tanks, political conservatives and others in the generation of doubts regarding the occurrence of climate

of the news outlets repeatedly used climate sceptics – with known fossil-fuel industry ties

case of news outlets such as *The Australian* of the news outlets repeatedly used climate sceptics – with known fossil-fuel industry ties

The Australian of the news outlets repeatedly used climate sceptics – with known fossil-fuel industry ties

from this that uncertainty in climate-related knowledge should be hidden or overlooked in climate change communication. Doing so would likely do a bad service to public trust in fundamental aspects of anthropogenic climate change should be made clear, there should also be acknowledgement of aspects of uncertainty and indeterminacy.

Unfounded certainty in media discourses, for instance regarding the future occurrence of given weather events, or the representation of impacts projected by some emissions scenarios Engels and Pansegrau noted a tendency to report climate change in catastrophist terms since

7KHDODUPLWUHSUWRUHLW\$SLHGEDQW HGRH[WUHPHOH[LWLBRSRDWHWQ
KHQWRH KDMWRWREDDQEQPDWLEHZWKLPDHDQ
DWHNDWKDW DUHDPLOLDUURKRURDQGLWWHUOPW HPSOD
EMUHOLLHLWHURGRHDWKMEHPHVKHDMQKHOOMKPK
DWDWURKHKEDQKDK

UHDWHDWS

RHKDMYNQDSBOSWLFHQFLWKR ODEHOHG WKLQRHGLD
UHSUHMVDWLEDPDPDWHSE, WSSSHDWRIDUKDEHHQLWLEMGEH
SHEPOOLW KVEHHCGHUHG LqHWM LQRLOLMSHROH D VW DQIUDWH
GLEHOLHRESDWKLPWKHEOGLGRHGWKHUHLWKLQKDWBQHGRENELWLE
H[DPSOHLQWZWKMLNOUHSUHMVDWLEDPDPDWHKDEHLOODQLKRN
BH QSHG WKDW WKHPW GUDPDWLEHSUHMVDWLEDPDGH SHROHHO WKHOHDW
HPSUHG WDWKHUHDLPDHEONQUOLKWEEDPLWDQD WKHUPWDW
PDGH WKHPHHPW DEOH WDW BUHLMG DHDWWRIDPHQZWKDPDWH
change. However, there is some evidence suggesting that a negative imaginary is widespread
DQWKDW UHSQ SLELOLWLHVDUH Q SURLHQ LSHROHPHQDO UHSUHMVDWLE
RHRHWDQ

NWKHU H[SORLQWLEHWZHGLMM WUKKHVQ QHUWDQLR
DPDPDWHKDEDDQLGHVLLQOWHUQWLMGHQWLW/KHMLMWMODQEKDOOR
EWLHQHMDQPSWQWDMKHVLRKHWRLBOGHMMDPHWDSKRV
BQMHUSH:LEHWHHQNPDUPDPHPHWDSKEDQ
HUOLK WHPUESSKDPUBESULQDPUER
UDWLWYKHGHEMORPHQRDPHEKRPDWDQDWLDPDWHULDOOSR
WKHEOGZOORLQWBEHMUMDQOWPWWHQLDLQDLQDMKHEQ
gravity and, simultaneously, pointing to possible responses that may engage a variety of social actors is a tricky but crucial challenge in climate change communication.

the production and the use of knowledge. Likewise, news texts about science both reproduce and challenge world-views, thereby serving important social and political functions, such as legitimating certain political plans for action or inaction.

Why we disagree about climate change, it is much more about values, culture and politics than it is about science.

Techno-managerialism and alternative discourses

neo-liberal movement have played a part in erasing the space for public debate and citizen address climate change and for imagining new ones. Dominant discourses have thus constructed climate change in ways that have tended to depoliticise it. While climate change raises fundamental social, ethical and value-related matters, the techno-managerial climate change have been largely privatised through carbon markets, energy-investment

Multiple discursive practices have contributed to the reduction of public debate on climate change. Given their privileged power position, the ways in which formal political bodies have claimed to embark on climate protection while remaining silent about their role in agenda of continuous economic growth, they leave out any debate on the economic and sustainability that involve institutions, markets and technology, and the power relations that shape possible responses to climate change are absent from most debates.

Several studies have shown that governments and intergovernmental organisations have coverage of the last two decades in various countries have revealed an important impact of political initiatives, with most peaks in media attention in, for instance, the UK, Sweden and

DOVRXJHVVDFOH DUSUHGRPLQDQFHRIJRYHUQPHQWDOVRXUFHVLQVHYHUDOFRXQWU
HWDODWWKHFRVWRIDOWHUQDWLYHVPVWVWULNLQJONRPFYLOVRFLHWURQLFDOODC
PHGLDVDFHLVDUGHGWSROLWLFDODFWRUVEXWWSLFDORCOWKRVHLOSRSRUSRVLWLF
WRSROLFLVXHVPHDVXUHVDOGSURSRVDOVSXWIRUWKEJRYHUQPHQWVEXWQRWLQDVW
contribute to the political *LQORXuHYWHUPVLVFRXUVHDQDOVLVRI PHGLDFRYHUDJH*
KDV SRLQWHG WR D IUHTXHQW UHSURGXFWLRQ DQG OHJLWLPDWRQ RI JRYHUQPHQW
promoting techno-managerial approaches and to the marginalisation of more transformative
GLMMUDOKRUBOKKLOHFKGGEHNDUKRRQD
DQOMPHGLDGLMMVQKKGDFHGH WKH H[LWHH DOWHUQWLMUH
constructions of climate change, it is fair to say that most of the mainstream media have
KHOSHGSURRQVWBUGGQLEHUDOLMDQUHHPDUNWBSLWDOLPHGZUGV
RZOO

EWNPDLQDLQKDWVWGHRLQRRUURGHUQWUDPLQ
climate change serves to shut down debate and alternative framings are largely excluded
URSKOLQSRLEGLMMRQKGRQURHOVEMSWHRRP
EWNQidemFODLPVWKDW

despite vocal commitments to addressing climate change, society is largely unwilling
WRDNMDQVDELFDQOLHWQH KDFVQGHUWRHHW WKLDO@
7KHUHRHPRH UDGLBO UDPLQDUH Q DGMG M WKH DUH SHUFLMG WIEH
DGMUMWRQLYGEODQKHWWVHUHWV

EWNS

7KHMDNSWLQEMVHWPUHMMRRPEXWKHUHLDDQLDWR
WKDWWKH DUHKWHLQVLDONUGHEMRLPDNRGLHQQWKHUNULEWLO
to a perpetuation of existing models.

7KHSURNLHPLOQNOHREVRGGUHVLPDWHKDKDV
DOHHQHOSHGEWKHGLMMVLDLQEOHGHMORPHQDQLWGHULDWMKDV
HRRDOPRHUQDWRQLWSUHMVHSLWRHWKHVHHQRHQMMQ
DSURLMROLDWLRRLDODQHMURHQDO
FHGVQZKHVLDLQEOHGHMORPHQKDEHHQVWWUDWLM DVWLSURWR
ambiguous uses. However, that very ambiguity and open-endedness has contributed to
GLMMGLMMQW EULQDOO VWWDO DFRVRUG .ULHDD
FHUDGLDORPHMURHQDOGLMMQPRELQDWRQLQSSHDQV
RWUDQPDWLRNDORLQSRLLWLDOWUNVKKDMEHHSKHGDVGHV
Swyngedouw notes:

the sustainability argument has evacuated the politics of the possible, the radical
contestation of alternative future socio-environmental possibilities and socio-natural
DUUDPHQVQKDVQHG WKHDVDRVQVWVKDWDUHVWLVLMR
RRWWDORGHUEH[WHUQOLLQV

RGX

5HMDUKMWWKDW PDLQVUHPHGLD KDMVHQWLDOLMG DQVWUDOLMGK
VLDLQEOHGHMORPHQGLMMVLDLQEOHGHMORPHQVLDLQEOHGHMORPHQVLDLQEOHGHMORPHQ
WKDWDQOMVWLWLVKQZSHUHMMDONNUNQDOLKWWKSSURKWR
VLDLQEOHGHMORPHQVSLWHLQHDMDGUHNRHSRWLQVWLPMMUHZ
DUWLQKDOOHVWKHWDWRRSRDWHDuDLU

Many of the discourses on climate change that are found in the media have become increasingly technical in the last few years, thereby limiting citizen comprehension, let

and investment and sustainability practices. Such reporting promotes recontextualisation

.WHN

7KUKWKHDQOMDPLQHMHVWDSKRNQOHL[LBONUHQWHN
DQOMVWVKDWWKHPHGLDKMDLGHGWKHDSSURULDWLRKXGLNMDLQEOH
GHMORPHQTEKHV

UDPLQKHXKHLN[DLQEOHGHMORPHQWHUPWHQHHPWRHLHDSDEOHLQ
democratic societies as most other discourses have been marginalised to a point where it
EG EH KDUG WEQ MDPV XSRW EDVWLOO WKHUH DUH DPSOH DULDWLRQ
QHUWDQLWDLQEOHGHMORPHQDQLWLKEDOWKDWKMGUHUHQHSHOOHG
W/DQWKHLPSOLEWLKDKRWLQHEDWHGMHBBHOORLHLQ
Hardly any discourses on climate change have contemplated this. Discourses that refer to
fundamental transformations in current political-economic systems, such as the discourse
QHUK DUH WHPDWLBOOH[DEHG URPDLUUHP PHGLDZWK WKH BMRQ
H[HSWLRLQLHH

Outstanding issues open to research

Climate change is an ever-evolving domain and that is not just true at the atmospheric and bio-physical levels. Understandings of the problem and of the challenges it involves may
SUEHDDWDQHMEVWKHSHUWUDRDPDWLRQDQWKH
HQLBOSEKOLKHGERHJUDRRLPDWPKDDEUKWDQKHWKXGHEDWH
DQWLUUHGLWWBUGHWLW[KDWDUHW/HQRHGLDQVREHWFDWLQ
HBSRWQWLHEGLMUHODWHG UHMDUKSDVHWLHGHMORUHSWR
ELPDWPKDHLPSRWQVQZMDULMRH[DPSOHWKHUHLMDQVLOVHUHWLQKH
GHMORPHQVBDUHQHOHWKQRBDQHWKDUHGMLRDUUDGLDWLRQ
the planet via aerosols, or the increase of carbon sinking via iron fertilisation of the seas.
7KHMDQWKHUHQHULSURIHWLQMPDMRHZLQVW[KDWKDM
been mostly kept away from public scrutiny. On a more encouraging note, the movement in
DRRLWPHQLQONOKDMQKHODWHADUNQWKHSHEPPSDLQ
led by the *Guardian*LDPRXQVWRDQHZDQGSRWHQWLDQOVLJQLFDQWIRUPRIFOLPDWH
DFWLYLVPADWPDQHWDO ([DPLQLJGLVFRXUVHVDQGVLOHQVHVRQVXFKSDWKZDVWR
our collective future is of vital importance.

DSSDUHQVQKHSUHMVWLQKHSRLWLQWKHQRRLWLPLPDWPKDHL
KWWRVLRQWEHMHVHGWRLLWLBOLKMDQVSHMDUKHUWBG
single out and investigate ongoing struggles over climate justice and political power, and
also over nature, lifestyles and money, among other matters to which climate change is
RWHGGLKMSRLWLBO DQOVZOOEHQUHGZWKWKHKRFDQ
choices, as well as the rights and duties, of countries, corporations, social classes and
LQLYGNVVKLWBG LQSH EWK SHUN DWRV DWKH KRHDQR

.UJ]DQRZNL RU ODUJH IRVLOIXHO FRPSDQLHV ,KOHQ DOG XQGHUVWXGLHG IURPDGLVFRXUVHDQDOWLFDO SHUVSHFWLYHDWOHDVWJURXSVDQGVRFLDOPRYHPHQW WKH &OLPDWH -XVWLFH ORYHPHQW &OLPDWH \$WLRO &DPSVDQG 7UDQVLWLRQ 7KH FUR FRQVHQVXVHV RO GHSROLWFLVLQJ SROLFLHV VXFK DV HPLVLRQV WUDGLQJ)HOOL DOG imagined alternative possibilities advanced by those social movements involve discursive processes of key interest.

WVWHQLVWVWK PHDQLPDWH KDH LSKOLSKHUHVZOO QLN WEH DUUDQHG HUHM DUKLGHGHGWHOHMLWKHPHGLKWKDWLWLOOWKHKLHMH RPPDWLRQDURKHQVONQORLQPDCHROHDURWVKHOG7KH extraordinary development of digital communication calls for more and better studies. 7ZWWHU H[KDHWLPDWH KDH KDM UHHQOEHHQ DO SRQ MMUDO HZ SKOLEWLHLLULOHNHSHSKHN EW Q DUH GLHMDQOWLEO Undertaking that kind of work on social media would be an important contribution to knowledge.

5HMDUKKKGDOML MUMLHRDSKLBOWHUPVKHUHDUHZGHGLuHUHMMQDW HPHGLDDQWKHUGLMMWKHMOOHG:HWHURQOGDQGHMORLO MULHkihukolkwLQGHPLKGGHMMORDUHDWHUMQWLEWWR WKHSHEFWLHGLuHUHQVULHVQKHORDO SBLWLELPDWHKDH DQDM HWLQEGLOQDNUOHJ

WKNWLDQWVWDSH UHMDUKQLMMQKHODUHDPVWH[WQ climate change currently available, researchers need to make choices and compromises. RHKDMH[SORHG MULHWLQDRSDWDLROOLHFWLHFPDQ .ULKQPXWKQWKHUKDMRELQGLWZWKELWLBOLMMOMWRL RGHHSHUHUWDQLRHSSURKHNQPHWKRMUHBUHLQLPDWHKDH UHMDUKLWKHMMWLPEDOLMMQMLKREGLQDHEH KLKO/UHOHDPVWKHDQOMVHOHMMQGHZPHGLD5HLMDDQ:GDN KDMUHHQORULEWHGWGOLDKLDSESSOLQKHPQWLWKHEDQPQWLPHWKE LMMWLEDO \$SURK \$WRLQ HZH[WLPDWH KDH H HQUDOOWKH \$DDWURWHQWLDOR \$URMLDQOMDQLPDWHUHODWHG discourses and their contexts.

LQOO\GLMM DQOWKKG QLN WELWLBQOH[DPLQ UHODWLHWHVHQ WH[WLPDWHKDH EHQ UHSRWSRLWLEO SHHK PDWHULDQVRESRDWL PHGLD UHSRWHWVWKHLU SUGHVWLSOH EDODWVWVWQOLWSKOLEFHODWLQ SURMROVHSHUHQNHUKRUHLQHDMSURHU DKLKOLKWHGEMWKHUDDNUOHJSDHHLWLEDEHUDLMG about that circuit involving, among others, textual representations, behaviours, social RLWLEWKHDMHFWLEWLHVWKHH[WHQWKDWGLMMGRWMMWKMDM function of representing the world, but also of constructing social relations and identities, H[DPLQMMH \$WLELPDWHKDH \$FODHQQDWLQWKH S WkdWduHRLHQDQLQOOHLDWHGPDULEWHWVHUWDQLQ EDODQSRLEWLEOGLMHPHQDNLMLH DUHWHGLQUMLO sustainable future in a democratic manner.

Note

)RU PRUH LQIRUPDWLRQ DERXW DOG SKOLF DWLRQV IURP WKH ,QWHUJRYHUQPHQWDO 3DQHO Change, go to www.ipcc.ch.

Old and dependent

The construction of a subject position for politics and care

Bernhard Weicht

Introduction

,Q D WKRJKWSURYRNLOJ HVVD PpU\GHVFULEHV DJHLOJ DV D FRQJORPHUDWLRQ RI symbols and associations which, all together, indicate decrement and the end of an era. ~~HLQWKDW MQGRW GHVLEHDE LNUHWLPHSDM QWKLQOLH~~ course perspective; rather, ageing demarcates the boundaries between the young and active on the one hand, and the old, passive and dependent on the other:

When we have passed the prime of life, society forbids us a self-image for the future, and culture becomes a burdensome culture which we no longer understand, which rather gives us to understand that, being the scrap iron of the mind, we belong to the ~~DWHGFSW KHHUD, QKHSURMHLQOOZKDMWBLMZWKGLQ~~ ~~BQDOXPSEWLRQNKLOLDWLRKDMWRHDUNZWKKLOLWEXDV~~ the humiliated.

PpU\$WU:HLKW

,QLPHEHPEDSKLKDEHQKH:HWHUQOGPWLPSEWDQODHLQHHLWHV the structuring concept of age, as well as the boundaries between young and old, functions ~~DVRVKH PDLQWHLRHVPELKRDO WUHQHPDQHW WKHPMOMQ~~ increasingly older population leads to pressures related to social security and pension ~~WHPWKHDBLODELOLWDERDQWKHSURMQUHSONKHM DUHDKDSHWKH~~ connotations of the process of ageing but are, likewise, strongly informed by the associations ~~ZWKDHLQKHPMOMQWKLKDSWHU, SUHMQRHWKHPDQLEUMWKUK~~ ~~KLKDHLQQRGDHDLQKHLUSHEFERLPHDQKLDQNNQ~~ informs other social practices.

EUBGOLWHUDWKHQKHGLMMUW/LQGDHDQWKHRLQWLRK ~~DHLQWLDWLRMMUDOQOGDQHQRDQ5PQ, QKLV~~ ~~KDSWHU, DQWQHIDPSOHWKDWLRQRMWVKWVKH HQGRHLQ~~ ~~DQBUHMHDOMHLKW :KLOHWKHUHODWLRQLSEHWZHQHUHQDHLQLKW~~ ~~MHPORQOWKHSHEFRQYKHPDUBWLRQQUWLRQUHWHQLGGLGHU~~

JHQHODO DVVXPSWLRQV DQG DVVRFLDWLRQV)XUWKHUPRUHWKH HOG RIFDUH PDNHV LWS
WUDFHWKH VSHLFJ VWHSV WKURXJK KLFK DVHPDQWLF FROVWUXFWLRQ RIRI DJHLOJWDNHV SC
which, eventually, informs policy-making.

Going beyond its function as a social structure, the idea of ageing represents individual and collective challenges and threats, which are continuously translated into political problems and demands. Like all discourses, the discourse on ageing is experienced as both
DKDODQSKORR DOSURHWK HUHOON WHUH[SODLQKDWL RGHUWRDN
MUKKHEOGDUNX HROHGUD LuHUHQV UHSHUWRUHFUHFUHKLKDQ
EHGHVLEHGDSUHGHG GDWWLWGH DQLGHORRHWKDWEKOGDRPRR DOUDPHEN
, QKHSRLWLBO RH[WWKLPHDQKDWGHEDWH DQRHQVLD OOSRLWLBOGHEMRQ
legislation need to be framed within existing discursive contexts, drawing on existing
MPDQLFHFKSRLWL FHLQWKH YWDEOEDMGZWKLVKHLQHUQOORF
WKHRSW DHLQQRGDH 7KHSDUWLBDU MDDH OLPLW DQGHOLADWHV
SRLWLBOSELOLWLHFOOHHMORHEMRDNURMMUORHPVUDWHV
KFKHUDPLRRLWLBO LMDHHLGHV LHG DQDQMG LQMU DOLOVHUMFWLQ
GRDLMDWKHGLDFFWKHSURFWKHSUROHP SRLWLBO RPDDWLQ
RFGHUDWLQKHUHDODDFHWV DQDQWKHLMQHUFWLGLMMV
VLRQDQVHUQOLMGWUNXLDPSHWVROOLDHWDO, QMPSOLHGQ\
LWVGEHWDWHGWKDWSRLWLBO SRLWLBOLOVHUMV LQHGRLGHV LDEOHEMMHWUK
RQDHUOQGHGGRSWDQQRKFKOGHGGSUROHP7KHVUWLDQ
LPDLGGLHVVURDQPDLGWDUHWUKEKOGWKHEDMFDOSBLEHV
RH[DPSOH:LOLMDQHQHPVUDWH DQSDUWLBDULGHV LWBWHRLHV
function either as legitimating or disciplinary within discourses of entitlement and
GLMQLWOHPHVQDQRSBLEHDEVDQFVKHHOGHUOQFVHWGQHG
WKH DWHR VKHOGHUO, VQKEMUSRLWLBO SRLBLEH KDSHWKHM DWHR
WKHHOGHUOQKHDQOMV KHM PDQLSUDWLHDQWKHMDDHWHKHUHRHDOOB
VVKHLQHUUHODWL RHWZHWUWV KH DQDWLQH DLUDK LQLK
ODRHMVLRHUHJV DWKHWRRUWVLRQDWHLELWLRQMR
DQQGHDO MDQQOMV KHMUWUWLRQWKDQMNWVGEH

stated that through language the macro-level of society is translated into the micro-level of
HMUGDUNWLQDQMH MUD 7KH HQUDO SKOLEVYOO D VRLPDNUWUWR
LPSOHPHQKDWL RGHUHGWKHSURHUWKLQVROOLDPS:KDWLMLKW
DQVRLKSRLBLEHMUHQMUMV LHG DQGHMUDEOHDQKHWKHURV SRLWL
KNGLQVHUMQRDWLQKHVWSODHDUHDOOMV LQKDWDUHUPHGMDSDUWLBDU
ODRH, VVLDWLQKHODRHMGWRRVLDWH DHLQDQDUHLRHWRHUWKHQ
the possibility to understand the very framework in which policy-making takes place.

,QQOMV KHM PDQLSUDWLHDQVLRQDWHLELWLRQMR
DQQWLBO WHSVQRWKH LGHV LWBWHRHHUHQVLD O DQ SUHGLBWLQ
strategies to a discussion of the related argumentation strategies, drawing on empirical case
VGLHMH:HLKW KKLQVLDWHG WKHGLMMQHLQDQDUHLQV
RRHDQVULHWULD DQWKH8QWKVULHVOGHUOQDUHLVUHGRLOV\
provided informally, usually by family members, and only supplemented by formal care
arrangements. However, due to demographic changes, both countries face enormous
challenges to continue this kind of care provision, and social policies are put in place to
either support informal carers and enable increasing possibilities for market-organised care
LQDUWLBDULQKH8VROORDUNWLMGDUHRWLQHRHVKMKRGE\
VHULQKHHPSORHQRLVDQDUHFNUSDUWLBDUOLVULD7KHHPSLULBO
PDWHULDO VV LuHUHQVHQHVQLuHUHQVGLMMHOGVKKWRWKHU KNG

HODEOHVNHWFKLOJWKHPFKDQLVPVRIWH[WXDOFKDLQV,QWKHFROFUHWHFROWH[WWK
 DSXEOLFRXWFURUH[DPSOHDERXWWKHXQEHDUDEOHIXWXUHFKDOOHQJHVRIRUJDQLVLOJ
 ROGHUSHRSOHLVIROORZIGXSEVRPHMRXUQDOLVWLFDDOVLVZLFKLOWXUQLVFRPSOHPHOV
 E'SHRSOH SHUVRQDO QDUUDWLYHV DOG VVRULHV DOG QDOOWKH QHRWLDWLRQV IR
 OHJLVODWLRQ LQ WKDW HOG ,PSRUWDQWOWKXVH WH[WXDO FKDLQV GR QRW QHFHV
 FKURQRORJLFDORUGHU UDWKHU ,DQWWR SRLQWWR WKH VLPLODULWLHV LQ FROVWUXFW
 GLuHUHQW SHUVSHFWLYHV DQG JHQUHV DSSOWKHVDPHFROFHSWVGUDZQJRWKXHVDPHO
 6SHFLDQOZOO SUHVHQWVRPHH[DPSOHVIURPERWKFQWULHVZLFKVVWHPIURPWKHVDPH
 WLPHSHULRG JHAFWLQJWKHXVHRIODQJDXJHLQWKHPHGLDKHUH ,GUDRQDO
 DQDOVLVRIQDWLRQDOQHVSZSHUVHYHUGDGLVFXVVLQV ,RUJDQLVHGIRFXVJURXSVLQER
 FRXQWULHV DQGWKHSROLWLFDOGHEDWH ,GUDRQGDWDIURPSDUOLDPHQWUUGLVFXVVLQ
 RIWKHPHGLDLQWLVFROWH[WLVVDVGLGJHSUHPLOGVXVWRVHWWKXHQZDJHQGD
 LQWHUPVRIERWKWRSLVFDQGLVFXUVLYHIUDPHRUNDQGWKHPHGLDKHOSWRGHQZKDWLV
 DFFHSWDEOH DQGVRLDOOWKLNDEOH DQGLGJHSVHHDOVR5LFKDUGVRO)RFXV
 JURXSVFROVLVWLOJRISDUWFLSDQWVIURPYDULRXVEDFNJURXQGV DJHVDQGUHODWLRQKLV
 FDUHDQGDJHLQJRuHUGDWDRIKRZQGLYLGXDOVW DQDQDERXWFDUHDQGDJHLQJDOGVRFRO
 make sense of a particular topic. With the aim of discussing textual continuities and
 MPLODULWLHMLuHUHQVHQHKGDWDRHUHDSLELOLWWRHFWLDWHKZ

WKHSEKOLFKHUHLHQZQLYGHNOYHRLWLDOQRHWDQKE
 NUMOWKHLGHDFKDOWNKHXDOLQLYGHNOOHMOSHFWUDWHKVRRLWLF
 into the media and into other constituents of the public sphere.
 .UPNS

7KHSRRPSLULBOGDWDLQDOORSOPHWHGEGDWDQKHSRLWLBOUKHWRLFHLMD
 KLKKEKEMHFWLWLVHDQDURHQDWLWUDWHLHDUHLHQ
 the political discussion and thus shape the frames and possibilities for policy-making.
 ,WKHROKQVWLVWUWVHLLRPHGESHLMDDQ:GDN
 u,UDLMLQDUWLQDUWKHROKQVWLVWUHGUSHROHQPHGDQUHUUHG
 WBDQKDW WUDLWVQKDUDVHULWLVDUH DWWULEXWHG WRWKHP",QKLVWVLRQWR
 SHEPOODQOMWKHODQHMGWGHLEHWKHLPLDQGDWHKWKHHOGHUOWKDW
 is used in both public discourses and legislation negotiations. Second, which arguments are
 SUHMVHGWRVWLDQROHLWLPLMDSDUWLQDUWUHDWPHQVGHUSHROHEWKSRLWLBOO
 DQSKOLBDQKDUH WKHM DURHQWUWVHKG OLVWLBODQDOOKLK
 conclusions should be drawn by the public and by politicians, resulting from the structure of
 WKHGLEMMVUWLVKHM DURHQV

Naming the elderly: Referential strategies

VPHQWLROHGHDUOLHUWKHFROFHSWRIDJHLQJHVFULEHVPKPRUHWKDDQDFROWLORX
 RI WLPV SDVVLOJRYHU WKH OLIFRNVH 7DNHQIRUJUDQWHG FDWHJRULHV VFK DV FKLQ
 youth, middle age or old age mark and describe particular stages during life, which entail
 SHEPDLWLVQDQHWDOHLQKHPDUBWHVNDQHWDEOLKHV
 ENDULHWKHRSWLQNGWREVDKDWLQPHWDSKRVQDUWLQDU
 ageing allows the creation of a dichotomy between the young on one side and an ageing
 population on the other. Dichotomies are a fundamental and powerful tool to distinguish
 SHROHDQWVHDWHLQKUVKHLKW 7KHUWLVGLKWRVH
 KLKLVHSUHMVWLVWUWLVKHM DURHQV

Collectivisation

,QWKHHWUDFWDERYHROGHUSHRSOHDUHUHGKHWGWRQREHURUWDWLWLFDOFDWHJRULHV
 WKHPMOYHVUHPDLQ KRZYHU ZWKRM TOLFDWLRODQG LGHQWLWLHORYLOJ IURP WKH
 macro-scale of societal developments and challenges to the micro-level of individual
 HNHUVDQ QUUDWLMVWKLVDWVH EHRHVPRH DSSDUHQ \$SURVR
 BOHWLWDLRHDQWKHHWDEOLKPHQ BOHWLWLUKDDQDWHRKH
 HOGHUOKLKDDQKDUDFWHULMGLQHUWDLDDQDQDWHGZWKSDUWLDDUWUDLWV
 wishes and opinions, can be found in both descriptions of individual experiences and
 PRHHUDOLMGDVKHROKQKH[KDQWDUWZWKDSDUWDO
 story, but draws immediately on the formation of a particular distinction between the
 young and the old:

DPHODHMMKHDWWDWPLOLHKDKDGRSOHWHOWKHGQHWDDQ
 RSRWQWWRWVGWROGSHROHPHDQPHSRKLVDDQ
 WKELUWKGDSDUWDQKHKDGLQZWKKHUQLK,WKRWDDQH
 way before the party. He had to get back, and he said afterwards, it was awful, you
 DQWPHERRH,HWVWKDWWDHEHDM«
 DUUWDMKH,LPDLQKHKDQWWDGDKGKHH[SHULHQ
 DPHODHKDQW[SHULHQGWKDW
 DUUWKDWHMURHQ
 DPHODHKDQW[SHULHQGWKDWWHMURHQWVKHKDQWHLUONLQMSDUDWH
 DUHDLWZWLQKHPDLQLQQRHMVWDONWKLVDQKQK
 DDQGSURHQH[WUDEGLQUWKHKDQW
 :LOEHDMMKHGRVHWLQVWZWKRGSHROHSUHNDEOLQLMR"
 DPHODHGRVQ

DGSHROHDUHMHQDSDUWLDDUBWHRHRROHKDUHQDPHQDOOGLuHUHQWR
 WKHU PHPEHUWHW[RHQHQGWHL[SHULHQDGHU SHROH LQGHU WR
 QHUWDQWKHPWVEHDDUHGEDSSDOOHGEWKHLUSUHMDQKDUDFWHULWLFKL
 HDWHLQLKWKHHOGHUOSHURVUHMVHGDKKQVHMVLDONKHUDDORHQ
 LLOLVGHVLPWLDQDPDWLMDH RGHUWKURBOHWLWDLR
 DHDUO\GUDQWLDQDUH HWDEOLKHG KKK QRLRP SHROHQDWD\B
 QHUWDQLVWVHHEKOGWKHSUHUHKVWHRRDOSQLPDDQ

Problematisation

,Q UHODWLRO WR WKH GLFWYH WUDWHJRI DJUHJDWLRO , KDYH DOUHDGPHQWLROHG W
 SRVLELWLHURUFUHDWLQJDQLPDJHRISUREOHPDQGFKDOOHQJHMHODWHGWRDQQGHQHGEM
 FOHDUO\GHPDUFDWHG JURXSHIHUHQFHWR QDWDDO GLDWHUWVKH DJHLQJ WDDPLRU
 PDUWLDO ODQDQH WKH GHPRJUSKLF WLPHERPEWDSH WKH LPDJH RI DFKDOOHQJH WKDW
 GUDPDWLFDOOKLWVKHUHWRIEFLHWVWDRKHUHWKHPDFUROHYHOLDFFRPSDQLHGED
 SURFHWRI SUREOHPDWLWDLRQROWKH PLFUROHYHO 7KH HWDEOLKHG JURXRI WKH HOGHUOLV
 LGHQWLHGZWKFDQJGLVFDWLHVSUREOHPDQGFKDOOHQJHVRWKIRU RFLHWLQJHQHUDO
 DQG WKHLU IDPOLHURU FDUHUVO SDUWLFDDU ,QWKH IROORZQJWKUHHH[WUDFWWURP GLuH
 IRVXURXGLFWRQWKHFDWHJRURI WKHROGHUSHRSOHLQSDUWLFDDUROGHUSHRSOHLQ
 QHHG RI FDUHLDVFLDWHG ZWKFKDUDFWHU WUDLWVWKDW KDYH QHJDWLYH LPSDFWRQ W
 surroundings:

⊕OGH%WROGHUSHRSOHRIFRXUVHDOVRWXUQPRUHDQGPRUHGLvFXOW@
Mona: Some really become aggressive.
⊕QKQWKH⊕QHUHDOOQW⊕QPHDQ

,WLPSEW⊕QW⊕PSKDMW⊕KDW⊕Q⊕DUH⊕QDWLW⊕WUDLW⊕Q⊕DWLQ⊕HLEHGEXW⊕KDW
WKH⊕DUH⊕D⊕W⊕HG⊕ZWK⊕WKH⊕HW⊕DEOLK⊕HG⊕J⊕K⊕KH⊕HOGHUO\⊕Q⊕QUDO7KH⊕WDWHPH⊕QV
move beyond a particular personal narrative or experience and stand for the elderly as a
category and group. Personal situations and relations are expressed as general truths and
⊕HMUD7KHOD⊕H⊕H⊕LEL⊕QGHUSHROHLQ⊕HODWL⊕Q⊕RUOH⊕P⊕M⊕GPDN\W
possible for everyone to join the discussion and draw on their own experiences, as shown in
the following extract:

:DOWHU⊕H⊕O⊕ZEHHQLNWKDW⊕H⊕O⊕ZEHHQLNWKDW⊕H⊕G⊕R⊕W
⊕LPMOGLuHUHQ\OHGR⊕W⊕WDOOK⊕H⊕D⊕HLV
⊕UEDUD⊕R⊕WL⊕O⊕R⊕H⊕M⊕WKHLOO⊕V

Walter: Dementia comes on top of that, on top of that.

⊕UEDUD7KHLOO⊕H⊕M⊕W⊕D⊕O⊕O⊕S⊕W⊕K⊕D⊕H⊕D⊕O\⊕M⊕HWKDW
⊕MOOHS⊕HEDOOZWKSHROHZWKGHPH\LD⊕R⊕WLPHWKH\⊕H⊕DUHMMDQUHDOO\
HRDQ⊕D⊕Q⊕D⊕O⊕R⊕O⊕DPHWKH\WKHUM⊕O⊕O⊕Q⊕W⊕KH\⊕KHDOOLQ\RLMU\

⊕OZOODOEL\WKHUHHUHQ\LDOWUDWHRD\WLD\WLD\K\KLGHQ\LDH⊕K
with illnesses and malfunctions of body and mind. What is important here is the link between
WKHMLOO⊕H⊕M⊕K⊕DOW\D⊕Q⊕R⊕D⊕K⊕H⊕D⊕Q⊕M\WRLQLG⊕O⊕O⊕H[SHULH⊕G
⊕MDQWKH\⊕H⊕H⊕WKHSHDN\W\KHUSUHM\LD\K\H\KHD\WLMWKH
DPLOPHPEHU⊕Q⊕WKH⊕DUHU\KH\WKHUWKHHOGHUOWK\⊕M⊕K⊕DOOH⊕Q⊕PSD\W⊕R
the self.

Relational identi cation

7KHMUHODWLRO\LS\LFKDUHD\DUHDGSM\LOIRF\W\KHHPKDM\WOSUREOHP\WUSHRSOH\W
MURQGLQJVDUH⊕DOR⊕D⊕MQL⊕DQW⊕MPDQWLF⊕IHDW\H⊕RQ⊕WKHLU⊕RQ⊕5HODW⊕HG⊕WR⊕WKH
aforementioned strategy to strip older people of their own agency and to avoid representing
WKHPD\W\W\W\KHLU\K\K\WDSU\H\HODWL\ROLGH\LD\WLD\DNSODHL\K\K
WKH⊕M⊕SHU\RO⊕SU\H[DPSOH⊕LQ\LM⊕D\W\HOGHUO\SHROH
becomes a striking facet. Similarly, newspaper articles often feature references to close
family relations with terms such as *grannie*, *nana*, or *grandpa*. ,PSRUWQWO\WKHVH
QRPLQDWLRQVGRQRWQH\HFHVVDULO\UHIHUWRFRQFUHWHDQGVSHFL⊕IDPLO\HODWLROV
more generally the situation of older people within their respective family contexts.
SGLWLRQO\WKH\EHRR⊕DPLO\PHPEHU\W\RH\W\D\Q⊕KH⊕K\K⊕DOR⊕DOUHDG\
establishes certain connotations of responsibility and obligation. Marion replies during a
⊕KGLQ\W\KH\WLD\K\KRWLD\UHL\SUHHUDEOH

DUL⊕M⊕SKOR⊕O\WKLQ\WLD\RH\LGHDOLLW⊕W\KHD\PLQ⊕HLQ
WKHUHRKHU⊕H⊕M⊕W\KHD\PLQ⊕DW\W\KHHOGHUO\SHU\HG\W
⊕WKHUPUDQ\W\KHUGR\W\HG\W\W\DO\W\KHD\Q\V

7KLMHQ\OH[SHUMGM\LD\PHQ\WKDW\W\KHD\PLQ\H\W\W\DEOLK\H\DOH\WDEOH
OLNH\W\H\Q\KH\RGHUSHU\DLH\Q\WLD\Q\EURW\D\Q\K\K\KHU\DPLO\Q

UHODWLYHYVDFDXVHWKHDDUHHVWDEOLVKHGDVIDPLOORHPEHUVRWKHUVKHUHWKHVSHDNH
KDW LV EHVW IRU WKHP 7KLV UHIHUHQWLDQ VWUDWHJ\FXOPLQDWHV LQ DQRWKHU DVVR
UHSUHVHQWDWLRQWKDWGHSFLVWROGHUSHRSOHDVVLPLQDUWRFKLOGUHQ, QWKHIROO
H[WUDFWLWEHFRPHVDSSDUHQWWDWIDPLOWHODWLRQVDUHKHUHQRWUHIHUHQWGRDV
IDPLOLDOERQGVUDWKHUWKHHOGHUOSHUVRQLVLGHQWLHGZWKJHQHUODOOHOHVWDE
dynamics, in particular, the parent–child relationship:

DUEDUDQKHWKHUKDQRHEBKDMPHWKLVHRPHQDWLQKDW
RQQHHGDQGWKHLQOOSHUNELWDQDQWKSHUNQHGDUH@
DQKDKMVBODGMMUWKLQWKHPDQKDMVRMLQDMWKH\
RHWLWWKDWKDMWBGWKHPRWKLWKHRHWDDLQDQWRHKHUH
RHWKLQHPDLQWKWKHPWKDWLWLWHOVLUHQHDKDWWKHWHGR@
you can really once, of course not all the time, but you can really once also have a
strict word with them.

DDMQWKH, WKLQNLNDOOKLOGUHQVHWWKHENDULHV
DUEDUD7KDWVWHWKDWVWHDK@
:DOWHUVWKDWVW, WLVNWKDWVQOHDQDQWKHEHRHNDOOKLOGUHQ
DDL@
SDPQKLOGUHQVHWWKHENDULHKBQWKHPRWVKHGGSHROHGRW
as well.

MLLGHQVLHGDKLOGUHQVPRQDWKHKLKKDNSHDUHSGLMV
LQHODWLVQLDEOHGSHROHKHUHKHQVGLKWRUWHGHEHWZHQSHQH@
MHUDEOHLQVDMQNOKLOGUHQQRSHWHVSHUQMMQNO DGQEWELHQ@
Likewise, older people are infantilised, disempowered and, at the same time, by being
LGHQVLHGDMPLQDUWRFKLOGUHQVKHUHSNELQWRWKHPLQLNGWRWKHUDPLOORHPEHUV

Physical identification and somatisation

HDWKHUWRQHDQGHSHUWKDUJMWKDWIRUKQDQDFKRWKHUVRGLHVDUHMOO\
absent in everyday discourses, but that in relation to certain periods in life which are, not
OHDWMPDQLDQOPDUNGEGHDDQGHFHPHQVQODQHWQDQKHERRHV
EDQVQHWKHRLQWLWUDWHLHVDNRGHUSHROHVQOQMDQ
malfunctions of the body already functioned as a description device by which a particular
LGHQVLQDMHFWLWLVKDSHG7KHBGQDUDEOHEHRRHWKHSKMDQH[SUHM@
IGHVSDMW\DQ GSHQHDDH\ :HLKW 7KLVWKH
MHUDEOHEHSDQEWUDVRRHWHDQSHQPDQVLQOLPLWDWLQ@
rather stands for an association with particular images and stereotypes:

HQWKHMUHPERLPHQVSDUWLQDUGDWHGFRPLDHDQWMOGHQDQWKH
RGSUHQDOLPDHLQSHQH@VWKHSHUHSWLQKHDVQOSKMDQH@HWHV
RHLPDQHVLQHDWVHDMQKZLQDLHLQDLURUHWULVHG
movement, and further help to reinforce the negative stereotype.
HDWKHUWRQHSWK

SDUW UR SKMDQ VLSHROHPHQDO DSDEWLHQDQ SHURPDQV DV
RQDQWLVMOODUHQDQPSRWDQVRRQWKHUVWLQKHUWKH
elderly. One illness that marks the idea of decrement, both bodily and mentally, is dementia,

KLFK QRW RQO FDXVHV SHRSOH GLVFXOWLHV LQ GDWRGD HQFRXQWHUV EXW DOVR FKDOO
QRWLRQVDOGH[SHULHQFHVRISHUVROKRRGDQGLVWKKVFRQVWUXFWHGDVDORVVRWKHV
3DUWLFXODU ERGLO RDOIXQFWLRQV VFK DV LQFROWLQH QFH VWDQG IRU D UHIHUHQFH
ERG DVG HFD R KQLQDIRFXV JURXSGLVFXVVRQGHVFULEHVKLVH[SHULHQFHRIDF DUHKRPH

-RKQ GWKHQVOR R X V W D U W J H W W L Q J D S L F W X U H , V X S S R V H L I , J R L Q W R D F D U H K R P H D Q G
LI, LI, VPHOOXQIRUWXQDWHO R D Q W E X W V D X U L Q H W K D W L P P H G L D W H O S X W P H R u @
LI, JRLQWRWKDWSODFH

7KHVPHOORI XULQH VWDQGV IRU WKH DVVRFLDWLRQ ZWK ERGLO RDOIXQFWLRQV LQ WKH FR
LQFROWLQH QFH VHH DOVR OLWWHQHV V UNHU KLFLQWXUQH QFRPSDVVHVDGHVFULSWLR
of old age. Stripped from any agency, stripped from any individuality, the older person is
GHGGS DUWL Q DUHDWKH PDON L R R R \

Demarcating the group: predication strategies

LVF V V L Y H V W U D W H J L H V D U H D O P R V W D O D V X H G W R H V W D E O L V K L O D Q G R X J U R X V D O G W R Q
WKHERGDULHV R I W K R V H J U R X V 5 H L V L J O : R G D N , Q W K H F R Q W H W R I D J H L Q J D Q G F D U H
WKLVDSSHQV SDUWLF RDUOWKURX SUHGLFDWLRQ VWUDWHJLHV WKDW GHVFULEH
SDUWLF RDUO D D Q G K L F K F R Q Q H F W W K H H O G H U O W R F H U W D L Q F K D U D F W H U L V W L F V D
circumstances. Starting with the nominations and other referential strategies, it has already
become apparent that a dichotomy is created between the young, active, independent speaker
W K H R M G H K K H W W K H W K H U M G H W K H R G S D M M D Q G H S H Q H W H O G H U O \\
Linguistically, older people are referred to by passive sentence constructions, as for example
L Q U H S R W L Q K H W U L D Q X D S H U *Der Standard* J X V W the elderly people
D U H N H S W D V W D V S R V V L E O H E W K H F R P P L W W H G V W D i

Other descriptions use formulations which express that things for elderly people have to
E H D U U D H G E W K H U D Q O L W K L S D M W W W K H P R H H Q U D O W L G H O L Q 7 K H
elderly person is sketched and described in a passively vegetating state of sadness, as
H [H P S O L H G E D R P H Q D U L Q *Kronen Zeitung* 0 D \

, W K L Q N R I W K H P D Q R O G S H R S O H Z K R R I W H Q D O R Q H Z L W K R X W I D P L O R Q H O D Q G X Q K D S S
U H P D L Q Z L W K R X W X S S R U W L Q W K H L U K R X V H V : K R G R Q W K D Y H D Q R Q H Z K R R U J D Q L V H V K H
W K H P , W Q R W W K D W L P S R U W D Q W Z K H W K H U W K H K D Y H G H P H Q W L D Q D P H G L F D O V H Q
G R Q W K D Y H W K H H Q H U J W R N H S W K H L U D S D U W P H Q W W L G W R G R W K H V K R S S L Q J D V R W U L S
G R F W R U G R Q W K D S S H Q D V Q R E R G L V R U J D Q L V L Q J W K R V H / H W D O R Q H D Z D O N R U H Y H
H [F X U V L R Q K D W W D O O J R Q H

9 D Q / H H X Z H Q L Q W K L V F R Q W H [W S R L Q W R X W W K D W P D W K H S R Z H U R I V R F L D O D F W R U V G H F U H D V
W K H D P R X Q W R I H P R W L Y H U H D F W L R Q V D W W U L E X W H G W R W K H P L Q F U H D V H V D Q / H H X Z H Q S K H
G H V F U L S W L R Q R I R O G H U S H R S O H D V V X u H U L Q J O R Q H O D Q G X Q K D S S U H S U H V H Q W V D S U L P H H [D
W K L V D W W U L E X W L R Q 3 D V V L Y L W L V W K X V O L Q N H G Z L W K S R Z H U O H V V Q H V V D Q G U H T X L U H V W K H U
E R W K H U V F D U H U V I D P L O L H V W K H V W D W H) X U W K H U P R U H Y D Q / H H X Z H Q G L V W L Q J X L V K H V
E H W Z H H Q W U D Q V D F W L Y H D F W L R Q V D F W L R Q V W K U R X J K Z K L F K R W K H U V D U H D u H F W H G D Q G Q
D F W L R Q V 2 O G H U S H R S O H D U H H [S O L F L W O G H V F U L E H G D V Q R W E H L Q J D E O H W R P u H F W W U W R P
W K H F R Q W U D U D U H G H S H Q G H Q W R Q R W K H U V D F W L R Q V D Q G L Q W H U Y H Q W L R Q V G L W L R Q D O O
V R F L D O D F W R U V Y D Q / H H X Z H Q S D U J X H V L V D O V R P L W L J D W H G E D W W U L E X W L Q J F R J Q L W L Y H
U D W K H U W K D Q D u H F W L Y H D F W L R Q V W R W K H P D V W K H I R O O R Z L Q J I R F X V J U R X S H [F K D Q J H H [H P S

SDUWLFXODU WUHDWPHQWV ,Q WKH DQDQV RI WKH IROORZQ DUJXPHQWDWLRQ VWUD
demonstrate how the referential strategies are translated into clear demands for both political
DQ RHWDO UHDFWLRQV WKH DWHRULH VVDEOLKHG DEH WKH H[LWHQ RWKH
GHSHQH Q HOGHUOSHROH SUHNR VV D SUROHP E VV KLFK Z KRG NR
UHSHURDWHHQHQHESURWV VV GWUHDWRGHUSHROHLWKLUGEDNG
QW KDOSUHHUHQW KDWUHKUHKWKONDPLOPHUH7KHMDURHQ DWLWUDWHLHV
need to be understood as interrelated *topoi* GHVFULELQJ FRQFOXVLRQ UXOHV WKDW FRQHFVWK
DUJXPHQW WRDQHFHVVDUFRQFOXVLRQV HHLV LJO:RGDNZKLFKWRJHWKHUSUHVHQW RQH
coherent argumentation for both the general public and the political decision-makers.

Topos of responsibility

WULNLQJDSHFWRWIKHGLFRMRQDJHLOJ DQGFDUHLWKDWROGHUSHRSOHWKHPMOYHDUH
OOQRWJLYHQWKHLUR YRLFH ,Q WKH PHGLD WKHKDUGOXHDWHLQ DUWLFORU RWKHU
FRWULEWLRQV DQGLYLGODJHQW DQGWKHLUQHGHVZKH DQGGHMUHDUHDOOGHQHG DQG
KDSHG ERWKHUVOLOQH ZWK WKH HDUOLHU GHFULEHG UHIHUHQWLDOWUDWHLHLVLFK GRQRV
establish older people as agents in their own right, this present *topos* UHTXLUHVFRPPXQDO
UHVSROVLELOLWDQGDQVZHUVEV VV RUMKHP we (the speakers) are established in
RSSRVLWLRQWRWKHSDVVLYHGHSHQGHQWHOGHUOZH DUHLQFKDUJHRIWKHUHTXLUHG
societal and individual demands and challenges. QHZVSDSHU KHDGOLQH LOOXVWUDWHV WKH
DUJXPHQWDWLRQVWUDWHLJLQZKLFKZHV VV KHVSHDNHUVDUHDFWLYHDQGUHVSROVLEO
the passive, dependent elderly:

QWV DUHEMOLMGKHQ WUHDWRHOGHUORHWWHUWKDSULWV
Daily Mail -DQXDU\

KLVEVVDUJXPHQWDWLRQWKDWZHV DUHUHVSROVLEOHIRUFDULQJIRUWKHPDQIRUDU
VRFHWLQDZDQDWUHDWVWKHPZHOOLVWKHQIXUWKHUPRUHEDVHGRQSDUWLFXOD
WKDW HVWDEOLVKHV UHODWLRQV KLSV EHWZHHQ WKH GLUHUUHQW JURXS EXW DOVR
GLUHUUHQFHVEHWZHHQWKHDFWLYHDQGWKHSVVLYH

Topos of gratefulness

,WKDVHHQH WDEOLKHG WKDW WKURJKWKHODQJHMGWRGHFULEHROGHUSHRSOHWKHKDYH
EHHQFRQWUWHGDUHTXULQKHOS SRUWDQGFDUHDQGWKDWZVWKHDFWLYHDUHUHQVROEON
IRURUHULQJWKLSRUW7KH *topos* of gratefulness bases this claim within a construction of
UHESURWUWLPH7KHWHUPVHNHUHQONGUHHURH[DPSOHMRly people who
need care, those who have built up the country and made the country what it is now Kronen
Zeitung-XO) Because elderly people have done something for ‘us’ in the past they
ought to be cared for. KLSRVLWLYHUHIHUHQFHWRRROGHUSHRSOHRXOGDFFRUGLQJWRVQV
EHGHVFULEHG DVFRPSDVLRQDWHDJHLVP LQZKLFKDSUWLFXODUJURXSDFWLRQVDU
KRZHYHUPOVLWXDWHGLQWKHSDVW

,QDFRPPHQWDULQWKH *Kath* newspaper on children exploiting their parents, another
argumentation strategy representing this *topos* demonstrates several features already
LQDWHGLUWDPLOUHODWLRQLSNUHDFWUDORHOGHUOSHROHDUHGHFULEHG
DSMMWLPKDUHGLVW WGHDOZWK7KLUGDQWKLQVQV WDEOLKHWKH
DUHQDWLRQLOGUHQVNELOLWVKHPUHGHEHGDMWLPWKHMUSHROH
they have brought up and raised:

%WLWDSSHDUVWKDWFKLOGUHQDUHWKHPDLQFXOSULWVREZDQWKHEHVRFDQORX
SDUHQWV DUH VLWWLQJ GXFNV RI FRXUVH 7KHWHQG WR WUXVW WKHLU FKLOGUH
LPDLQWKDWWKHFGDQWWRWKHPDQDUPWVHMPVQHGLEOHWKDWWKH\
KKGDOOKHHGWVUULGHWKHLUQWWDODuHFWLQDQGWVDUHWBQV
the men and women who brought them into the world and nurtured them through
childhood.

The Guardian)HEUXDU\
)

KH *topos* of gratefulness thus works again on both a macro-societal-level as well as the individual-family-level. Personal and societal care and responsibility are established as necessary and logical answers to the actions older people have performed in the past.

Topos of natural preferences

How should this care then be designed, and who is in charge of shaping the particular
LQWUHQWLQVSULMQDQLQLQZWK WKH HDUOLHUSUHQWVHG DUKHQWVKHM
MUDWVDUHHWDEOLKHGEVWKHVKHVKDUHQVLOSEWLVVWKUH
DUHDWVKHPRHQ,PSRWDQOKKMUWKHMGHEMDUHUDPHGDORBOQWWD
and obvious preferences, which certainly entail the idea that everyone wants to stay at
KRHMHEHWDO DQ

*And because everyone wants to stay at home, politics ought to enable care at home. KHIROORZLQJH[WUDFWLVWDNHQIURPDQXVWULDQ
SDUOLDPHQWU\VSHHFK DERXW WKH WKHQLOOHJDO HPSORPHQWRI PLJUDQWFDUH Z
SHRSOHVKRXVHKROGV*

3OHDVHLPDJLQHRXPHLQDFDUHKRPHDQGIURPWKHUHRQWRWKHJUDYHDDUGODQ\
ZRXOGVD\GRQWZDQWWDWODORIXVZRXOGSUREDEO\UHDWFOLNHWKDWWVKRPHLQVWH
RIWKHFDUHKRPHKDWVZKDWWKHPDMRULWRIVVWULDQVZLVKIRUSHUFHQWVD\RQO\
ZDQWWRJRWRDUHVLUHPHQWKRPHLIQRWKLQJHOVHLVSRVVLEOHKHRQOZLVKIRUF
WKLQJWRVVDZLWKLQWKHLURZQKRPHIRUDVORQJIDVSRVVLEOHVKRPHLQVWHDGRID
FDUHKRPHKDWVKRXOGEHSRVVLEOHIRUDOOWKRVHZKRZDQWLW

HUWUXGHXEDXHUg931RYHPEHU

*KURXJK WKH HVWDEOLVKPHQW RI VXFK [HG DQG XQFKDQJLQJ SUHIHUHQFHV SROLFLHV
SUHVHQWHG DVORJLFD OREYLRXVDQGXQTXHVWLRQDEOHDQVZHUVWRWKHFKDOOHQJHV*

Topos of loving care

7KLQDOWHSLQHWDEOLKLDQDQLQWHJUDWHGDUJFKHQWDWLRQWUDWHJRIKRDJHLQJDOGFDUH
WRQGEH GHQDOW ZWK FRPSULMVPDQRI WKH DIRUHPHQWLRQHG MPLRWLF WUDWHJLHVQ
SDUWLFDDULWOLQNWKHHWDEOLKPHQWRIQDWDNDOSUHIHUHQFHVWRWKHUHODWLRQDOLGHQV
WKHHPSKDMRQDuHFWLYHQHHGVDQGGHMUHVKLOHUHSRQVLEOLWLHVDUHFODUOHWDEOLKHG
VWKHDFWLYHQHHGWRSURYLGHIRUMKHPVWKHSDYHHOGHUOWKHODQDJHMGMHWV

that this support and care should be provided out of love, ideally within families and in
SHROHVSULDWHKRHHVDMKMDQWWDODuHFWLQDUHREHUHODWLMWKL
care should take place informally in people's private houses.

7KLQDOLBOOLGHDOLMGRSBRULQVHODWHGWBRQWWDQGLSRWLRVBUHE
VHQGHUOQKHODQHMKGKHUHWHSRQWRuHFWLQCGHGLDWLRLKRI
HQUDWLQKMUKDOWGHVWKHNUHQVRLWLRQQUHKUHPHQVQHW\

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©GULGJHOMaking social work news *RXWOHGJH/RQGRQ*
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 of Aging Studies,YROQRSS±
 QVWRFNIOGDJHSROLFLHVSROLWLFVDQGDJHLVPRGenerationsYROQRSS±
 &HFL&MUQGYWWLU3XUNLVQOWURGXFWRQRPHFDUHSUDFWLFEKDQJLQJSHUVSHFWLYHV
 RQFDUHDWKRPHIRUROGHUSHRIVESon lives on care at home for older people, eds. C Ceci,
 MUQYWWLUNSWOHGHHSS±
 XODQ-LMLGHVQLWDQKDELDLQGWBDWHOLH,QHUGLESOLQUSHUSHWLMV
 QDQHDQDHLQ Ageing & SocietyYROQRSS±
 &RXSODQG1&RXSODQG-EOHV+ Language, society & the elderly: Discourse, identity and
 ageingQDFNZHOO2|IRUG
 &RXSODQGIIXVVEDXP-URVVPDQOWURGXFWRQLVFRXUVHVHOKRRGDQGWKHOLIHVSDQ
 in Discourse and lifespan identity,HGVI&RXSODQG-IXVVEDXPDJH/RQGRQSS[HYLL
 GH &LOOLD HLVLJO 0 :RGDN 5KH GLVFUXVLYH FRQVWUXFWLRQRI QDWLRQDO LGHQWLWLHV
 Discourse & SocietyYROQRSS±
 GHDXVXUH)Course in general linguistics , Open Court Publishing, Peru.
 HUULGD-PositionsOLYHUVLWRI&KLFDJR3UHVV&KLFDJR/
)DLUFORXJKI&ULWLFDOGLVFRXUVHDQDOVLVDVDPHWKRGLQVRFLDOVFLHQWLFHVDHDFKQ
 Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity, HGV:HLVVRGDN3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQ
 BVLQJVWRNHSS±
)HDWKHUVWRQH0MSZRUK0µPDJHVRIDJLQJLQ Aging in society: An introduction to
 Social Gerontology,HGV-RQG3&ROHPDQDJH/RQGRQSS±
 DOQVHPLRWLFVRI WKHSXEOLFSULYDWH GLVWLQFWLRQQLQg public: Feminism and the
 shifting boundaries of the private sphereHGV-:6RWW:HDWHVQLYHUVLWRI,OOLQRLV3UHV
 B'EDQD,SS±
 EOOHDUG&LJVV3HLQJDEMHFWRQDQGHPERGLPHQWLQWKHIRXUWKDHHJournal of Aging
 StudiesYROQRSS±
 -HQNV&HGCore sociological dichotomies , Sage, London.
 .UPDQOLQKGLKQ Qualitative Discourse Analysis in
 the social sciences HGV5RGDN 0.UJQZVNL3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQ BVLQJVWRNHSS
 ±
 /DZVRQ9HRJUDSKLHVRIFDUHDQGHUHSRVLELQWJournals of the Association of American
 GeographersYROQRSS±
 OLWWHQHVVDUNHU-WLJPDWLVLQJDOVRUPDOFRQGLWLRQBLQDULQFRQWLQHQFHLQODWHOLIH
 Medical Anthropology QuarterlyIHZHULHYVYROQRSS±
 OXOOHQ3 The imaginary time bomb: Why an ageing population is not a social problemDXULV
 London.
 DNHFracture: Adventures of a broken body KH3ROLF3UHVVBLVWRO
 HLVLJO 0 DDOJLQJ SROLWLFDO UKHWRULFQQualitative Discourse Analysis in the social
 sciences,HGV5RGDN0.UJQZVNL3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQ BVLQJVWRNHSS±
 HLVLJO0:RGDN5 Discourse and discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and antisemitism,
 SWOHGHRQ
 5LKDUGR Analysing newspapers: An approach from Critical Discourse Analysis, Palgrave
 DPLOODQWV
 5RQ-LNNRNDLQ The Globe & Mail Insights from Critical
 GerontologyYROQRSS±
 XGPDQKDSLQJWKHDFWLYHDXWRQRPRXVDQGHUHSRVLEOHPRGHUQUHVLUHHQDQDOVLVRI
 GLVFUXVLYHWHFKQRORJLHVDQGWKHLUOLQNVZLWKQHROLEHADOSRQISWLFQDQDWLRQDOLW
 RS±

6KDNHVS~~H~~DUH7 *Help*9HQWXUH3UHVVZUPLQJKDP
 DQQUHUGHQWLWVHOIKRRGDQGGPHQWLD0HVVDJHVIRUVRFLDOZRMWYan Journal of
 Social WorkYROQRSS±
 DORURFLDOLGHQWLWDQGVRFLDOSROLF(QJDJHPHQWVZLWKS~~R~~VWPRGHUQWKRHMof
 Social PolicyYROQRSS±
 YDQLMN Racism and the pressRXWOHGJH/RQGRQ
 YDQ/HHXZHQMSUHVHQWLQJVRFLDODFWLRQDiscourse & SocietyYROQRSS±
 9HUORRODLQVWUHDPLQJHQGHUHTXDOLWLQ(XURSH&ULWLFDO)UDPHQDOVLVDSSURDFK
 The Greek Review of Social ResearchYROSS±
 :HLFKWPEUDFLOJGHSHQGHQFHWKLNQJLQGHSHQGHQFHLLQWKHGLVFRXUVHHEDEUH
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 DPLOODQMN
 :HWKHUHOOWWHU- Mapping the language of racism: Discourse and the legitimation of
 H(SORLWDWLRQster Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead.
 :LOLNHQDGDHLGHVWLWLDQDOZODUHSUDWLH Qualitative Social
 WorkYROQRSS±
 :LOOLDPV)RVWPRGHUQLVPIHPLQLVPDQGWKHTXHVWLRQRIGLuHUBQFH theory, social
 change and social workHG13DUWRQRXWOHGJH/RQGRQSS±
 :LOOLDPV) Rethinking Families (& &SIVHDFK URXS &DORXVWH XOEHQLDQ
)RXQGDWLRO/RQGRQ

is not a stable, pre-discursive construct residing in individuals; rather it *emerges* in discourse encouraged language and gender researchers to focus on the agency of social actors in the

UDPHKLOH WKHU WKN WKDW GHSDUWRU WEDORP DUHUHQHUHG WHOOLEOH DQUWKHUL WQLSHQOWLH ZHSHLWLEDUWKMUWKHUHG MHP WEH DQOWPHW HGHU UHH EDQ DVLWKH WEDQ BPDQ LQHUSUHWDLHQHU WKDW GLFDWH KREHW KWHGPHOHWEDQ RHUHQUHQDQSHURPDHQHULQKLVH[WDSUROHPDWLQDWBONKHGHU LQRHGHWDLOWKLEKHOELQPHWUHGEPPHQSHLWLEDUWWEULHÀ UHMHZHMUKWKDWKDN[DPLGHZHQORLWLBQKVKLQDEHHHQHSUHMWHG especially in the mainstream media. 7KHQWQVDMWWRROODUOLVQQ WKHGRKH ELQQLQFLDQOOZHQHZWK D RGHUDWLKKEHQ politicians fare in more egalitarian political contexts, which we suggest provides further HYGHWKDW ZHQSLWLBOLGHQWLWH DUHUHQHUHG WEDQDOORWHOOLEOH QDWWHU what they do.

Women doing politics and their representations

WORWHGDERYHPDONHPLQLVWVKRODUVKDYH DUJKGKDWDSROLWFLVLDP DVFLOLHF WKHVHQVHWKDWWKHKFDUDFWHULVWLFVDVRF LDWHGZWKHUHFVLYHSROLWFLDOO DVVRF LDWHGZWKKHJHPRQLFPDVFLOLQWYDQQHQSLWKLQWKHGLVFNVLYHUHDOP VSHFLDQOLWKDVEHHQFODLPHGKDWDPDVFLOLQVGLVFNVLYHQORUPVKDYH DVVWHG RIHQGHUQH WUDOSURIHVVLQRDOQRUPVDOVK S 6RKRGRPHQ UHSUHVHQW themselves as credible political leaders in a context where masculine discursive norms have EHRHQWEDOLMGD FURMRORPK DUHWKHUHSUHMWHGDQH DQWHG EWKHUV

RHUHMUKKDKRHW HGG LuHUQVLDQOLQWLSUDWLHWKHSDUWRHQQ PHQSLWLBORQH[WVWKHULWLKMRPH[DPSOHKHUHGHEDWHLV KDUDWHULMGEDKLOKODGMUDLDOGLMMWOKKDKWKDWKLOH ZHQQPHQNHDOVKNQHEDWHMSUREWLQWKHLUMUDOOUHSUHMWDWLQ WKHMPDOH DUHDUPRHOLNOWKDPDOHWSUBMLOOHDOHQHUMVLE KDMVHUUSWLMMHULQHSLRQLEWHULQWKLPHDQWKDWPHQRLQWHG WKHGHEDWH :KHQMGK\WKH\GLG V SDUWLES DWH LQKHM NQVLOOHO LQHUMLVMMHPDOHMLGWKDWWKHMKMWRDUWLES DWHLDQOH DFLWLWLHKS

QUDW WKHU UHMDUK KDGHQUDWHG WKDW ZHQSLWLEDQHDGLO\WDN R OLQWLQPNR LBOODKDWHGZWKPDMLQWYKLMVMSULMMQKDW DMDQDHDQHQHUKRDUKMDUMGSKRHQKDEHQDQH EPHQDQH DUHUHMVLODEOHWRBOOSH DNUMV KHHQVPHQVULNQV RGHQWLWHMUKDSWKHPVWDEOHH[DPSOHRHPDOHSRLWLEDQGRWLQDMLQW GLMMQPMUDUHW7KDWKHUWQGLGKHUHLWUDLQQRGHUWBMU WKHSLWK KHU :LQDQ ,UZCKM GRHWHG KHU DUHMM DQ

DGYHUV DULDO VWOH GXULQJ 3ULPH QLGHWVHWUW XW DOWKRXJK KDWFKHU ZDV IDPRXVOGHVFULEHG DVWKHEHVWPDQLQWKHFDLQHWDLUFORXJK DVFLWHGE DOVK SQRWHVWKDWKHUUKHWRULFDVWVQHZDVLQIDFDWKEULGRQHEHFDXVHLWFRQWDLQH

carefully-selected features of white middle-class femininity, along with authoritative HDWKHVWHDWHG ZWK PDOH SBLWLEDQGLQWRDLUDK WKLSDUWLNDU RELQWLIDWKHDOOKG 7KDWKHU WDMPLQDWHLQVWKHGRLOQVQWVHKVWKH House of Commons without posing any kind of feminist challenge or threat to its masculinist RPYLHVGHQLHMDPLQDUNQKEULGGLEMLQUDKBOLPHU 5HSKOLBQQLGDWHLQWKH VZHWDOLQHURPKHU WUDGLWLRQOHPLOQ roles as mother and wife, while at the same time deploying an informal, vernacular style DEDWHG ZWK ENDDVDLQWGLQVDMHWKLKEULG WOH PD UHQWHZOOZWKKHUSBLWLBQEDMH[WUHPHQUBWLMOLEHUWDULDNBLWKRBUH PHPEHUKH5HSKOLBQUWDQDUHPWORGHUPDUULHGKLVWPHQ

7KH OLQWLWQH RLOODUOLQVQDVEHHCHELEHG DVQWQ ZWK WHUHWSLDORPPPLQWKMULQVMMWKHQDWLWHDVLRWDQ other features of her political persona have been, arguably, more extreme than reactions to WKHURHQKHSBLWLBOSVOLKW,QHHGWKHWLWOHBZGHQEWHGDUWLQHLQ UKHWRLBOWOHLQLDLWLMKHLMMBIURPDHPLQW Hating Hillary HPSKDVLRXUV:ULWLQIDERXW&OLQWRQVWHQXUHDVWKH)LUVWDGRIWKHLWHGWDWH VKHZRUNHGWRUHIRUPWKHKHDOWKFDUHVVWHPZLWKKHUKXVEDQGLQO&OLQWRQ&DP DUJXHV WKDW &OLQWRQV IRUFHIXO DQG KLJKO\GHYHORSHG UKHWRULFDV VNLOOV JD

negative reactions because they did not constitute a discursive enactment of femininity.⁴ QHUHWLQDPSEHOODOVWVKDWOLQVQHUMDWLQWKHGLMM OHMORHGKHUWGRWPRHHPLQSDUWLHLQLEWLERDLQH[DPSOH WHUKDLUGEDWHO KWDQDOOHU PRHHPLQMHZOUVDPSEHOO S OHDGLQKDW QGEHQUNG DDKWKHU H[DPSOH DKEULGWQH LQ DLUDKWHUPV ⁵

So, while it seems clear that women politicians adopt a variety of leadership styles, LQGLQKNDWDWHGZWK KHHPRPDLQVQDUWLQMS KDV MWHGLQHSLOQKNDURHQDENWKHGKOHELQKDWWKHWOH DGRWHGE women politicians in power in government or parliament is sometimes not as important as KVKHMWOHDUHSUHLMDGDUHSUHMVQGHGPHGLDGLMMKDEHHQHUWLOH site for investigating how female political leaders are perceived and represented. Much research exists, for example, on the sexist, stereotypical or asymmetrical nature of such UHSUHMVDWLQVHUPWKHDPVSHRWRMUDHMHHRWDO DN VKHU UHMDUK KDGHPRUDWHG WKDW HPDOH SBLWLBQ OHDGHUVDUH subject to negative evaluations regardless of whether they attempt to conform to, or WUDQHMQUHWHUHW\$MHHS\$SOHERUOLQH

Some of this latter research has considered how women politicians are portrayed in media KHQVKH/DWWHPSW WRP WWHUHWSLBOQLMPLQWV H[DPSOH MRKHDH[DPLQGKHRPQDLMLGHQLWRDLQWEDQWU RHRUPH&DQVHUSUHWHGEWKHSDDQSUHMRRKHDDUNGWKDWWKH WURQDWLRQHWHQHGHUKLSDQPDMLQWLQDLQUPHQDQPLQWDU SODHGKDFQSHULONQSUHBULRWLRKHQDFQHSDUWHG from the conventional chain of command with respect to ordering the withdrawal of troops from Kosovo – adopting a more collaborative approach, long considered a symbolically HPLQVQHDGHUKLSWOHKHDFLWLEMGH[WHQMOLOHGLDUHSUHMVDWLQKDW GHELEHGKHUDDMIDNQLRSHWHQVHUPRHRHUDWLMMPLQVQVQHR

7KH DODOVLV DVEDVHG RQD FROOHFWLRQRI YLGHU UHFRUGLQJV DOG WUDQVFULSWVRI
LQWHUYLHZ WHOHYLVHGRQWKH (P)RXU 6 FRPPHUFDO 79 QHWUNV & 2;
1% DQG WKHQ DWLRQDO FDEOH DQG VDWHOOLWH 79 FKDQQHO & 11 WKDW & OLOWRQSDU
GXULQJ DQGIROORZQJKHUELGRUWKHHPRFUDWLFQRPLQDWLRQ 6HSWHPEHU 6HSWHPEHU
, QNHSLQJ ZWKWRXQGDPHQW DODVXPSWLRQVRI FROYHUVDWLRQ DQDOVLV 6FKHJRU
WKHDQDOVLVVRXJKWUVVWRGLVFRYHUWKHH [WHQWWRKLFK & OLOWRQSURGXFHGODXJK

in orderly ways and, second, to describe the social actions her laughter seemed to accomplish
ZWKLQKHMLOV HULHDSNGWKKKH [KDFRURRFLQDQHVQ
:KLOH5RDQNLGHQLHGDUDEFRVHUDWLRQHQURHQVQLKOLVQ
laughter occurred in these news interviews, the type of laughter that seemed most relevant
to the media reporting just described was laughter that responded to, or occurred in the
MMULQVHUMHZUHWLQ

7ROOXUDWHHSUHMVWKHROZ [DPSOHURDQVHUMHZWKDUUFLWKQ
The Early Show WUDQVFULSWVIROORZ & FROYHQWLRQVHHHSEXUQRQGHQVWKH
time of the interview, Clinton had just received an endorsement from the *Des Moines*
Register DQHZVSDSHULQHVRLOHV, RZDKLVZDVLJQLFDQWPRPHQWIRUKHUFDPDLJQ
VLQFH DUDFN2EDPDZDVSROOLQJLQFUHDVLQJ OZHODDQGWKH, RZD & DXFXVHVWKHUVWPD
electoral event of the nominating process – were less than a month away. Prior to where
H [HUSW EHLQLWK MWKDW LQLWH RWKH QZDSHU HQRMPHV PDQ
PHULDWLOOKGHDWLSHUHSWLNLQRHMRHUDLOHGDWWHPSWDWKHDOWK
DUHUHPLOVKHWHUFLWKMMODWWHPSWWDMDOLVQGGUHWKH
LNRKHMQDWLMSHUHSWLNRHONZWKWKHSUHDHGHWLQ [HUSW

- HKHQUOKKXV
- ,5 DUUFLWK, LOODU\$BKDPQLVQ
- ,5 HUHVKHWKLVKKNVKHUKNEX
NPSDLQKHMVWHHOLNLWV
KKGULMVKDWLVWRNWLKWO\
WKDWKSHROHLQGRHWWMH
- , ([uhh[h_ih h[↑]ih hehheh]
- ,5 HQKRIWHHDORX
- , (HOOWEWFHW
- ,5 WRQ
FRVHWRHWRNIXWVDL\$
- , (HOOWEWFHWDLQ\
QWPLP pKU↑

The Early Show

BLWKVTXHVWLRQSUHIDFHRuHUVWKUHHFULWLFDO SHUVSHFWLYHVRI & OLQWRQV FDPSDI
NHHSLOJZLWKWKHMRXUQDOLVWLFQRUPRIQHXYUDOLW & ODPDQDUHDWWULEXWHGW
SDUWDOEHLWDQDQRQPRXVRQH KDWLVLWKVVDVWKDWWKHVDWKDWLVWHHVOVLNHLW

IRFXVJURXSGULYHQMKDWLWVWRRUXQWRRWLJKWODOGMKDWSHRSOHLQ,RDGRQVJHWWVF
 HORXJKRIWKHUHDORXQLOHV%W&OLOWRQGRHVQRWDLWXQWLOWKHWKLUGRWIKWHVH
 assertions is produced before responding; instead, she begins to laugh once he completes the
 MDMUWLRQODKWKUKWKHWKLUUGELWLEWLOVMMHQMUUEDOUHSH
 EHLQWKWKHGLKMPDUNUHOOFLuULSURIHFWLQDUUDLKWRBDUG
 UHSHKHOFHUHQUDQWKHQLQV[SOLEWOGLEUHHKWKWKHFWDF
 WKHFWLQUHDH,QKLEMDQWKHUOLNLWOLVQLSODDGLDvOLDWLMWDF
 WBUGWKHLQHUHMHUWWDONSURHWMMWKUKKHUODKWHUEXWDOMMOO\
 HEKDNQHUKHDG

7KLN[DPSOHLMOXWUDWLMBSDWLHLQVQDHLVHPDWLDBOOQVKEURGBW
 HZVHUMHBDQOMGE5RDQNDKLOKLDWVWKHRSOHWLRULK
 LVHUMHMHUWLRDQUNGWKDWKLMQBDKWHUDBHMHZGDNSEOLF
 GLYODKLDvOLDWLRQWKHMWVKDWLW H[SUMGLMUHHPHQV E GLDWLDR
 ELWLDBORVWKHUZMSUROHPDWLRPHQVDSWRDUGEDQVHUMHURDSBLWLEDQ
 OLNLQVQKHQDKLQNH[WDFVDRPDPDHPURVWKDWLWKH
 laughter treats the talk as laughable, and, in combination with other embodied stance
 GLYODVWVLRRLWLDWHWKHSVHQLDQOGDPDLQHHVWWDORSHURKHU
 DPSDLQRDQ

HMUDBLQVQDKWHUDQGLDWDLFDWKHKHULQHUDWLRQWQHDV
 PHGLDUHSUHMVWDLKDKHOLQVNSHFGKDMKHOLHM"QGHUWR
 examine whether and to what extent *other* politicians deployed this practice of laughing
 LQHSVWVWMLQVHUMHMHUWLRDQDOHFWHGDMMMWEGHR
 UHREGLQOLM LVHUMHMHVHOHMG QVKH DPH QWENDQ HDWKLQWKHU
 politicians from within the same time period. 5HPDUNEQHMPLQDULWLHMPHUHGHWVHQ
 WKHWBOHVLWVWKLQVHUPVVKHNUDOOUHHRQDKWHUQUHHDQ
 WKHGLWULEXWLVWVSHQDKWHU7KHUHMVWVHSRWHGLQDEOH LQLDWHWVKDW
 QLVQVQWKHUSBLWLEDQGLQGLuHULQVKHLULQWLDWLDQDKWHULQVKHLQVHUMHMH
 even though, based on the media representations described above, it might have been
 H[SHVHGWKDWQLVQVQDKDMVWHUHGODKWHUPKPRHUHNOVOWKDKVKHU
 politicians.

QGHULQVHWSHRQDKWHUWKDWKDGHQUDWHGPHGLDDWVHVLQQLVQH
 QDKWHUWKDWVUHGLQHSVWRQVHUMHMHUWLRDQNON
 WKDW DOWKKQLVQVGLG SUBN ODKWHU GLLQVHUMHMHU WLVQVQPRH
 UHNOVOWKDKVKHUSBLWLEDQH7DEOHDDLQVKHGLuHUHHDVMDQV

7DEOH LVWULEXWLVNUDOONUHHRQDKWHUQLVQVQVKHUSBLWLEDQ

<i>Distributions compared</i>	<i>Clinton</i>	<i>Other politicians</i>
Overall occurrences of laughter		
Overall volunteered laughter		

7DEOH LVWULEXWLVNUDOONUHHRQDQWLDVQRVHUMHMHUWWDON

<i>Overall in relation to IR talk</i>	<i>Clinton</i>	<i>Other politicians</i>
---------------------------------------	----------------	--------------------------

XULQJ,FXHVWLRQ
 WTXHVWLRQFRPSOHWLRQ

,QGHG H[FHUSW LOOXVWUDWHV KRZ PDOH SROLWFLDQ XVHV ODXJKWHU LQWK FRX
LQWHUYLH ZUVTXHVWLRQLQDFRPSDUDEOH DWR&OLQWRQDVH[HPSOLHJLQH[FHUSW 7KH
LQWHUYLH ZHDWXUHV 7LP5XVVHUWDOGWKHQFDQGLGDWHIRUWKH5HSXEOLFDCQRPLQDM
EXOLDQL,QOLQHRH[FHUSW5XVVHUWLQWURGXFHVDJHQHUDOFULWFLVPRIEXOLDQLDQGV
FLWHVVSFLH[FDPHOVRIEXOLDQLVTXHVWLRQDEOH DVVRFLDWLRQV

HF0HHW7KH3UHV6HULRXVDFFXVDWLRQV
,5 7LP5XVVHUW,(5XGROSKEXOLDQL

,5 3HRSOHDUHFDOOLQJLQWRTXHVWLRQNUMXGJPHQW
WKHDQVRFBWHWKDWUODJP

,(K7KLP
RXUODJPXKGLGZUNIRUXJR&KDYH]
WKHKHDGRI9HQH]XHOD

,(=[(th-)hhehh T(h)im]
,5 7KHWHYHQDHYHQZKWWBW
EXWHLGLGSHVHQ

,(>
,5 72
,([hi hu [huh °huh°°huh° [Hahh]

,5 KFKVQRBYH]
,(7KPWBWVDVWHWFK.

EXOLDQVHVLHZHHW7KH3HVV

6SDFHOLPLWDWLRQSHYHQXIRPLEOKLQPRHH[WHQHG H[FHSWEXVHH5RPDQX
EIRD OHQWKHGLVFXVLRQHYHWHNH/SRLQKH LV WBW EXOLDQODJK
WKKW 5XVHWVDWWHPSW WRMXWLIWK DVVRFLDWLRQHWVHQOLDQV ODZDQ
BYH]WKWHDWLQWDVDODXDEOHDWKWBQVHLURXPDWWHENOLDQVVKVHTNQ
YHEDOHVSRQHSRQKHGZWBVPLOHPLPWBWVDVWHWVQLKFKVVLPLQDWR
OLQWRQ[FHWSRYLGHVWKJRWVIRQHWVDQLQKVDuHFWLYHGLVSODVSWR
WWSRLQDVGLVDvOLDWLYH

([FHSWVDQWHLQLOOXWDWLYHRIDJHQULFQVHDFWLRQOSDFWLFHW5RPDQX
IRQ SROLWFLDQHPSORLQVHFRKH RI VHURXLQVHVLHZHHWVWLRQV QWHG
DERYHWKV SDFWLFHQVLRQDVDSKOLF GLVSODRIGLVDvOLDWLRQOHVWLOO W
DELGLQVHFRQWDLQVRIWHQZLQVHVLHZHREDWLHDLWLQVLODTNVWLRQV
FRPSOHWH WRSEYLGHDYHEDOHVSRQHORHRYHDV DQVHDFWLRQOSDFWLFH W
deployed by bothPDOHDQGIHPDOHSROLWFLDQVQLQWKHFRUSXVRPDQLXNFRQFOXGHGKDW
notDQLGLRVQFUDWLFHDXUHRI&OLQWRQVQLQWHUDFWLRQDOVWQHQRUZDVLWDJHQGHU
SUDWLFHQGHVWXEVHTXHQWUHSUHVHQWDLRQVRI&OLQWRQVODXJKWHUEYDULRXVQ
QHYHUWKHOHVWUHDWHGLWQRWRQODVDXQLTXHFKDUDFWHUWUDLWEXWDOVRDJHQ

follows is a brief discussion of how a particularly negative gendered meaning became
DNDWHGZWK OLQVQDKWHU DVHSUHMVDWLQW EUNNDWHG DEVDUDR
discursive contexts in the public domain.

,QQUODO PHGLD NUDH SRLWLNUNVWKS KUDMTEQELWHWR
KDUDWHULM MOHW SWLWLRWLEDQWQDKWKHU QN 7DOEW VNN
VNLQLOHWKHUHDNUWDLQDUDRHGLDUHSVWBLQVQDKWHU
WKHKDUDWHULDWLQKDWDLQGWKHWDWQWVKRLWDWLMUHSUHMVDWLQKHQLOVQ
BNH| BNGH[H[WOLMGR7KDWLKHUODKWHUHN[WUDVHGURLWRLQWLQ

FRQWH[WVRIRFFXUUHQFHLHQHZLQWHUYLHZDQGDVUHFQWH[WXDOLVHGLQPHGLDGLV
in a way that imbued it with a particularly negative, gendered meaning. **WKBGLGWKLV
PHDQRHDEM"**

Since the social construction of meaning is an ongoing process that occurs across multiple contexts, indexicality is a fundamental concept in understanding how linguistic forms come to be associated with social categories such as gender. Whereas early studies of language and gender assumed a one-to-one mapping of linguistic form onto the social category of **HQHUEKPBHORQH[LBOUHODWLEHPWUDWHKWKKHUHODWLEHWZHQ
ODRHDQHQHULFVHGLDWHGEDQWLVWVHG WKUKDZEEKDOORDQHG
SUDPDWLPHDQW/KHLQH[LBDOLWRQHUEGLDQV**

LQMDW OHDW WIMPLVLSURMYWK UHSHV WR GLUHWLQH[LBDOLV linguistic
RPVWLPVPHGLDWHOIQH[SDUWLEDDURDOURHDFLWLVHWDEHDFWKHUHDV
in the process of **LQLUHWLQH[LBDOLV** same linguistic forms become associated with particular social types and personas believed to embody those roles, to engage in those **DWLVWLHW WRVDNSHURP KWDHVDQ DFWW\$HVDQ SHURWPKDW EHRH
WVKDOORHGHDNQHUHGKRWV, WLDWWKHOHMORQLUHWLQH[LBDOLV\
DKRW\$SRWVKHUH**

ideology **FRPHVRSODDFUXFLDOUROHMQLQFHLW
LVDW WKLVOHYHO WKDW WKHSDUWLFXODU VRFLDO UROHVDFWLYLWLHV VWDQFHVRU
HQGXULQJVHPLRWF DVVRFLDWLRQVQPHGLDGLVFRXUVHLGHRORJFDQPDQLHVWLWV**

the use of lexical choices that convey a range of meanings beyond the strictly referential, **GHWDLQRKDWLWKHUHHUHQLDQGHQDWLMPHDQDQSHDQKER
SHDNURRHURPWKHDWPSLVDNQHCHUHGHPHDQWKDWPNEHR
WKHUHHUHQLDODQGHQDWLMDV**

Dictionaries such as the **RGQLKLWLBUWVWKDW DSHDQ
UHHUWRQ[SUHMDWLDHSDUWLEDDUNQRNMPOLWKDUDWHULWLF
RHKLM[SUHMDWLDUDWHULWLKHQDHWKWKWKDW DSHGLUHWV\
LQH[HVDEOKEMURWVHWHPVHQDWLMPHDQWKHH[DPSOHMGR
LOOXUDWHMHW DSHLDQDWLMOVQHG WHUP RDNWVHGZWKD
QDWLHQHUHG SHURWPKDW WVKHVSLSWH WKLDEM\$SRDQ**

illustrates how such an association is overtly recognisable and recognised both in **RHPSRDUVH DVMGHG E/LQKWVRISXOLQWLDQ LQHGLD
UHSUHMQDWLQVQDKWHUHDKKLKZOOEHGLM**

Corpus linguistics is particularly valuable in investigating the role that lexical choice **SODVUWVWLOGHRRBOUHSUHMQDWLWVWHULOO7RUEGHHEGHE
WKHQDWLMDOHQDQSHDQWKHLPSOLEWDQLGHRRBOPHDQQH[HGEVW
MSRDQIDPLHGWKHWHPVDPQVLDSDHQSDWVWHURORWLRVWKH**

Corpus of Contemporary American English **WKHODUJHVWUHHODYDLODEOHFRUSXVRIPHULFDQ
(QJOLVKFRQWDLQLQJRYHUPLOOLRQZRUGVQLQFOXGLQJPLOOLRQZRUGVHDFKHDUEHWZH
DYLHVWVHGRQWKLVDQDOVLRPDQLXNIRXQGWKDWWKHWHPV**

principal active associations were narrow and restricted, and indirectly indexed the laugh of **DQHMUDEOHQDWLMSHURHSHVHEPOOPSHVORWLRQSUBHDQWKH
connotations associated with it, embody what is called a *negative semantic prosody*; that is, **WKHWURVORWHDUHMUKHOPLQDWLMSRQHDMDVWKEVHHG
the restricted set of meanings communicated via its use is strongly associated with an
undesirable gendered persona, namely, witches.****

**WVKHPDMHGLDUHSUHMQDWLQVQDKWHU5RDQVHWG
WKDWEKWKHQDWLMPDQLSUNWKHWHPV DSHDQLWQLUHWVMDWLVWV
ZWKHMUHMVQWDEHNGKHNGLQHGLDUHSRWH[DPSOHRHUK**

WKH6HQDWH,387KHVHSHUFHQWDJHVDUHEXWRQLHQLGLFDWLRQWKDWKHSXEOLFSKHUHRISRO
 DWOHDVWLQWKH86UHPDLQDGLVWLQFWLYHOJHGHUHGFXOWXUH
 6KDDOVRQRWHGKDWZPHQKRZHUHQRFRPEDWLYHZHUHHHQDVLQHUHFWDOS
 SPRVWWHQNDUVKDYHSDVVHGVLQFH&OLQWRQJVVWUDQIRUWKHHPRFUDWLFQRPLQDWLRQ:KH
 ZRWHWKLVFRQFOXVLRQ&OLQWRQKDGFRVFLDOODQQRXQFHGKHU3UHVLGHQWLDOELGIRU:HEHO
 KHUUHFHQWHOHFWRUDOORVWRQRZUHVLGHQWRQDOG-7UXPSVSHDNVWRKSHUHLVWVHQFHE
 entrenched cultural beliefs about women and politics that we have described in this chapter.

References

GHUVRO.9URPVSRXHVWRFDQGLGDWHVHODU5RGKDP&OLQWRQ(OLDEHWKROHDQGWKH
 JHGHUHGFRVFRHRI863UHVLGKXVWRULFDQG3KOLF&DROQRSS±
 SOHEXKOLDEOODUGPXUGHURXVUDJHQ Discourse, politics, and women as global
 leaders,HGV-:LOVROKHU-RKQHMDPLQVFWHUGDPSS±
 WHU - µRPHQ RI WKH FRUSRUDWLRQ WRFLROLQJXLVWLF SHUVSHFWLYH RI VHQLRU ZRPHQ
 OHDGHUVKLSODQJXDJHLQWKH of Sociolinguistics, YROQRSS±
 The lenses of gender,BOHQLYHUVLV3UHVV1HZDYHQ&7
 JRHFKHDORZHUFWLYHVLVPLQLLWHLGLSRUWUDDOVRIWKHuHFWLYHQHVVRWKH
 JVVSDQLVK:RPDQHIFHOLQLVWGHUler and Language, YROQRSS±
 FKROW)URPVWDQFHWRVWOHHQGHULQWHUDFWLRQDQGLQGH[LFDOLWLQOH[LFDQLPLJUDQW
 RXWKVODQJQance: Sociolinguistic perspectivesHGVSDuH2[IRUGQLYHUVLV3UHVV1HZ
 RUNSS±
 WOHU-Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity RXWOHGJH1HZRUN
 WOHU-Undoing gender,RXWOHGJH1HZRUN
 &DPHURQ'DOJXDJHJHGHUHQDQVH[XDOLW&XUHQWLVLVXVDQGHZGLUHFWRQV
 Linguistics, YROQRSS±
 &DPHURQKZ6 HQGHUSRZHUDQGSROLWLFDOVSHFK:RPHQDQGDQJXDJHLQWKH
 UK general election, Palgrave Macmillan, London.
 PSEHO. AKHGLMMSHURPDERPLQDQWDLQOODU Rhetoric & Public
 DLUVYROQRSS±
 &DUOLQ%LQIHVBYHRXFRPHDORQJZDEDELOODU&OLQWRQDUDK3DOLO
 DQGVH[LVPDQDQSDJQFRYHUDJHCommunication Studies, YROQRSS±
 &DUUROO 6 HG :RPHQ DQG SHULFDQ SROLWLFV 1HZ TXHVWLRQV QHZ GLUHFWRQV, Oxford
 QMUVWJHMMN
 DUROGHVWLVHQHUDQLOODUQVUHMGHVLDQDPSDLKRWKH
 EDGDQWKHPLR Politics and Gender, YROQRSS±
 &ODPDQ &ROYHUVWLRQDQDQVVLQWKHQZVLQWHUYLHZFRWHVWQbook of
 Conversation AnalysisHGV-EGQHOOWLYHUV:LOHDFNZHOODQGHQOQSS±
 &RQURVHFNHQULGJH-DFNVRQ,2OLYHUMOGPDQ&URPHUUDURWR3DOLQV[LVP
 LQFRYHUDJHRIHPDOHYLFHSUHVVLGHQWLDOFDQGLGDWHVVLQROGDQGHZPHALD
 IdentitiesYROQRSS±
 &RWWHULOORPHVWLFGLVFRUGURFNHODWLRQVLSVHPDQWLF SURVRLHVLQHUHSHVHQWV
 PDULWDOYLROHQHFLQWKH2PSVRQWVLDQ Society, YROQRSS±
 DYLVH&ZLVWHUDVSROLWLFDOGLVFRXUVHVKHFVHRIDUDK3DQDQcourse, politics, and
 women as global leadersHGV-:LOVROKHU-RKQHMDPLQVFWHUGDPSS±
 DYLVHVK&RUSXVRI&RQWHPSRUDU\$HULFDQ(QJOLVKPLOLRQZRUGV&SUHVHQW,
 DLODEOHURKWWSESKNGRDMGW@
 DDUOLAKHHPDOHOHDGHUKLSDGDVVDHQBQVWLVKHHHGHE
 Leadership Quarterly, YROSS±
 (FNHUW3HQGHUHQDQGLQJXLVWLFYDULDWLRQAge and gender: A readerHG-&RDWHV
 QDFNZHOO2IRUGSS±

5RPDQLXN7D *Cracks in the glass ceiling?: Laughter and politics in broadcast news interviews and the gendered nature of media representations*XQSXEOLVKHG3KGLVVHUWDWLRQRUN@LYHUUVLW\RURQWR

RPDQLXN 7E μQWHUYLHZHH ODXJKWHU DOG GLVDvOLDWLRQ LQ EURDGFVDVW QHZV LQWHUYLHZV\& On laughing: Studies of laughter in interactionHGV3@HQQ(ROW@RRPVEXU\ROGROSS ±

RPDQLXN 7H [W WUDMHFWRULHV DOG PHGLD GLVFRXUVH VDFNLQJ JHQGHUHG UHSUHVHQWDWLRQV SUHVLGHQWLDOSE@LWLEW\ Language, YROQRSS±

RPDQLXN 7Q WKH UHOHYDQFH RI JHQGHU LQ WKH DQDOVLV RI GLVFRXUVH \$DVH VWXG\URP £OODURGKDP&OLOWRQ\VSUHVVLGHQWLDOELGLO\ Discourse & SocietyYROQRSS ±

RVV. @LFLHELWRIVNLUWDQG WKH WDONLQJ KHDG [SROLWLFVDQG QHZV\@ Routledge companion to media and genderHGV&DUWHU\WHLQHU\OF\DXJKOLOQRXWOHGJHIHZRUN SS±

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KHONU@LQV\@HOOSUHDHGUHS\W\ Research on language and social interaction, YROQRSS±

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KD@HHHQHUDQ@DSSRWL@LWLD@LWLD@OGHEDWH\ Discourse & Society, YROQRSS±

KDZ@YHUQHGEWKHUXOHVKHIHPDOHYRLFHLQSDUOLDPHQWDUGHEDWHV\@ Speaking out: KHIHPDOHYRLFHLQSEOLF@FR@W@W@3DOJUDYH@DFPLOODQ@VLQJVRN@SS±

KDZ@HQHUDQGSROLWLFVLQWKHGHYROYHGDVVHPE@W\@ Politics: A Journal of Politics and Culture, YROQRSS±

6HOGRO@K@D@NRXIRUKHFNOLQJPH£OODURGKDP&OLOWRQ\GLVFXUVLYHPDQDJHPHQW RIKHUSXEOLFSHUVRODKHUSROLWLFDOPHVVDJHDQGWKH@URQPVKLUWKHFNHUVLQWKH@SUHVVLGHQ HOHFWLRQ@F@PSDL@LQ@ Course, politics, and women as global leadersHGV-:LOVRO@HU -RK@H@MDPLOW@VVHUGDPSS±

W@XEEV 0 H[W DQG FRUSXV DQDOVLV &RPSXWHUDVVLVVWHG VWXGLHV RI ODQJXDJH DQG FXOW\ @D@O@EG

7DOE@W@N@N@N@ Language and power in the modern world, University

@DEDPD@H@V@N@S

7D@QKHG@K@H@L@Q Thirty ways of looking at Hillary, ed. S Morrison, Harper

@OL@H@N@S±

ULPEOH/VHLEHUJ 1 (LWKHUZD\WKHUH\JRLQJ WREHD PDQLQFKDUJH\ Cracking the KLJKHVW JODVV FHLQJ @STOREDO FRPSDULVRQ RI ZRPHQ\ FDPSDLQV IRU H\@XWLYH R@H 5@UD@D@H@H@D@D@UEDUD@SS±

@Q@KHSHUR@WKH@LWLD@DQWKH@S@DU@D@GH@W@H@O@EULW\ @LWLE@ European Journal of Cultural Studies, YROQRSS±

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:LO@H@H@GV Discourse, politics, and women as global leaders,-RK@H@MDPLOW @VVHUGDP

:LOVRO-,UZLO@K@FDQ@DZRPD@EHPRUH@LN@H@PDQ@DU@DU@H@W@K@D@W@FK@H@D@Q@G@WK@ GLVFRXUVH RI OHDGHU@K@S@L@Q@ Course, politics, and women as global leadersHGV-:LOVRO @HU@R@Q@D@PLOW@H@UGDPSS±

:@DN@Q@B@N@L@H@L@P@S@R@W@D@L@N@Q@KHU@H@M@DUK@R@H@H@D@Q@GL@M@L@Q Gender and discourseHG@R@G@DN@JH@R@Q@GR@SS±

:RGDN@X@W@L@S@O@H@L@GH@Q@L@W@L@H@V@KH@U@R@H@V@RI@H@P@D@H@S@D@U@O@L@D@P@H@Q@W@D@U@L@D@Q@V@L@Q@WK@H@ (8DU@O@L@D@P@H@Q@W@L@Q The handbook of language and genderHGV-R@PHV@0@H@H@UK@R@U@D@F@N@Z@H@O@O@D@O@G@H@Q@O@S SS±

SXVKHVDQGSXOOVEHWZIHQGLuHUHQWFRQAFWLOJIIHOLQJVRIEHORQJLQJ7KLUGWKHVHH[D
 remind us that semiosis – not only language, but also images and body movements – plays
 a pivotal function in the regulation of the relationships between sexuality, mobility and
 EWLHQLSLQHQH[WKWKHLGHQLWPHWRLHDPHOELDQVQHUR
 RYHQMOKR PD\EH WKH QD\WKUR KLK WEHRH *visible*, and
 RYHQOEH *recognised*EWKHVVDWH,QWKLVVHQVHNQRZLQJZKLFKLGHQWLWQDEHOVWRX
 and when, works as a shibboleth that determines who is allowed to be included in a polity
 DQKRWHDGKKEGEHH[DEHGWRMVKHDPHMELOLWDQUHRWLRD\
 DORHSULRUGWKDUDPHQKFLOLDWLPHHQDQH[SMMHDOHUV
 DQ@WHQWDPLQUHEDGLKQEW WKHUHODWLRLSEHWZHQRLQLOLWDQ
 MELOLW\

DLQWKLEFNURWKHDLPRKHKDSWHULWRQWLDWHWKHLQHUHWLRLQLOLW\
 sexuality and citizenship, and the role played by multilingualism and multi-semioticity in
 PHGLDWLQHUHODWLRLSVQGGUHMVKHMQIXRQYDLPWRHU DUK
 MHU perspective on the growing scholarship on language and citizenship, an important
 body of work that has nonetheless largely ignored the gendered and sexual facets of the
 politics of mobility. We also believe that a tight analytical focus on multilingualism and
 P@WLMPLWLEWQGLWVWHDHQDQWLBOQULEWLRWVKHEGLDQGR MHU
*migration*HJ/XLEKpLG&DQWDQQLQWHUGLVFSLQDQDUHQWHUSULVHWKDWKDVKRZHYHU
 SDLGUHODWLYHQ@LWWOHDWVHQWLRQWRWKHERUGHUJRQHVRIOLQJXLVWVFDQGVH[XD
 WKHDWVHQGDQVWVUXJJOHVIRUPHDQQLQDQGEHORQJLQJWKDWDUHSURGXFHG WKURX
 OXUUD\$VHHKRZHYHU&DVKPDQIRUDQRWDEOHH[FHSWLRQ

We begin with a discussion of the concept of citizenship, and how it has been employed
 LQHHQVRLQWLRKDUKLS,QHMHZQKHH[LWLQQLWHUDWVHHKCLKOLKWWKH
 heuristic potential of the notion of *belonging* as a broad conceptual umbrella that encapsulates
 WKHUHODWLRLSEHWZHQRLQLOLWMBOLWDQWKHGRDLQKHDuHFLM:HWKHPM
 WRHUHQHWHHH[DPSOHWKHZMLKM[BOLWPH@WLOLEBOLMDQPRLOLW\
 intersect in a recent documentary about a group of Palestinian gay men who leave the
 KLHG7HUULWRLHVKHKDSWHUHQZWKDGLMVKHGKQOHELQLQHUUHQLO
 OLEHUDOSBLWLEWVHQLSWKDWGLSHQVULKWVQUHRWLRWKHEDMNOI
 ascription to pre-determined sexual-identity categories.

Language, citizenship and belonging

Debates about language and culture tests for the naturalisation of migrants are perhaps the
 most fraught discursive terrain in which frictions between mobility and the multilingual
 GLMUWVWKDWRHEWKLWDHODDPMLOODQHHDUHGWWKHUHSUBWLR
 DQKLHDEOHPRLOQWLRQLGHDOKDM PDQHWHG WKHPMOMVQKHUW WHQ
 HDUWKHWVQVWHQMHHQURDUMHZQKHRRHQH[W
 7SLBOOLQWKWHUPEWVHQLSDQEQWLRQLWVWKHMGLMHHM
 around the criteria to be employed by state institutions and their delegated agencies in order
 WRHWHUPLQKLEKHPPLJUDQVWOLNMQDHRDQOQHRMGDV
 SDUWVSLWVWHUPV

DUWVVKHSUROHPLOQOMVKHMGHEDWH@LHVQKH@WLQMQ
 EHWZHQWLRQLWVQEWLHQLSLQSDUODQ7EHQWVQDOLDQWLRQWKH
 DURHQVMMVKELHQVQDOLDQWVHLQKLVQKROGVR
 WKHZHGLQSDUWLENDU SDVW DWLRQLWVQEWLHQLSKMMU EHQRV
 GLuHUHQVMPDQLHOGVKHRRPHULWURQHODWHGWVVKHLGHDKKHQWLRQDPLQG

VHQVHRIFRPPRODOLWUHSURGXFHGWKURXJKDYDULHWRIEDQDOPDWHULDODUWHIDFWW
QDWLRQDOAJDQGLVFXUVLYHSHUIRUPDQFHVHJWKHSHUVRODOSURQRXQVPHDQGRXUQW
GDLO'SUHVVZOOJ 7KH ODWWHU LQ FROWUDVW FDUULHV KLWVRULFDO OLOQNVZWKIRUP

political agency in matters pertaining to the Greek *polis* – the city. So, while nationality

PLKWEHPRHLQLDOWLMDPERLEQMRQDPDLGRPQVSHUN
WKHLQKWKHQWLROHFWLHQLSMDWEPDOWLESDWL

the common good. Of course, we might wonder whether such political agency is at all
SREOHRWKNKODNSULRPERLEHRLWHDORNDN

,RGHUWBRVWKHRSOH[RWLEHWHZHEERLEHRLWLDWHULDO
WUWKHQDQSHROHSUDWLHSLWLDOWKHLWQDQSRMDWULSDUWLWHPHOR

citizenship as *status*, *habitus* and *acts*. § *status*, citizenship is a form of membership,
MOOLQKHKQWLQDWH,QKLMHFWLHQLSLRDOQUDFDEWVKHULKWQ

duties through an individual, and one or several states. Looking exclusively at citizenship-
as-status, however, might unnecessarily limit our analytical range to state-level legislation,

obscuring the dynamics through which individuals DKUH DQ HHOV\ enact
EWLHQLSLQKHLU GDLOOLMVKHQSHUWDQLQEWLHQLSDDPRRPERLHG

practice LV LQIRUPHG E[RXUGLHX\ WKHRULVDWLRQRULs DVVWHPVRI GXUDEOH
WUDQVSRVDEOH GLVSRVLWLRQV ZKLFK JHQHUDWH DQG RUJDQLVH SUDFWLFHV DQG UHS

SVHHDQVRQJHUDQGRXFDXOW\QRWHVQRJRYHUQPHQWDOLWKKDW
LVFRQGXFWRIFRQGXFWRUGRQSVHHDQVRQLODQL.DXSSLHQ

Q this sense, citizenship is not so much the sum of the rights individuals are granted and
the duties they must comply with; nor is it a position endowed on an individual by the state upon

QOPHQRUWDLQHKUHPHQMDWMDOLDWLQDWKHULWLmode of conduct that
LDKUHGWKUKDPWLSOLEWVWLEVLWVOWRPPDQKDELWVKH

HMUGD\MO

7KDWEWLHQLSLDMULHBPDQEHKDMKOHDUHQGWKUKKDOLDWLQHV

not mean that individuals cannot break with *habitus* RUHYHQDFWZLWKRXWKDYLDQJRvFLDO
status (FKRLQJXWOHU\ S FULWLTXHRI[RXUGLHXWKDW *habitus* fails to take

MULWVKHSELOLWPHSRWLQHUHWDEHURWKHPDULQHU\

,M\LR acts of citizenship seeks to capture those performances of radical dissent that
WHRDSSHQRHPDEHOHGWRHDWH[SHWLWEQKHQDFDQHMMUGD\

OLHNVGHRVWLWLRQOLMGRVH[WWKDWREGLQULODFDWHVWKSQWLWQH
SQWKHMDUHSHURPDQWKDWPLKWRHWDWHDWKHEQDULHKDWLV

RGHUHG OHDO MH LQDUWLNDU DODQF GLQDEW D SUVHW DDLQ
-RDQENLGLHLQ

7DNQVWKHUWDDWQDELWMDQVWHDULKSLWKH7KHUHLKHMUDQSHV
WKDWKDV EHHQHMOHGHNOE,MVKH DEHWMHPWLRQodimension with which

WKHMWKUHHDVHFWLHQLSDUHLPENGRWLHURH[DPSOHKDVHHV\OSRQHGW
WKDWEWLHQLSLWVWHDVWHRPWLQOLQVPHVQVQKHSDUWRSSOLDQV

DQHEWLHWDONKHSDUWVKHWDWHS7KHWDWHGLuHUHVLDWHV
between desirable and undesirable bodies, turning the former into citizens and expelling the

ODWWHULWDOFUBNVWMDGCHMUDEOH\bidem WKURXJK DuHFVLYH SURFHVVHV VVFK D
QDWXUDOLDVWLRQFHUHPRLHVDQGWKHLUSUHSUDWLRQVFRJHQWH[DPSOHLVRuHUH

QXDQFHG HWKQRJUDSKLF DFRXQW RI D PLJUDQW\ MRXUQHWR ULWLVK FLWL]HQVKLS
QDFNOHGJH 8FLWL]HQVKLS DSSOLFDQV DUH H[SHFWHG WR DFTXLUH D PRQRJORW

DXWKRULWDLYHGLVFRXUVH WKDWGHPDQGVXQFRQGLWLRQDODOOHJLDQFHQNKWLQ
WKHQDWLRQVVDWHVWV.DKQDQGDQDFNOHGJH S SRLQWRXW WKH DSSOLFDQVW\

DFTXLVLWLRQRIWKHRDWRKRIDOOHJLDQFHVQRVWKHPDQLHVVDWLRQRKDELWVFKDQ

PDEHPRYLQJWKHLUOLSVZWKRXWXXWHULQJWKHDXWKRULWDWLYHWH[W7KLVLQWXUQC
RQGHU FHWKHU WKH FHUHPROKDG FUHDWHG D JUHDWHU VHOVH RI EHORQLOJ DQG PD
EHFRPLOJ WLWLVK PRUH PHDQLQJXO9**ibidem** (LWKHU ZD\WKH VLOHQW OLS PRYHPHQWV DUH
LPSRUWDQWDFWVRIUHVLVVDQFHDJDLQVWVKHDuHFWLYHLOQFXOFDWLRQSURPRWHGEV
KHSPJKWEHSURGXFLQJWLWLVKFLWLJHQVKLSDVGHVLUDEOHEXWLQ.KDQDQGGDFNOHGI
study, it is nothing but a valuable commodity – a *status* – that needs to be achieved by
playing the rules of the game, seemingly not involving any deeper emotional attachment
habitus

EDQWHGHPRWLRQVDUHQRWUHGXFLEOHWRDuHFWLYHVVDWHVZLWKRQWRORJLFDQV
KPHGHPKDVLVHV KDYH WKH SHUIRUPDWLYH FDSDFLWWRGR WKLOJV BOLJQLQGLYLGXD
ZLWK FRPPXQLWLHV RU ERGLOVSDFH ZLWK VRFLDO VSDFH DQG@HGLDWH WKH UHODWLI
EHWZHHQWKHSVFKLFDQGWKHVRFLDODQGEHWZHHQWKHLQGLYLGXDODQGWKHFROOH
SDNLQJDSHUIRUPDWLYHDSSURDFKWRHPRWLRQVOLODQLELQYHVWLJDWHGD
SURWHVWDJDLQVWVKHDQOXDOSULGHSUDUGHLQ-RKDQ@HMEHLELQDQDFWIGE\
UKRDLEODKHQKHDOQVGHPIUDWHKXKHPRLOLDWLKDPH
enabled the *One in nine* to:

EDDQSHUWKEWKHMULGHDRWKSLEBQHELDQDPRPWE@
DQFWLQGDQLEHUDOSWDSDUWKHLGM[BOLGHQVLSBLWLWVKDWUHQHMEOLW\
RHMUQEWKDMFWBOOEHQVHGM[BQORPDWLMLQLYGEQGLuHUHQO\
depending on the intersections of race and social class.

LODQDS

BEW,MLWLQLRHWZHQDWKDELWQDQWLDQOWLBOOMWVKH
notion of citizenship itself, we believe, is too static and lacking in heuristic precision to
UDY WKH RSOH[UHODWLIQLSEHWHZHQ.GHQRDO WUMKHVDQ SURMVKH
SLELOLWRQLYGEQODQBOHVLMDHQQWKHDuHFWLMSRQVWKR
WKHMGLPHQRKHRSWR *belonging*, instead, may provide a more dynamic and
PWLDDHWHGWRMHDQBOGDWWDUG,HGHPD,QLKDKMEHHQ
LQLUHGEBODYUDUHQW KDW EHQRQVHODWLRQ L W LQMD
KMHWDQDQMHV WKHODWWHUEHLQRH WKHQWLWVKH7RPPWEDQ
other concrete or symbolic entity. Moreover, belonging is political; it entails constant
HVLDWLQVYOODVWKHGLUWVRENDUPDLQHQHDMOO EWHGLQ
MODYSKERGHUSBLELKPDEHSKMBODQREVERLF
HQRQWVKHPDLQHQDQUHSURVWLQKHENDULHWKHPQW\
EHORQWKHKHPRBRLWLBOSEKUYZWKLOQVWGH WKHPRQWEX
DONVKHLU QHWDWLQDOOHQDQ UHLWDHEWVKHU SBLWLBOHDHQVODYV
SBRQHPWWDKPHQVGHWDKPHQVUDHDORuHFWLMPQWLGLPHQR
multi-scalar, and multi-temporal; not only do these connections involve a degree of
HPWLROLQVPHQVWVKHDOVHODWHWBLuHUHQVEMHWVDHQWLPHWKDWPD\
EHLQVZWKRDQKHU

,WLVEPOOEHDMWKHDuHFWLMLGLPHQRWHQHWKDWEHORQV
view, particularly apt for a discussion of the relationship of multilingualism, mobility and
M[BOLWQPHUQQLNLHPLQM[BOLWDDQKQGVHEH
UHGNQWR[SOLEWOLEWLBWMMORWKHULGHQVLPWLQDKHWHUM[BOD\
ELM[BODM[BODQVKNGDORQGH WKHGRDLGHMUH7KHGLWLQVLR
between *identity*ZKDWKHLQGLYLGXDOLGHQWLHVLEWZKQVWKHLQGLYLGXDQORQJV
IRULVQRWDWHUPLQRORJLFDOWULYLDOLW)RXFDXOWUHPLQGVXVWKDWVKHFRQJHDO

individuals repeatedly claim and contest as they negotiate between their own sense of institutional forces. We have argued that capturing this more dynamic and processual habitus and acts, provides a useful heuristic for investigating how citizenship is negotiated ultimately achieving a sense of national belonging.

political legitimacy have been particularly heightened in the region. Without going into legal rights and protections that are denied to those in the Palestinian territories, there be Palestinian in order to belong as non-heterosexuals.

principal protagonists of *The invisible men* for asylum in an un-named country. Louie responds to this news as follows:

7UDLSWLNOMPSOLHGMUMKHNVLNHFLEHGLQHuHUR

/RXLH WLPDHSREDDMDUHWVWLQWLPDPDEDMDUHWVWLQWLNHKLOXEHQDGD
 HKXQRODGEDDUHWV DQLQRODGHWLEDUHWV DQLQRODOHXPDMWMO
 NHKLOX DWD MRGH PH EHQDGDQ QRODGEDEHW [ROLP [DWLPDW PHGLOD
 LVUDHOOD[RQDQLMHKHUHOH[DMHOLHWVOLEDEDMEDQEDWLNWKL
 MHOR][XMRW ODPYRG SRODOH[HW OD][RU [RIE HWLRSLP KDNRO DQL
 QRODGHWLEDDUHWVD]RYORQRODGHWLEH7HO\$LYQRODGHWLEHHPHLO
][XMRWOHKLMRWSREDDUHWV"

*listen there's a serious problem here (3) a really serious problem (3) like
 a person who was born ba-arets ((in Israel)) (1) I was born ba-arets ((in
 Israel)) (.) I was bor- I mean I have a like (.) you know when someone is
 born in the hospital a stamp from the Israeli government right (.) I'll
 show you I have it at ho- in my- in my bag (.) a Thai has rights to work
 here to go to come back no problem Ethiopians everything (.) me that
 was born ba-arets*

DULY NROKD]PDQDWDPH[DNHODKL]GDPQXWKD]RWYHKLQHDWDPHNDEHOHW
 KDKL]GDPQXWYHD[āDYDWD[RāHYSDPPDMLP"

*(2) all the time you're waiting for this opportunity and here you get the
 opportunity and now you're having second thoughts?*

/RXLH DQLPDGLIOHKLMRWSRNROKD]PDQEHWKDVRKDU]HEDVRIDQLDQL
 jestader po bexlal
 ,SUHHUWRHKHUHDOOWKHWLPHLMDLOWWKHUHDQWKDWVWLQKH
 end I'll manage here

/RXLHDQGWKHPPDNHUBULY The invisible men

Confronted with the concrete possibility of expatriation, Louie claims that *there's a serious
 problem here*. He goes on to describe how the root of this *problem*LVWKHSHUFHLYHGLQHTXLW
 of forcing someone who was *born in Israel* to seek refuge abroad, while *Ethiopians* and
 RHLRNUVR7KDLODQDQHPDLQVWLVWUHUHWLWVHWKDWKHQDLPLQLV
 ELUWKULKWWRHPDLQDQDHOKHRLQOOUHHUWVKHNUYZWKWKHOKDO
 term *ha-arets*HEWKHODQGKLOHLWLWVUXHWKDWKLVVWKHPRVWFRPPRQWHUPXVHG
 UHIHUWR,VUDHOLQLRUPDOVSRNHQHEUHZAKKBYR Louie is somewhat marked.
 RRLWLDWHUPWKDWBUULHWVWDLRHZKQWLRQLMZWKLWPDNQPSOLEW
 UHHUHQWVKH=LQWSUMHWVQDEQWLRQKHBRLMGODQHDP
 ,WLDQVWHUPWKDWKHMQUHHOM7KUKWVKHUHWVKHQPKHHLWKHU
 refers to *medinat Israel*HEWKHVDWHRI,VUDHQRUVSHFLFDOOWRHO\$LYRUPDNHV
 PRUHREOLTXH UHIHUHQHEVRIUHUHUVXV samHEWKHUHWVZKDWLVPRVW
 VWULNLQIDERXW/RXLHVKHRI\$LVZKDWKHVHVLWWRUHIHUWR)RXUWLPHVLOH[FHUSW
 /RXLHVVDWHVWKDWKHZDVERUQLQ,VUDHOKRXXJKKHJRHRVQRWRDGPLWVKDWKHZDVQF
 HO\$LYEXWLQHPHEIDEOXVDFLWLQWKH:HVWQON ,QPDNLQJWKLVFODLP/RXLH
 HuHFWLYHOUGHVVLJQDWHVVIDEOXVDVSDUWRI,VUDHOSURSHUDOORZLQJKLPWRDVVHUV
 remain in the country by virtue of his *status*DVDLWL]HQH[HPSOLHGLQWKHH[WUDFWEWKH
 RvFLDOVWDPSRQ/RXLHVLELUWKFHUWLFWDWH/RXLHVGRQLQVRZRXXOGEHFRPPRQSODFHZHU
 QRWIRUWKHIDFWWKDWIDEOXVVLWVDFURVWVKHERUGHUIURP,VUDHOLQWKHRFFXSLH
 /RXLHV FODLP WR FLWL]HQVQLS LV WKXV D GLVVLGHQWDFW,VLQ RQH ZKLFK DWWHPSWV
 GHVWDELOLVHH[LVWLQJSROLWLFDOERUGHUVVRDVRHQRDFWDQHZGHQLWLRQRIWKHQ
 ZKLFKKEHORQJVIRWHWKDWRXUFODLPWKDW/RXLHZRUNVVRDVRHUVKLVVWDVXVDFV
 GLVFXUVLYH UHQHJRWLDWLRQRIWKH,VUDHOLERUGHU GRHVQRWLPSO\WKDWKHLVXVF

UHJDUG/RXLHVFDSDFLWWRUHGQHWKWHWUPVRI,VUDHOLFLWL]HOVKLSDWOHWDVWIURPV
RIYLH~~W~~WIKHVVWDWHLVWLJKWOFROQVWUDLQHGELGHRORJLFDODQGLQVWLWXWLRRODOIRUFH
FRQWURO :KDW LQWHUHVVVV XV LQ KRZYHU LV QRW VR PXFK ~~Z~~HWKHU /RXLHV FODLP WR
FLWL]HOVKLSLVUHFRLVHG,QVWHDGZIRFXVRQKRVKHYHUFWRIFODLPLOJLVSDUWRIKDW
FRQVWLWXWHV/RXLHV~~R~~ZVHVQVHRIEHORQJLOJ

:KLOH~~Z~~WDNNH[FHUSW WRLOOXVWUDWWHKRDQJDXDJHFDQEHXVHGWRDFWLYHO~~Q~~HJRV
*citizenship-as-status*ZHDUJXHWKDWWKHLQWUDFWLWRLQHQH[FHUSWLVDOHQ[DP~~S~~OHRIFRQWHV
DQGUHFRQJXU~~L~~*citizenship-as-habitus*,PPHGLDWHO\$ULRUWRWKHH[FKDQJHLQHQ[FHUSW
/RXLHLVFKDWWLQJZLWK~~E~~XGDQRWKHURIWKHPDLQSURWDJRQLVWVRIWKH~~Q~~PDERXW~~E~~X
LPPLQHQWHPLJUDWLRQIURP,VUDHODIWHUKDYLQJUHFHLYHGDVQXPDEURDGE~~E~~XGGHFO

he does not plan to call his parents to tell them he is leaving since they have already made it
DHUWKL~~P~~WKDW~~W~~WKH~~R~~URGHUKLPDPHPEHU~~W~~KHDPLO~~K~~H~~D~~Q~~E~~X~~K~~DM
WKL~~N~~UDWL~~R~~LOH~~D~~ON~~D~~Q~~K~~HEHDKU~~S~~URHQGH~~L~~W~~K~~HU~~T~~HO~~E~~Y~~K~~H
Q~~P~~WKHQ~~P~~PHGLDWHO~~N~~W~~W~~KHW~~W~~KHP~~D~~ON~~D~~Q~~K~~HSDUN~~W~~WKHH~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~S~~URHQGH
KLOH~~D~~UDGLWLRQ~~S~~DEL~~F~~W~~R~~WKHU~~S~~WKHY~~W~~GR~~W~~KHUD~~K~~HDM
~~E~~X~~K~~H~~R~~W~~K~~H~~S~~R~~D~~U~~F~~WLD~~Q~~HURW~~K~~HPLG~~W~~Z~~W~~LHW~~K~~H~~Q~~W
BP~~E~~W~~K~~R~~W~~KHW~~W~~KHP~~W~~KH~~Q~~H~~L~~Q~~R~~W~~R~~W~~K~~HUA
Arabic in boldface, Hebrew _____
SHUOLHG

~~E~~X MDi šufto // xarrif ‘anno // qabl ma tšu:fak ‘e:najja

((singing)) what I’ve seen // tell me about it before my eyes see you

Louie: ~~S~~HLHLUMDHKD"

wow what a beautiful song right?

~~E~~XG VLQJLQJ’omri d’a::ji’

((singing)) I’ve been lost all my life

Louie: bti’ref ‘abdo kadde:š illi tna’šar sane ho:n? s’a:r li zama:n ‘a:jiš
ho:n?

you know Abdo how long have I been here (.) 12 years? I’ve lived here
for a long time.

~~E~~XG FRQWLQXHV VLQJLQJ

Louie: ~~D~~Q~~D~~OD~~D~~WLS~~D~~PH~~D~~W~~H~~D~~Q~~H~~L~~HH~~D~~G~~D~~UD~~M~~EDU~~R~~ER
~~D~~WD~~P~~HY~~Q~~H~~K~~DW~~L~~OOD~~L~~UHOD~~L~~UH~~L~~UH~~D~~UD~~D~~W~~O~~RD~~D~~WL~~N~~KLOX
~~D~~PD~~U~~WL~~H~~Q~~H~~L~~Q~~L~~D~~M~~U~~LP~~D~~UD~~M~~P

and like I never thought even once that I’d meet another Arab with the
same mindset do you understand? to start singing (.) e to sing e sing a
song in Arabic (.) I didn’t think, like, I said, that’s it I::: (.) I don’t have
Arab friends

~~E~~XGDQG/RXLHLQThe invisible men

~~W~~WKHVVDUWRIH[FHUSW/RXLHVWRSVVLQJLQJWRFRPPHQWLQHEUHZRQZKDWDZROGHUIXO
VRQJLWLW/RXLHV~~V~~ZLWFKWRHEUHZKHUHLVYHUPXFKDPDUNHGRQHOHUV~~R~~WRWRO
JLYHQWKDWDONEHWZHHQ/RXLHDQGE~~X~~GLQ~~F~~OXGLQJWKDWLPPHGLDWHO\$UHFHGLQJH
QRUPDOOWDNHVSODFHHQWLUHOLO~~S~~DEL~~F~~:KDWLVPRUHIURPERWKDWRS~~L~~FDODQGDVLV
SHUVSHFWLYHLWLVLQW~~H~~UHVVLQJWRKDYHDQDWLYH~~S~~DEL~~F~~VSHDNHUVZLWFKLQWRHEUHZ
QDWLYH~~S~~DEL~~F~~VSHDNHU ZKHQ GLVFXVVLQJ WKH EHDXWRI DQ~~S~~DEL~~F~~VRQJ~~E~~XG PDNHV Q
UHVSROVHWRWKHFRPPHQWDQG/RXLHVZLWFKHVEDFNLQWR~~S~~DEL~~F~~ZKLOHVKLIWLQJWKHV
GLVFXVVLQRIRKZORQJKHKDVEHHQOLYLQJLQ,VUDHO:KHQ~~E~~XGDJDLQIDLOVWRUHSO/RXL

VZVFKHVEDFNWR#EUH#DQGW#HOOV#SXG#WKDWEHIRUH#WKH#RH#WHDF#KR#WKHU/RXL#HQ#HYHUW#K
that he would meet another Arab with the same mindset and with whom he could sing a song
in Arabic/RXLHFRQFOXGHVEFODLPLQJVWLOOLQ#HEUHZWKDWKHKDGLYHQXSROKDYLOJ
S#DEIULHQGVKRXJKKHGRHVQVRWVDRH[SOLFLWOZH#DUHOHGWRXQGHUVWDQGWKDWDO
FKDQJHGZKHQ/RXLH#PHW#EXGDQGG#LVFRYHUHG#WKHSRV#VLELOLWRIEHLQJ#KLV#WUXHVHO
another Palestinian.

7KH#Q#HV#DQ#WKH#RP#KH#RPHV#LQ#HUSW#SHURP#D#EHUR
MPLW#L#LW#WKHP#WED#MOH#MOH#MUW#LQ#KDW#KH#H#MUW#K#K#K#H#G
meet another Arab with the same mindset relies on a presumed incompatibility between
KRM#NOL#WDQ#BOH#WLQD#M#H#W#L#W#H#S#W#L#Q#K#L#S#U#H#H#G#L#S#D#W#L#E#L#O#L#W#D#V#
WK#H#Q#U#D#W#L#M#E#D#N#W#K#L#M#H#Q#R#P#H#Q#L#Q#H#K#B#S#V#
KH#W#D#W#H#P#H#Q#W#K#M#W#K#H#H#H#W#R#H#S#U#B#K#W#K#H#G#R#L#Q#L#G#H#D#Q#R#H#
S#F#W#L#Q#D#O#H#W#L#Q#D#Q#D#E#L#W#Q#D#D#K#D#E#L#W#P#W#B#O#O#H#[D#M#H#U#W#W#
the same time, Louie also actively challenges this habitus through the discursive deployment
D#U#D#W#L#Q#U#R#H#H#K#W#L#Q#D#H#D#U#O#S#O#D#H#K#L#H#O#L#H#L#Q#K#H#L#P#S#K#E#L#O#L#W#\
of meeting another gay Palestinian in the past in Palestine – a chronotopic node that is
implicitly contrasted with the I-here-now DQKDP RI KLV LQWLPDFZLWK EXG
SHUIRUPHGRQDQ VUDHOLEHDFK

&UXFLDOO#WKHYHUMX#WDSRVLWLRQRIODQJXD#JHV#S#DELF#DQ#G#HEUHZ#VLGHRORJLFD
UHOHYDQWIRUWKHDFKLHYHPHQWRIFRQFRPLWDQWFRQ#F#W#L#Q#J#H#R#W#L#D#W#L#R#Q#V#R#I#E#H#O#R#
level, the I-here-now intimacy is discursively and visually produced through the proximities
E#S#D#Q#K#H#E#L#H#W#D#P#B#W#K#K#W#H#W#K#H#U#L#Q#D#E#L#F#W#L#V#
L#P#S#F#W#D#Q#W#H#W#K#D#W#P#B#W#K#K#D#W#K#H#W#D#W#H#D#U#P#W#K#L#H#L#D#Q#D#E#L#F#
H#H#W#L#H#S#D#U#W#L#D#U#O#W#K#H#K#H#L#G#G#O#H#D#W#D#Q#R#W#K#S#L#E#D#Q#K#H#U#H#L#R#R#
S#D#E#L#B#W#K#H#L#Q#K#H#U#H#L#E#V#D#P#B#W#K#P#P#H#D#
PUL#RXDUH#POLIHFRPSRXQGHGZLWK/RXLH#FRPPHQWVFRQMXUHXS#DPRPHQWRI
DNKWLQLDQGRXEOHYRFLQJWKH#DUH#WKH#PDQLIHVWDWLRQVRIWKH#VH#WZR#3DOHVWL
GHFODUDWLRQRID#HFWLRQIRU#HDFKR#WKHU#DVV#X#F#WKH#DUH#DOV#R#L#P#S#R#U#W#D#Q#W#G#L#V#X#
WKURXJKZKLFK#EXGDQG/RXLH#SRVLWLRQ#VDPHVH#LQWLPDF#D#V#O#H#J#L#W#L#P#D#W#H#O#E#H#O#R#J#L#
S#D#E#F#X#O#W#X#U#H#D#Q#G#3DOHVWLQLDQV#R#F#L#H#W#

,Q#X#P#W#K#H#L#Q#W#H#U#D#F#W#L#R#Q#V#L#Q#H#F#H#U#S#W#D#U#H#V#L#P#X#O#W#D#Q#H#R#X#V#O#H#P#E#R#G#L#P#H#Q#W#V#R#I#D#Q#
DJLDQV#D#Z#H#O#I#R#U#P#H#G#K#D#E#L#W#X#V#R#X#U#G#L#H#X#W#K#D#W#Y#L#H#Z#J#D#V#X#E#M#H#F#W#L#Y#L#W#L#H#V#I#
L#U#H#F#R#Q#F#L#O#D#E#O#H#Z#L#W#K#G#R#P#L#Q#D#Q#W#L#G#H#D#V#R#I#3DOHVWLQLDQV#H#O#I#K#R#R#G#K#H#V#R#Q#J#O#L#Q#H#H#H#
P#O#L#I#H#D#Q#G#W#K#H#V#H#Q#W#H#Q#F#H#Q#H#Y#H#U#W#K#R#X#J#K#W#H#Y#H#Q#R#Q#F#H#P#H#H#W#D#Q#S#D#E#Z#L#W#K#W#K#H#V#I#
P#L#Q#G#V#H#W#H#O#R#Q#D#Q#G#K#H#Q#F#H#U#H#S#U#R#G#X#F#H#Q#R#U#P#D#W#L#Y#H#F#R#Q#F#H#S#W#X#D#O#L#V#D#W#L#R#Q#V#R#I#Q#
sexuality for their illocutionary force; yet their very vocalisation challenges the validity of
such normativity by making same-sex desire and love between two Palestinian men a
tangible reality.

:KDW#L#W#L#Q#H#U#H#W#L#Q#H#M#U#L#W#K#D#W#K#H#M#P#L#W#L#P#D#M#L#Q#W#K#L#V#H#D#U#G#
W#D#N#S#O#D#H#H#Q#L#U#H#O#L#H#E#U#H#Z#K#L#M#W#D#E#O#H#M#D#M#K#W#L#Q#H#P#L#Q#D#H#
L#Q#M#U#L#W#H#D#G#K#D#S#D#U#W#L#D#U#O#D#Q#H#M#U#M#W#R#E#W#L#Q#S#H#D#N#U#Z#W#K#L#Q#
D#L#M#P#R#D#O#M#U#M#D#Q#K#H#O#S#W#B#H#L#W#L#P#D#W#H#D#S#H#D#N#U#H#O#R#D#Q#K#D#W#K#M#P#L#W#L#F#
S#D#H#L#O#O#K#L#O#H#W#K#H#U#H#P#L#K#W#E#H#R#W#W#H#P#S#W#Q#K#H#S#D#U#W#R#E#W#R#U#L#Q#L#M#R#
O#W#B#O#H#L#Q#D#E#L#K#H#R#E#U#H#Z#L#K#W#E#H#S#W#R#D#W#L#R#Q#W#W#H#P#S#W#H#G#
U#H#R#O#L#D#W#L#R#Q#D#O#H#W#L#Q#D#Q#W#K#W#K#H#P#R#D#O#M#U#M#D#H#O#L#H#W#H#Q#K#H#U#
E#G#E#K#H#E#U#H#Z#R#D#N#K#L#U#R#H#Q#K#H#H#H#W#L#M#O#U#H#L#W#H#U#D#W#H#D#E#H#O#L#H#L#Q#K#H#
L#P#S#E#L#O#L#W#P#Q#V#Q#D#E#L#D#Q#L#W#H#D#G#S#U#H#M#Q#D#M#H#W#L#E#W#D#Q#D#M#M#O#\
,MDHOLLH:HWHUQK#H#R#H#M#U#M#W#W#K#D#W#K#H#R#E#U#H#D#O#R#

RUGRO & RYHUQPQWDO UDWLRODOLWQ LOWURGXFWLRQJH RFXDXOW HühFW 6WXGLHV LQ
governmentality with two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault HGV XUFKHOO
 RGRROOHUQMUUWKLDEHKLDESS±

DOEHUWDP--DDHPLQFHHQHJUDQWKHHQWKHPDOWDQHWWR
 0

LOO-UKKHHEULHO5H5VELOLWDQMOLOP8HUHQLDQUUDWLMQ
The dialogic emergence of culture HGV FIGORFN QDQKHLPLYHUVLWRI, OOLQRLV3UHVV
 8'EDQD,SS±

RUQHU. LVFRXUVHV RQ ODQJXDJH DQG FLWLJHQVKLS LQ (XURSH) *Language and Linguistics
 Compass*SS±

,VLQ()KHRULJQJDFWVRIFLWLJHQVKLSLQ *Acts of citizenship* HGV(),VLQ0ILHOVHQ
 =HGRNV/RQGRQSS±

-HuHUVRQDRVVDURIWUDQVFULSWVPEROVZLWKDQLQWURGXFWLRQJH *Location analysis:
 WXGLHVIURPWKHJYVWJHQHGDWLRQHUR-RKQHQMDPLQV8VWHUGDPSS±*

.DXSSLQHQ. JXOO SRZHU GHVSLWH VWUHVV \$GLVFRXUVH DQDOWLFDO H[DPLQDWLRQ RI WKH
 interconnectedness of postfeminism and neoliberalism in the domain of work in an international
 RHOODLHQJ Discourse & CommunicationSS±

.HOOROPHV 0LODQLD HGV KHPDWLVLQJ PXOWLOLQJXDOLVPLQWKH PHGLD\$HFLDO
 issue of *Journal of Language and Politics*SS±

.HUIRRW&0WHQVWDP.HGVLQSUHVV *Entangled discourses: South–North orders of visibility,*
 5WOHGHQJ

.KDQDGHGHKHOVQVOLSMLWLDWLQKHEWLHQLSHUHPQ
 DQWKRLWDWLMGLMLM *Journal of Language and Politics*SS±

.LPPHUOLQJ% *The invention and decline of Israeliness: State, society and the military,*
 QMUUW8RORQDEHMHUNOH&

HQ DQH DQ WKH SRBLWLM[NOLWHELDQDQDQDHO. Palgrave
 DPLOODQMN

LGBT Asylum News, 8WLFOHVIRYHPEHUYDLODEOHIRPKWWSQWLZFFOLVWHUVVLQJ
 FRPFKDQDOBSKWPODFFHVHVGODUFG@

/LQGH&Life stories: The creation of coherence , Oxford University Press, Oxford.

KEKpLG(QV)UHGV 4MHUPLUDWLQ[NOLW8EWLHQLSDQERGHU
crossings, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

ODDQ7W WKHLQHUMWLQKUDQHQHGHQDQDQDGLK8L8F
 GHYQDQHWHL8EWLHQLSJ *Journal of Language and Politics*,SS±

OLODQLDQJXDJHDQGFVLWLJHQVKLS8RDGHQLQJWKHDJHQDQD *Journal of Language and
 Politics*SS±

OLODQLDEH[XDO FLWLJHQVKLS LVFRXUVHV VSDFHV DQG ERGLHV DW -REXUJ3ULGHJ
*Journal of Language and Politics*SS±

ORUJQD-8WRGHSRUWOHVELDQWR8DQGDIRUEHLQJVLQJOHIRUYHHDUVJGaystarnews,
 -Q DBLODEOH UR DWDUHQDUWL8H8H8EWOH8E8DQDEHLQ
 MQHMH8DU8HMGDUK@

Q 8KMY8LD7KHWKHQQWKHUH8HUM8LW8E8MUUW8HJV
 H8N

8UD8NHUL8R8GHU8R8H8[NOLWDQPLUDWLQ *Journal of Language and
 Politics*SS±

OHUV8RWRQ&KHQHJRWLWLRQRILGHQWLWLHVLQFRQYHUVDWLRQ8WKHRURIPDUNHGQHVV8DQ
 FRGHFKRL8H *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*SS±

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BSSp, *A history of modern Palestine: One land, two peoples*, Cambridge University Press,
 Cambridge.

BSSp,*The idea of Israel: A history of power and knowledge* 9HUVR/RQGRQ

3ROODN \$DQJ 79 GRFXPHQWDULHV\Q *Qualitative discourse analysis in the social sciences* HGVS RGDN0.UJF QZRZVNL3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQDVLQJVWRNHSS±

EFDUGI\WVWLPRLHVRI\WHIXJHHVDVFDUWRJUDSKLHVRIROLWLFDOVH[XDODQGHPRWLRQDO ERUGHUV\RXUQDORI/DQJXDJHDQGG\SSDOLW\

GLGPDQ6 *Beyond the closet: The transformation of gay and lesbian life* RXWOHGJHIHZ RUN

GD\3HOHG< *Being Israeli: The dynamics of multiple citizenship*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

RU-: *The discursive construction of the Scots language* -RKQHQMDPLQV\VVWHUGDP

:DOJHU/ WZHHQGRPDQG(GHQSDMRXUQH\WKURXJKWRGD\FKDQJLQJ,VUDHO, Columbia

QMUW\WHMN

:RDNQHS\UDQLGH\QLW\ *Language Teaching*, SS±

XYDODYLV\I *The politics of belonging: Intersectional contestations* , Sage, London.

Language and globalisation

Melissa L. Curtin

Introduction

7DNLOJ D FULWLFDO WUDQVIRUPDWLRQDOLVW YLHZI FRQWHP SRUDUJOREDOLVDWL
 examines ways in which linguistic practices and ideologies are shaped by – and contribute
 WEGQLRDO QLWLRQ ORDOLM OG 7KH UJ MWLR PDULMV
 GLuHUHQ DSSURKHWRHSHUWDQLORDOLDWLQ DUHWKDW *Language of*
globalisation is central to both the ideological framing and the enactment of globalising
 SURMVKHMRFMLGHUWKH *globalisation of language*, focusing on factors
 WKDW SEWLD ODRH DV FOG ODRH KLOH DORLQKH SUHDOHR
 GLuHUHQLDOPWLOLHOLFKHWKLUGMWLR[SORHOLEWLSUDWLHDLGLGHRHV
 MWFWHG LQHEPDLMGVH[WUUDOO WKH KDSWHU KKKLKW WKDW D ELWLBO
 ROLWLRDOLDWLROOLQWHWKH QHG E UHG RSWOLDWLQ
 language, linguistic practices and communicative competencies, and concludes by
 suggesting ways in which these reconceptualisations might fruitfully inform social-justice-
 orientated positions of alter-globalisation.

The language (and discourses) of globalisation

What is globalisation ?

FHQHDOODJUHHGSRQIHDWHRIFRQWHP SRUDUJOREDOLDWLROLOFOGHWKDWLWHQWDLQD
 FRPSOHMW RI SURFHMWKDW LQWHQM DQG HWHQM WKH FLUFDDWLRO RI LGHDVRRGV
 LQIRUPDWLRQ FDSLWDO DQG SHRSOH WKHM SURFHM KDYH EURKW DERW D ZGHQLOJ
 deepening, and speeding up of global interconnectedness in which the local and global are
 GHHSOHQKHGDQWKHLUENDULH DUHLQHDMDQONUHGDQHQOWKH
 LPSDWWRDOLDWLQOHORWHG QNLZWK WKH ORO QWLRO DQ
 UHLROHOGHWDO SSFKXHUDVHKRBOORDOLDWLQDV
 UHWHGLQQHOHUDWHGRSUHMVLPHDQSDHGGHQUM
 DRSDQHGEDULMORDOLPDLQILKSHROHWKHFOGUKDMDKHLKWHQG
 MRRDORWLEWVHHU

§ ZWK DOO ODEHOV KRZYHU WKH WHUP [DREDO]DWLROQLV SROVHPLF DOG VXEMHFVW
 FROWHVWDWLRO&RPPROFULWLTXHVLOQFOXGHWKDWLWLVLDIX]]FRQFHSWFRQVHVSURFH
 FRQGLWLRQV DOGRU LV D QH[X]]RUG IRU OROJH[LVWLOJ HFRQRPLF SROLWLFDO VRFLDO DO
 FXOWXUDOSKHQRPHQDHDUHHWW6FKLUDWR:HEE6WHJHU)RUFULWLFDO
 scholars, an over-riding concern is that dominant representations of globalisation elide
 causality, thus naturalising current processes and conditions as if they were an independent
 WHKRLMLMUQW\$SUBHOOLKRDQ WRHFWDEOH KDO SBLWLBO DQ
 HRLBLWLQUMS

:KLOHDOORRMDULDWLQWKLDKULHOGHWDOVOLA WKUHPDLQ
 DPSWRDUVQVKH JHDW DRDOLDWLGHEDWHKSHUORDOLMU\$SWLWLDQ
 transformationalists. *Hyperglobalisers* emphasise economic globalisation and argue that the
 ERGHUOHVBLEHUDOORDOPDUNWKXHUHGLQGHZSKZWKRDORPDWLQ
 XHUMGLDMVBOOSODQLDVLVDWHHRLBQSBLWLBO\$KUMU
 WKLVZOGRGHULVDMGGLuHUHQVWKH RVLPLW DPS RHMHDQPHULO
 DRDOEYOLDWLWKHELWLBO\$PSMHDULMWDOKRHDWLQWKD\$HULW
 LGHREL\$ODEUUDGLWLRODHLHOGHWDOS

Conversely, the *sceptic* camp argues against a historical disjuncture for contemporary
 HRLDRDOLDWLQKHVHWKDWHRLBLEHUDOLDWLQVLEWHSHQSR
 QWLRO HUPHQVHEDWR\$K\$UWKH\DOMH WKDW WKHUH LVD RLVG
 UHLROLDWLQVKH HRLQVHUH SULPDU\$OKRHEDBE\$Q\$RWK
 \$HUL\$UDOO WKHQKLEPS\$HULM\$DQLDWLQDRDOHRL\$HODWLQ
 LQ\$LOQVUH\$HGS\$W\$WHU\$H\$OLW\$DQLHUDUK\

Transformationalists observe an overall restructuring of global relations wherein the
 power and function of national governments is continuing yet *shifting* via constant
 negotiation with public and private entities at local, national, regional and global levels.
 DRDWKHU WKDQHZV\$KHHRD\$WKH SULPDU\$H\$DRDOLDWLQDRDO
 RSOH[ORDOWHPD\$DOWHKQ\$OSBLWLBO\$W\$DOH\$RDO

5HDUGLQW\$KDOORDOLDWLQ\$SHUORDOLMUMPSKDM\$SUHMHV\$BUG\$W\$KDO
 KRRQWLQ\$SHEDOO\$R\$WKH\$SUHDG\$PHUL\$Q\$RDU\$W\$KH\$DQ:HWHUQ
 consumerism. Sceptics, however, see a continued strength of national cultures in contrast to
 WKH\$H\$UDW\$OLW\$W\$KLDQDO\$W\$KH\$HOG\$HW\$DO\$S,QHHG\$HW\$KQ
 QWLRO LGHVLDWLQVQVHMLQ\$D\$SODHV\$SHROH UHDF W\$SUHMHVR
 HRLDRDOLDWLQ\$QULM\$EHURPPLUDV\$QUH\$H\$H\$UD\$PDWLQOLWV
 KRGDWKLUG\$H\$R\$V\$LDQ\$H\$M\$GL\$V\$H\$UPLQ\$W\$KH\$H\$Q\$SHROH\$K\$K
 SUB\$M\$ULWDEOH\$DRDOP\$D\$H\$H\$H\$UM\$H\$H\$H\$UM\$W\$KDO\$KEULG\$Q
 DRDOW\$W\$KDO\$Q\$W\$H\$HOGHWDOS

WMSULM\$S\$R\$DUGL\$M\$D\$R\$UULH\$GL\$H\$H\$H\$U\$H\$S\$W\$L\$R\$E\$W\$DRDOLDWLQ
 ,Q\$M\$M\$U\$W\$W\$G\$H\$V\$V\$UDOLD\$K\$Q-\$D\$SD\$H\$Z\$H\$D\$D\$Q\$W\$KH\$D\$Q\$W\$K
 \$DUH\$H\$W\$W\$K\$D\$W\$H\$U\$W\$DL\$Q\$R\$DL\$U\$H\$R\$P\$Q\$L\$W\$H\$G\$W\$K\$H\$R\$R
 SBLWLQ\$UD\$Q\$R\$P\$D\$W\$L\$R\$M\$U\$H\$S\$R\$H\$V\$M\$UL\$H\$G\$H\$G\$H\$U\$E\$O\$D\$W\$K\$H\$W\$K\$H\$U
 DRDOLDWLQ\$UULH\$V\$S\$R\$W\$L\$R\$Q\$D\$W\$L\$M\$O\$H\$H\$,Q\$D\$R\$H\$W\$K\$D\$W
 DRDOLDWLQ\$D\$V\$Q\$L\$H\$M\$G\$L\$Q\$UL\$M\$Q\$H\$D

OLEHUDOLDWLQ\$M\$OOD\$S\$BLWLBO\$W\$K\$D\$D\$Q\$D\$R\$H\$Q\$H\$G\$H\$V\$D\$Q\$ kokusaika
 LQ\$H\$U\$Q\$W\$L\$R\$O\$LD\$W\$L\$R\$D\$W\$L\$E\$D\$O\$D\$G\$E\$D\$SD\$Q\$W\$L\$R\$U\$W\$H\$V\$Q\$W\$L\$R\$OL\$G\$H\$W\$L\
 KLOH\$H\$D\$Q\$K\$H\$R\$D\$O\$H\$R\$K\$D\$LO\$D\$Q logapiwatanaVLJQLHVVSUHDGDURXQG
 WKHZRUOG\$D\$G\$F\$K\$D\$J\$H\$D\$O\$O\$R\$Y\$H\$U\$W\$K\$Z\$R\$O\$G\$K\$R\$Z\$H\$Y\$H\$U\$K\$D\$L\$V\$S\$UL\$P\$D\$U\$O\$S\$H\$U\$F\$H\$Y\$H\$J\$O\$E\$D\$O
 HFRQRPLF,Q\$Q\$J\$D\$S\$R\$U\$H\$J\$O\$E\$D\$O\$LD\$W\$L\$R\$Q\$G\$H\$Q\$R\$W\$H\$V\$F\$R\$P\$S\$H\$W\$L\$W\$Y\$H\$Q\$H\$V\$D\$Q\$G\$H\$Q\$W\$U\$H\$S\$U\$H

also creativity and foreign talent. Koh thus concludes that *discourses of globalisation are heteroglossic*

Globalisation as a keyword

7KHMGLuHUHQWGHUWDOGLOJN... LOREDOLDWLRO... HPLOGWKDWWKHPHDQLOQRIDQWHPUP varies according to how individuals are positioned in particular contexts at particular points... LOVLPHDQLOHODWLR... RDUWLR... DULGH... RH... QW... RDOLDWL... RH... SHUWR... RDV DNRG... PHUL... Q... LO... SHUL... R... D... SLG... K... DOK... H... :LOOLDP... V... HUJ... ZWKDOON... E... G... RDOLDWL... R... M... E... W... K... L... GH... D... Q... D... ON... T... U... W... DL... N... V DUHE... N... RR... WK... HU... Z... WK... HU... W... DL... Q... M... HL... Q... W... KH... D... Q... RH... W... D... Q... WK... HS... U... RO... HP... K... LW... PH... D... Q... U... H... Q... [WULDEOE... N... SZWK... WKH... SU... RO... HP... V... W... L... E... HL... NG... W... GL... X :LOOLDP... S... SH... MU... WK... HO... H... M... RDOLDWL... R... K... D... MS... K... D... M... D... D... Q... Q... OW... LF... M... U... W... R... S... W... B... O... M... H... K... G... EH... Ø... D... UL... HG... 5... DW... KH... U... WK... D... W... DN... L... OOLDP... K... L... WR... L... B... O MPD... Q... LB... SS... UR... K... K... M... U... ,DGR... W... WH... HU... W... UD... WH... K... Q... Lu... HU... H... Q... WH... UP... K... H... Q... GL... K... D... U... W... L... R... D... UD... H... W... RDOLDWL... R... K... H... M... WH... UP... DUH globalisation, globalism and globality... D... Q... G... WK... HD... U... H... X... V... H... G... WR... GL... u... HU... H... Q... W... LD... W... H... E... H... S... Z... H... L... O... gologies, and the resulting conditions of globalisation.

A working definition of globalisation

HOGHWDOGHMULEH... LOREDOLDWLRO... D... M... WR... IS... UR... F... H... W... WK... DW... H... P... ER... GL... H... D... W... UD... Q... R... UP... DW... LR... Q... LO the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their H[W... H... Q... W... L... Q... H... W... M... O... R... W... D... Q... L... P... S... D... W... H... H... U... D... W... L... Q... U... D... W... L... Q... W... D... O... R... L... Q... H... U... U... H... L... R... O... X... D... Q... Q... W... E... N... D... W... L... W... L... Q... H... U... D... W... L... Q... W... K... H... H... [H... U... E... M... S... H... U... 'S... 7... K... X... Ø... RDOLDWL... R... Q... M... Y... D... Q... W... E... N... D... E... S... DH... D... Q... W... L... P... H... D... W... K... H... M... R... H... U... D... W... H... L... Q... dynamic relationship with more spatially delimited processes on local, national and regional OH... M... O... V... HD... U... GL... Q... V... K... H... M... D... Q... Q... W... E... N... S... S... D... G... N... DL... W... O... L... Q... V... S... U... L... P... D... U... \ L... Q... H... U... W... Z... H... G... H... W... G... L... M... W... L... M... P... S... H... W... K... R... S... H... R... H... G... L... D... S... H... W... H... K... R... S... H... Q... S... H... V... D... Q... L... G... H... S... H... P... S... R... W... D... Q... O... O... D... Q... H... L... M... Q... U... D... O... W... R... D... K... G... L... P... H... Q... R... L... Q... S... H... M... Q... W... K... H... L... Q... H... G... L... E... O... U... D... S... L... G... P... H... P... H... Q... V... R... D... O... B... S... L... W... D... O... D... R... H... L... W... D... O... W... R... L... P... D... W... L... R... D... N... G... H... Z... S... L... W... D... O... L... M... K... L... K... D... O... N... H... O... L... H... S... K... S... H... U... R... P... L... D... W... L... R... O... D... R... H... H... O... O... H... U... D... Q... G... L... M... W... [L... E... L... O... L... W... H... L... W... K... R... S... H... V... M... H... R... O... H... L... Q... L... P... P... L... U... D... W... W... E... N... U... V... H... H... W... K... L... W... D... Q... W... K... H... L... Q... H... U... Q... W... L... R... O... H... O... L... W... H... 7... K... H... M... O... D... U... H... F... O... H... P... H... P... H... Q... V... L... Q... G... H... K... L... E... W... L... U... H... S... H... U... W... R... U... H... V... D... Q... O... D... R... H... ideologies, which both challenge and reinforce longstanding language attitudes and practices.

,G... H... S... H... V... M... W... E... N... H... V... W... D... W... H... D... Q... W... H... U... L... G... H... Ø... R... H... V... Ø... L... R... S... H... W... L... Q... discourses of globalism as well as ideologies about language, identity and territory.

7... H... K... R... S... H... W... K... H... U... D... S... L... G... R... D... Q... Q... G... W... H... K... Ø... R... H... E... W... K... D... S... H... D... Q... U... H... S... Q... W... R... Q... D... O... D... Q... D... U... H... W... L... K... W... O... L... P... E... U... L... B... W... H... G... Z... W... K... P... H... G... L... D... S... H... W... K... H... R... R... P... D... W... L... Q... W... K... increasingly blurred boundaries between news, politics and commodities. Language is Ø... H... D... U... O... F... H... U... D... O... W... R... W... H... K... R... S... H... V... D... Q... P... H... G... L... D... S... H... W... D... V... Q... U... D... Q... W... L... R... O... H... I... D... -D... H... H... U... D... W... K... H... G... L... M... R... Q... H... U... Q... W... L... R... O... R... D... Q... W... L... Q... W... K... H... R... W... H... G... D... W... L... Q... W... K... H... R... H... D... Q... R... H... H... S... H... D... H... D... L... U... Ø... K... D... Q... W... K... H... Ø... G... Z... G... H... R... Ø... D... U... W... K... H... W... M... L... B... R... Ø... W... W... R... H... U... M... H... W... K... H... L... P... S... R... W... D... H... R... L... E... W... L... F... G... L... M... M... S... U... D... W... L... H... M... Q... O... O... M... G... L... P... H... Q... R... D... O... L... D... W... L... R... M... O... O... D... W... K... H... P... Ø... W... L... H... Q... W... L... X... R... L... E... W... L... E... H... M... H... D... U... R... W... K... H... Ø... G... R... P... D... U... H... R... D... M... [W... K... Ø... S... H... \ Ø... R... P... D... H... U... W... L... P... L... O... D... U... O... P... U... M... W... K... D... W... O... D... R... H... L... M... Q... U... L... W... R... R... D... O... L... D... W... L... R... linguascape.

Globalism(s)

OREDOLVDUHLGHRORJLHWKDWHOGRZVXKHFQFHSWRIJOREDOLDWLRQZWKSDUWLFODUYDOMV
DOGPHDQLOJW/HJHUSV/HJHURXOLOQHWKUHHPDQWSHRIJOREDOLVZWK
SHFLSROLWLFODDJHQGDWGDW/MHNWRKDSHWKXJOREDOLPDJLODUDQGIWVHFROGLWLRQRI
globality: *market globalism*, *MWLHORDOLF* and *religious globalism*.

Religious globalisms are conservative ideologies that envision a single, all-encompassing religious community superseding all state and political structures. While many religions LPDLHDDORDONWUHOLLEORDOLVDUHQHUWVDM[WUHPHQDPHQDOLWV
H[DPSOHQ4DHGDVLEMR MLKDG *umma* presents an imagined global community
LQWUHQHDDLQPDUNWDRDOLMWHHU,WKHQWGHGVDWHDLUOK
MHVQQHUDWLEHWHZHQHOLLQDPUNWDRDOLFKHUH WKH IDU R
7HUURIGLEMM RELQZWK HOLEHUDO PDUNW GLEMM WKXHLWLPLMD
continued US global hegemony.

Market globalism SUHVHQWVJOREDOLVDWLRQLQUHGXFWLYHQHROLEHUDOHFRQRPLFWHUP
LWZLWKWUDGHOLEHUDOLVDWLRQKLVGHVFRXGLHGXFKDVL Business Week, The
Economist, Financial Times and The Wall Street Journal W/HJHURUHRYHULWVLWHUDWLYH
GLVHPLQDWRQEQPHGLDHGXFDWRQEXVLQHVVDQGRJYHUQPHQWRUPVDKHJHPRQLFQ
RUGHURIGLVFRXUVHWKDWLGHDLVHVDZRUOGRIFRQVXPHULVPDQGIUHHDPUNHWV)DLUFOR
7KLVKHWRLORDOLDWLRQRSHWLWLMQVOREMMUPHQVSRLEOLW\
WRGGUHWUWVNDOSUROHHUHUHPSORHQ:HLVGH[H[DPSOH
:HLGHVLEHDWVHSWUDRDPDWLMDURHQVLRDOLDWLRKHWRLUWVGH
LWKHGHUHQDWHGQEDOPDUNWKGHDMMHQVROOQWLRORHLEHEMVKLV
is depoliticised by constructing global economic constraints as both necessary and beyond the
QWLVDWHVURGHQKHMVUDLQDUHUHQHUGD *virtue* and all political action is
GLUHWGHVUGRHHWLVKLVLEFDPHKDWKHPDLEPQISHWLWLMQV
DQ[LELOLWVLSORDOLDWLRKHWRLHSHEDOODuHFWKHPSONG
KRUHMHQSHUNOOHSHVQOHRWKHLUSOLKWDQDGMGWBRUHA[LEOHN
MOODMOOD[LEOHPLQWKUKOLHQHQUQLSWDORHDWHV
a milieu of instability and anxiety for *all*ZRUNHUVDQGRQVHTXHQWOGVFLSOLQHVWKHDLPVRI
workers and trade unions. Operating as a GRKGLHXVKHQDUNWDRDOLF
ODUHQRHMMGHUDWLRKHKDRPDRDOLDWLRQLUDWHEE
MMUWKHKHHPHQGHORRDOGLMMLMURSOWHKLKEULV
to justice globalism.

Justice globalisms LVGHQHLQUHVSHFWWRFLWLJHQVURXSZKLFKKDYHORQJVWULYHQIR
FHQWUDOUROHLQVKDSLQJWKHHFRQRPLFDQGSROLWLFDRUGHUPLWK(VSHFLDOOVLFQI
ODWHV KRZHYHDFWLYLVVWKDYH PRELOLVHG WRFRPEDWQHROLEHUDO SUDFWLFWFRQ
UHVSROVLEOHIRUPDQRIWKHZRUOGVFRFLDOSROLWLFDOHFRQRPLFDQGHQYLURQPHQWDO
,QWKHGRPLQDQWGLVFRXUVHRIEXVLQHVVEUXHDXFUDFLHVDQGPHGDKVHVDPQWLJOR
HuRUWVDUHUHSHDWHGOGHVFULEHG DVPLVLQIRUPHG GLVURJDQLVHG DQGXQUHDOLVW
:HEE RZHYH ZKLOH VRPH DFWLYLVV IRFXV RQ ORFDO FRPPXQLWLHV DQG GH
JOREDOLJWLRQPRJKDGP VRFLOMXXVLFH PRYHPHQWV DUH ODUJHOHuRUWV WRZDU
alternative forms of globalisation based on co-operation and inclusion, *not* economic
RSHWLWLRWK

-WLHORDOLFVHGHGLQHPEDPMPHQV KDYWKHSDSULO
GHPVUDWLRQLDQUNPHVDQEUHOODNPHQ,W
has also been central to Occupy Movements and anti-austerity protests around the world.
RH[DPSOHDUWtSRIDQMKVKH R Indignados movement both

also unmask ideologies driving neo-liberal global capitalism and encourage consideration of alternative ideologies towards building a more just social world. We now turn to the second main thread of this discussion, the globalisation and hegemonic positioning of

The globalisation of language

World languages (WLs)

languages.⁴ *FRUGLQWR(WKQORRJKWKHUHDHSSUR[PDWHCOEHLWQHYHQOGLWULEWHGOLYLOJ*
SHDNUQDQDUHDQDULQLKQLGKDKSDELDOD
,QRMDQDOLFWKMSDQSDHMJHUPDQDQ,WDOLDQ ⁵*HWD:/*
LWGHWHUPLGGEREHURHDNUDORFLWDEGHBDQURGHQ
PRHOQLKODRHYDUHKLHUDUKLMGE\WKHLUFWLWYWKHREHUWKHU
ODRHYQSHDNUWKLKDMQDODRHYFWHGMDPQWLOLQOLNOLK
ZWKWKHKLKHWGLUHWFWLWYWKHKSUHQUDQ\WKHUHDHSHUHQUDQ
ODRHYDELKLMJHQHUPDQQL-DSDM DOD\,QRMDQ
FWKMSDQDQDQDKLQLOOEWQKLOLKDMMUPLOOLSHDNUV
7KHMUDHMREGEDEN\WKHUHQUDQDORHKLKWRWKHUHDHSHQ
DENSHUHQKQDQ7KHMODRHYDUHMGLOLWYWLQDQPHGLDDUH
MOOQWLBORREDOODRHYQDUHKLKOWDQDUGLMDGULHWLHV
PRQDKHQRDOUHDRKFWKHLUNWLEEHUR
SHDNUQWLM DQ QWLM REDO WDWXQWULHDQ LQHUQWLRQ
RDQWLEEHURRDORSDDQHWKHOORHDQLPSEWDQ
HRLWUHQKQWLM SHDNUKLOHQLKLWKHSUHGRLQQ :PR
 emphasises the persistent identity function of non-English languages and the *plurality of*
WLsXVHGLQPRVWOELODWHUDOFRQWH\WV

HLGOKRIHU DJUHHV WKDW (QJOLVK DV DQ LQWHUQDWLRQDO ODQJXDJH (/ LV DQ
unprecedented phenomenon superseding all WLs in domains of use and global coverage.

MMUEHDMPWQLKDDOLRUDRSHDNUDUHQWLMKH
DUHWKDWWKHWDWXLV not mainly due to the economic and political power of
QRKQWLRQWUDWKHUW\WKHORDOQHGRDOLRUDRKHDUHKKMMU
WKDWMMR\H[SHULHQDWKUHDWW\WKHLUFWKDOLGHQWLWHHDMLSDUW
RPQWLOLQOGLMULWQZGGHGWRDUWLQDULGHQWLWHDGPLWWHGOKMMU
LQNGW\KHHQDSDWDQWRDQDQSLWDOLMULHGPDQMMUQ increase in
DOWHUQWLMLGHQLPWLRQDMGRPPLUDQWDWMLRQORWLRQLQLHV
D\SHROHMDUKRPRHWDEOH DQ UWHGLGHQLPWLRQKHMJHQDWLRQ
LGHQLPWLRQHUPLQLKHUDUKLBOUHODWLRQHFWHGLQDNGORONHR
ODRHY\KMHSLWHDQWLRQWLRQDQGHGHQHUCLMMQDQ
KRDUYHMH OLWWOH OLNOLKRWLWLRQLQLEGNORHWDOQWLOLQOLFWR
QRDOQLKQMMU DQOQWLOLQOLFWDUH\QGHUHG HROLQ
 globalising world.

Globalisation and differential multilingualism

,Q (MRSH DO REMUYHV KLIW LQ WKH ODQJXDJH UHJLPH\URPFRHUFlyHPROR
OLQDOLFWRFRHUFlyHPQWLOLQDOLFWKLYDORULQWLRQRIPQWLOLQDOLFWKWRWKH

QHHGRUDNQRZHGJHVRFLHWDOGWRGHPFRUDWLFHuRUWVUHFJRQLVLQJUHJLRQDOODQJXD
FRQGLWLRQVRI VXSHUGLYHUVLWVRYHYU=DSSHWLQL VHHV D KHW HURJHQLWLQ RvFLDO
GLVFRXUVHVRQPXOWLOLQJXDOLVPZWKWHQVLRQVEHWHZHQQRJLQJUHLEFDWLROVRIODQJ
VWDWLF QDWLRQDO LGHQWLWLHV (XURSH DV DXPRI LWV SDUWVYTHUVXV ODOQJXDJHV DV
QDWLRQDOFRPPRGLHG HQWLWLHVGLVVRFLDWHGIURPLGHQWLWLHV

1RW VXUSULVLQJOGLuHUHQW PXOWLOLQJXDO UHSHUWRLUHV DUH QRW HTXDOOYDOX
PLJKWWHUPGLuHUHQWLDOPXOWLOLQJXDOLVPVDO QRWHVSDQ(XURSHDQHOLWHVWDW
XVXDOOLQGH[HGYLDSURFLHQFLQ(QJOLVK)UHQFKHUPDQDQGDQRWKHUODQJXDJH:RGDN
.UJ)DQRZNL DQG)RUFKWQHU REVHUYH WKDW LQ (8 LQVWLWXWLRQV PXOWLOLQJXDOLVP L
LQWHUDFWLRQDOOLVXDWXWHGZWKFRQWH[WGHSHQGHQWIDFWRUWVKDSLQJDLQGLYLG
PXOWLOLQJXDOLVP)RPHWLPHVPRUH SUHVWLJLRXV ODOQJXDJHV LH (QJOLVK)UHQFKHUPDQ
DUH XVHG DV D VWUDWHJRI KHJHPROLF PXOWLOLQJXDOLVP)RU VHWWLQJ PHHWLQJ DJHQG
PDQJLQJ LQWHUDFWLRQV EHWZHQ SDUWLFLSDQV KR PDVSHDN DQRI WKH RvFLDO (8
ODOQJXDJHV)RWKHUWLPHVWKHJRORIHVFLHQWFRPPXQLFDWLRQGHWHUPLQHVZLFKOLQJ
UHVRXUFHV WR XVH UHJUGOHVV RI ODOQJXDJHV)UHODWLYH SUHVWLJH)RPPDHUW DUJXH
WUDGLWLRQDOYLH)RIPXOWLOLQJXDOLVPDWRJHWKHUVDFFRUGLQDWXGHVHRMHSUDV
SURSRVLQJLQVWHDGKQRWLRQRI)UXQFDWHGXPXOWLOLQJXDOLVP)WKVSHDNHUVGUDI
complex of SHEF MPLWLFHNNH)HQVULHVLWHLWHU)HQV)DOLWLH
RH K L K E H O R V D N V L R O O G H G O D D H K L O H W K H U E H O R V
D Q K H U O D D H S 7 U D W H G P W L O L E O L M U H D O W D O N G H S O O \
D E W H W O L E W L P D U N W W K M Y K H E O E O C H P S R D U O R D O L D W L Q
R H O L E W L E H N H K D M P K U H D W H U M P L W L P R L O L W W K D Q K H U Y
7 K M B O U H L R O D Q O R D O O D Q H H R R H D U H G H H S O G Q P L F K H R S O H [L W \
W K H M H R R H M Y G H E G L Q D Q H D Q O R D O L D W L R Q D U G L M U H Q V H Z R V
W H N P D U L M G M H O G H W D O W S O R S H U O R D O L W K R R D O

linguistic imperialism and concerns of linguistic homogenisation; sceptics, who observe
R Q U R M D L E W L R O L D W L R Q K H W H U R Q W L Q D H H B U L D W L R Q
S H E D W L R Q W U D N P D W L R O L W K R P S K D M H O R O L M G O D D H P L [L Q
O L E W L K E U L G L D W L R W K D W W U D G L W L R O L R Q H G O D D H D Q E H G
N W K H K R G E H R S O H W H O U H D K L R G - D P H M

The hyperglobalists: homogenising WLS?

Despite widespread societal and individual multilingualism, hyperglobalists see the
K H H P R U H D G R L K D M K R R Q M R H 7 K H R W L P L W L E U D Q H M W K H
Z G H S U H D G M I D P D U K L W B U G W K H Q D U W R L G H M O R P H V D O R D O
Q L K L Q L K L Q H O O L L E L O L W D Q L G H Q L W K D S S L O R [L W S W D O S 7 K H
more pessimistic branch holds a linguistic imperialism viewpoint, seeing the spread of
O R D O Q L K H S H E D O O P H U L E Q L K D Q R K R P D U N W O R D O L P D E Q
O L E W L B Q N W X D O K R R Q W L R L O O L S Q H G H E L E H O R D O Q L K D V
D N O O H U O D D H U H S R E O H R W K H U D S L G G L S S H D U D H R D R K H E O G O D D H V
N Q E E . D Q V

, W L W U N W K D W W K H E O G O D D H V D U H G L S S H D U L D W D O D U P L Q D W H : L W K R
O D D H G L E M U W F H N M U D H O L E W M W L P D W H W K D W W R H U H Q Z O O
no longer be spoken within a hundred years. However, while English did largely supplant
indigenous and immigrant languages in settlerFRORQLHV V X F K D V W K H O Q Q X V W U D O L D L W L V
T X H V W L R Q D E O H Z K H W K H U W K H X V H R I (Q J O L V K D V D : / L V H [H U W L Q J L U H F W S U H V V X U H R Q L
O D Q J X D J H V H O V H Z K H U H O X I Z H Q H D V V H U W V W K D W D Z L G H V S U H D G V K L I W W R (Q J O L V K D

FRQVHTXHQWORVRILOGLJHORXVODQJXDJHVLVQRWKLJKO'OLNHOWRFFXU LQIRUPHU
H[SORLWDVFRQDLHVHVSHFLDOOLQJLFLD5DWKHUWKDQH[SHULHQFLOJSUHVXUHVIURP:
ethnic vernaculars are primarily experiencing language-shift pressure from urban vernaculars
DQUHLRQOOLRUDQKMDQODLQKHHPRDWLHSHKOLRKLLOL
LQW\$ILBDQ7RPELDLQPELDHQ,SDQKSHDNQWLQ
PHULBNMHPLODUSURMMMQSODHFWKPKEDMGWRLMMDQ
7HWLWOiGHODOOHD[DBH[LKHUHPDRLOGUHQUHKLWLQR=DSWHWR
Spanish.

The sceptics: heterogeneous, localising language processes (language variation and linguistic speciation)

5DWKHUWKDQDQWLFLSDWLQJWKHHPHUHQFHRIKRPRIHQHRRQREDO(QJOLKWKLMPSIRFMV
RQ:RUOG(QJOLKHVQRFDOOLQGLJHQLMGYDULHWHLHWKDWDUHLPSRUWDQWIRUQDWLRQDORU
UHJLRQDOLGHQWLFDWLRODQGDUHPRDQJHJHQWKHLURZULJKWQDQWHLWLPQWRDKHDOWKX
QJORSKRQHJORRGLYHUMWTPHS7KHMLOLQJWQZRWHWKHUHKDV *always*
been language spread and language contact, language death and language birth, as well as
historical moments in which a dominant lingua franca stretched across vast expanses of
WHUULWRKDDWLQKLVKHWLPHWKH5RDQSLUH\$DELWKUKKWKH\$W
,QDPLFDELPSLUHVKHHLKWKHQKQZLWWHQELMSUHODMBOODMBO
DQSWEDMBOGMLPQQWLHMLQGMWDDWLQQLHQMGLQZ
MUQNDUMULHWHLKLKZUHODWHUWDDQDUGLMDQDWLRQOODHFWOO
OLNORLQWGLMUHEWDO7KEDWKHUWKDQULMVKHEOGWBUGV
PRLQOLPWKHGLuHUHQVLDQHWLRLKSSHDUWRHFWLWVLDQHP
RLMUMWRDQGHURVWKDWLMDUHOLNOZWQMDQHELUWK *as well as death*
HQSRHRRDUWHQWRIOHEUDWHWKHSOKDOLWMMU
WKHMMDULHWHLM[LWLHQBOKLHUDUKLBOUHODWLQLSVXDSQDUWEHDM
QWLMQLKHXHUHSHROHRRHDQHMVUDUHWKHPDMRLWDUHOHLWLPLMGMU
LQLHQHGQLKHVRRHDQHMVHUNH

The transformationalists: a call for new understandings of language, culture and identity

7UDQIRUPDWLRQDOLW RFLROLQJWVDRHPSKDMWKH ORFDOLQJ SURFHMVRI ODOJHJH
YUHDGRZYHUVKWK DFFHOHUDWLRORI OLOJWLF GLYHUMWRWVLOLOJOLVDOGQRQ
WDQGDUGODQJHPL[QJLQORFDOLMGQLOJWLFUHSUWRLUHWKHMFKRODUDSSUHKHQGD
KLWRULFDQGLMDFWMLHQDQJHJHSHUHDGQGSUDFWLH5DWKHUWKDQSUHMLQJRPRIHQHLWV
stability and boundedness of languages and speakers, transformationalists emphasise an
unprecedented degree of linguistic hybridisation, and argue for a paradigm shift in a
sociolinguistics of globalisation that takes as a *starting point* WKHFROGLWLRQVRMXSHUGLYHUVLWV
ORPPDHUWKLVEULQJVXVWRWKHFKDSWHUVUHPDLQLQJWKUHDGH[DPLQLQJOLQJXLVWV
SUDFWLHVVLQVSHFLFQOREDOOLQXHQFHGEXWORFDQJURXQGHGERQWH[VV

Linguistic repertoires (and hierarchies) in glocalised contexts

HSHQGLQXROLQWHUDFWLRODQFRQWHVWVODQJHJHPL[QJKDVEHHQODEHOOHGDMVH
BNKWLO WUDQVODQJHJHPL[QJHVVH QDFNOHGJH WUDQVOLQJHDO SUDFWLHVV
&DQJDUDMDK WUDQVLGLRPDWLFLWVDFTHPHWVXHUHUHQDFQDUDVORPPDHUW

While creative, hybrid linguistic practices are often exercised by youth cultures and
PDULQOLMGUENVDHMDHWRKHHPKLUHUKLHWELHMDMHUWHMDO
WKHOLPLWDWLEVKHMWUDWHLHMQLDQENPRHHKWDEOHWUNEDORLWLE
addition, especially in globalised business and institution settings where language is viewed
DVALEOHRPGLWDOOQHWKDW WUDQWLBOKMHWWHQ[SHULHQ
linguistic anxiety; instead of embracing linguistic hybridity, they seek *semiotic stability*,
viewing language as rooted in communal identity.

7KLGLKQHMDOWMMUDO N\SRVUHDUGLQDDRH DQ ORDOLDWLE
globalisation. One concerns a heated friction between our late modern condition of highly
porous boundaries of territory, language and identity versus enduring ideological constructs
VKHLU JLWDQEHGHWKHU SRO LWKDW OLEWLEHSHUWRUHDUHDFLEHG
GLuHUHQ DON EDOD\SRLWLBOD\HRLDOD\DEGLQVWKH SDUWLEODU BOHG
OLEWLPDUNWMLKWKHDUHLWVWHGDMOUDHODWHGSRVLWKDWHASLWDOLF
HDWVHMDQVHQGHUHWUWKHGRPLEWLEQDQHZWKODQHEUODWLO
DMVHMHQDORDOLMGOLEWLPDUNWVWKNEQWENQSEUUHODWLE
SUHMUMYKHSRWLEVKHOLWHMOOHU7KHMOLQWLEMKDMMLDO
VHQWKKWKHVOGDQKLKOLKWWKHVHGEPHRSUWHGODQH
and globalisation social-justice movement – a point to which we now turn.

Mobilities, human rights, and social inclusion: time for a Language and Globalisation Social Justice Movement (LG-SJM)

FRUGLQJRWVKH:RUOGONLQWKHUHUIHRYHUPLOOLROLOWHUODWLRQDOPLJUDQ
RUOGZGH WKH YDVW PDMRULWRI HPSORRHQW DJH DOG DERW PLOOLRO UHIXHV
SGLWLRQDOOWKHUH DV D UHFRUG KLJK RI ELOOLRO LOWHUODWLRQDO WRKLVVW
SSDGKDLVWKVSHVLEWRHDHQUDOGLPHQDORDOLDWLEKX

many sociolinguists of globalisation emphasise that we are living in a time of unprecedented
XHUGLMUWHORPDHUW 5DPSWR conditions which raises issues about
evaluations of linguistic practices in a broad range of contexts including human rights,
transnational migration and employment.

RH[DPSOHKHEBOWLEQVMMHNUUUDWLMREDODQWQWQVHQ
MDDRHQDQVWKH GHWHUPLQWLEKLLQMMHQ 7KHM
UHQV\HQVLO ENLEWLEHOLHIDQ SUHMLSWLMP GHWHUPLQD SHUQ
OLEWLEWVKHVLEWVGHVQDUHV\DKWZWKV\DPLEGDNSWLEW
ODQHQLRO LGHV\WVQRPQWLMRSHWHV\DPHW S
RHOLEWVWKVGEVHWRPRHKLWLEWVHGQOMVMMHNUOR

speaking, which take into account porous borders, language variation, and – especially for
those with traumatic life histories – the likelihood of more fractured language socialisation
DQWUHQWHGOLQWLEHSHUWRUHQDMORPDHUW DUKWKDWDQVQ
MHNUV\OLNOPLMDONVHGEWVKHVRHHDV\QDQDQVMMKLV
DERPDOLEWLEHSHUWRUH7KHRH2HKHOGWKHPGHUQVWHV\KDWDOO5DQDQ
KNGESURHQV\QKHQWLEOODQHV\QDQDQVHQMU\MSKQ

had no formal education, had lived a marginalised existence in several super-diverse areas
DQKDGMMV\OGHMOBHGDWUQVHGPVWLOLEOLVORPDHUWV\QVODUKV
that, because his truncated multilingualism *supports* his life narrative of enduring ethnic
WULHDUDQHRGH\MSKOLNO\ wasDZDQGDQUHIXJHH

/LQJLVVVKDYHWULHGWRDGGUHVVJRYHUQPHQWDJHQFLHVPLVXVHRIODQJXDJDHQ
GHWHUPLQHFRXQWURIRULJLQ,Q-XQHDQLQWHUQDWRQDOJURXSRIOLQJXLVWVGUDIWHG

JXLGHOLQHVRUJRYHUQPHQWVDOGDJHQLFHVWRFRQLGHUZHOFROGXFWLQJ/\$DVHVHVPFH
7KHVH JXLGHOLQHV ZUH HQGRUVHG E'SURIHVVLRQDO RUJDQLVDWLRQV LOFOXGLOJ WKH
\$VRFLDWLRQIRUS\$OLHG/LOJXLVWLVFDQGWKH,QWHUQDWLRQDO\$VRFLDWLRQRI)RUHQVLF/
8QIRUWXQDWHQHLWKHUWKH8.RPH2vFHQRU6SUDNDE6ZGLVKFRPSDQWKDWSURLGHV/
OLQJXLVWLVFDQDOVLVHUYLHVWRWKDWRvFHDVZOODVWKHJRYHUQPHQWVRI&DQGD
DQGWKH1HWKHUODQGVROORZWKHVHJXLGHOLQHVDQLDU

/DQJXDJHSURFELHQFDOVRVHUYHVDVDJDWHNHSHUIRUHPSORRHQWIRUPLJUDQWVRZHU
HYHQZHQPLJUDQWVKDYHDKLJKOHYHORISURFELHQFLODKRWWFRXQWUWODQJXDJHVWKHUH
DUHRIWHQSHQDOWLHVIRUDSHUFHLYHGODFNRIQJLWLPDWHFRPPXQLFDWLYHFRPSHWHQFH
7KLVSRLQWLHYLGHQFHGLQDQPSORRHQWFRQWH[WVZLFKDYHDQDFHQWFHLOLQJ
HuHFWZHUHEQLQJXLVWLVGLVFULPLQDWLRQVHUUYHVDVDSURIRURWKHUIRUPRIGLVFULPLQD
3LOOHU7DNDKDKL,WLVDOVRDWSODKHQPLJUDQWSSOLFQWVH[SHULHQFHDQLOJXLVWLV
SHQDOWKHQWVWULYQJWRFRQYHMKHHTXLYDOHQFHRIWKHLUIRUHLQUNH[SHULHQFHGXUL
LQWHUYLHVZWKDWIROORZVULFWVWVWQGDUGLVHGIRUPDWVWLOWKHQDPHRITXDOLVREHU

:LWKWKHRIKXPDOVLVXHVRIODQJXDJHSURFELHQFDOQFRPPXQLFDWLYHFRPSHWHQFLHV
ZOOFRWLQXHWRLOKHUHZWKLODEURGUDQJHRIKXPDOVLKVVFRQWH[WVLOFOXGLOJ
KHDULQJVKHDOWKHUYLHVHGXFWDWLRQDOSSRUWXQLWLHVHPSORRHQWHTXLW'DQG
safety, social, economic and political integration, and legal protection. Unfortunately, market
globalism largely places the burden of adjustment, linguistic and otherwise, on disadvantaged
individuals HJLPPLJUDQWVHUUYLHVZRUNHUVLQWRXULVPH[ZRUNHUVDVZHOODVROWK
JOREDORXWKHJ(QJOLVKODQJXDJHGXFDWLRQLQWKH3KLOLSSLQHVWRWUDLQRYHUVH
ZRUNHUVZKLFKFRPSULVSHUFHQWRIWKHQDWLRQDOSRSXODWLRQXSDV

\$HQWUDO TXHVWLRQ WKHQ FRQFHUQV ZKHWKHU RU QRW UHFHLYLQJ ORFDOHV WR
SURLQFHVVWDWHVFRXQWULHVIGHUDWLRQVZKLFK LKDWKHFRVWSDW
DQWD[HQWKLWH[SHQLWHHVKGKDUHWKHFRPDWLMEXGHKQDQ
PRELQWBOOHU 7DNDKDKL E H[DPSOHRHOROHWUPHVV
SUEGHUHHODQHDKHDOWKHGEWLRPLUDQYKDWUDOLDYGHUDDO\
QHG \$OW LUDQ GEWLRURDP BOOHU 7DNDKDKL DQ 7DLQ
GLWULEWLRQWLOLQOKHDOWKOLWHUDPDWHULDORQZPPLUDQMX
QKHUH[DPSOHLWKDWWKHVVUDOLDQV SURDPPH

which encourages everyone – the community, business and government, as well as new arrivals – to make necessary adjustments in language training, intercultural pragmatics, employment and

EDOSRWBBOOHU 7DNDKDKL \$WKLUGH[DPSOHLWKDW EDR
SUV EDQWLRQKDLQDQ RDMG E/DQ E PLUDQ M[ENUVDQ WKHU
DWLYWKHGEWLRQHQVHUHU UHHODMYQDQH PHQDO DQSKMBO
KHQDQKODQSUHQOHJHGGEWLRQVODVHMDUKSURDPPHQDQUDVQ
QWKKQDSDQHDRDOODQHDKKQDKLKWMMWKHMSURDPPHQ

provide inspiration for developing a broader justice-globalism approach towards these
KDOOHVYKHUHLQVW WKDW PDQLWLBO KDUVQLMMWELHVLQWLF
ethnography and sociolinguistics are dedicated to promoting social justice. However, a
SUHMWLRQDGRHWEUGEKOGLODQDQHDKORDOLWLNDO
MVLPHPHVQKLMWGLWVWKHHuRWEWKMENDO
justice issues, such as endeavours documented by the Language on the Move research site
GHWHG WRWLOLQOLFODQH OHDUQDQ LWHUHWKDO RPDWLRQ
WUDQWLRQROGQDQVQLKODHLYHUMWEWKNHULV
DPLOQLHORDOLWLVWLVGLHQLVPLUDWLRQKDMWLH WKHUHuRWW
LQGH WKH WLOOGHMORLQHW E LQWLVQKURRPLWWHH Q
DQHDKQDO-WLH DHOODWKHDQHQR5HMDUKUKLWH

XQIRUWXQDWHOORORQJHUXSMDKZIDFHWKHFRPPROFKDOOHQJHVRIOLPLWHG
time and resources, there is a clear need for critical scholars and other activists to expand the
H DQ HvDvKHLU HuFvWKUK D PRH EGLQWHG AGHDOO\WKL V
PHPHQVKGMRQKHEUDQVWENWENQPHQVMPHQR
WKH KQVFWKHU WBSURWH WDLQEOH KDOMWLH DOWHUQWLMV K
globalising world.

Concluding comments

Much more could be said about the complexity of language and globalisation in the contexts
discussed thus far, as well as about language in many other domains, such as education, the
HURHWHDQWUDGLWLRP HGLDWKHPLOLWDU\SLWLWHHOLLQWKLPHU
ORPDHUW KODQBOOHU KDOOR H[WWLWLSHUKDSEHWWWKLQ
of contemporary globalisation in terms of both continuity and change, with ongoing, multi-
scalar tensions between centrifugal and centripetal forces resulting in contestations of
DWKHOLEWQHLWLPDQEHORHHDUGLQDQHLGHORRHFWLQWR
DUNDDLW HQKLG UGHULDQWKRWLROLWLEGHORHKLK SURWHD JHG
triadic relationship between language, people and territory – and argue for a recognition of
WKHRPQWLMWOLGLWDMOODFULOOLDQVHDLWLYWRLuHUHQVQWLOLQOLMDQ
OLWKLKULGLWDLQWKHSDUWLQDULGHQVLPWLW KDWWKHMDuEGHMMUWKHOHV
we should acknowledge that some feel a legitimate need for more semiotic stability, for a
GHUHHRRHGQVDDHQQLGHQVLPQVQVGLMVLK
7KHMGLuHULQHGKQOVLNDGLDOHWLBDOWHQQKKEGEHHDQVWHGDEGLQ
to particular contexts.

Overall, we should consider the importance of the *linguascape* to contemporary
globalisation. Discourses of globalisation must be critically examined to unmask ways in
KLK PDUNW ORDOLFQWEDOLMDV EOG RQHDMDRRLHFKWLHV
alternative discourses of justice globalism should be supported as these strive for a more
HKWDEOHLQVHUHQVHGQOGVWKHORDOLWLDQDQHPVUHRM
that a more just, interconnected world will likely rely upon WLS and multilingualism;
HMUWKHOHMuFVDPHPDGHWWHPWKHKHHPRDUWLQDUODQHMMOODWR
UHQORLMLQLHQDQHEHULHWLHQVQWLOLQOLMDQONLHVWULWHGWR
OLPLWHGOLQWLPDUNWQGHSLWHWKHSURDQHKLHUDUKLHQQLGHORRH
EQHGQVUDWKHUEHDMWKHMFKKQSGHUMWLQGVWLDQQOWHUQWLM
politics of language that takes into account the many complexities of diverse, and yet locally
situated, linguistic practices. Such strategies are called for in this world of contemporary
ORDOLWLRKLEKVLQVLDQVUDGLWRKLEKQVMDOLMDQ
particularises; which both fragments and integrates; and which engenders co-operation as
HOODQVHOGHWDS

Notes

:KLOHQRPDPDHUWODEV)DLUFORKVIRFXROGLVFRVHVHUDWKHUWWDQDQDQJHJQ
GLVFXVLQJOREDOLVDWLROKHVRQGOFULWLTAV)DLUFORKVWKHRUHWLFDQDQZIGVLPHIU
JOREDOLDWLRQDQGGHKLWVRULFLHGULWLFQDOLVFRVHVSDOVLVVRIGRFRHQVVFROFHUQLQJH
UHIRUPLQ5RPDQLD7KHUHDUHVWUHQJWKVDQGGOLPLWDWLQVWRERWKVFKRODUVQSSURDF
and globalisation. My focus, here, concerns the importance of terminology in understanding
SUMVGLMVDQQLWLDORDOLWLRQGLQVWLDW PDUNW ORDOLM
QWEDOLMHLWLPMDQLEHUDOHRDORDOLWLRQHVUDQEHQEDQ

0DQLDU \$DQJXDJH WHVWLOJ RI DVQXP FODLPDQWV \$HIG DSSURDFK¶ Institute of Race Relations, *DYDLODEOH IURP ZZZLUURUJXNQHZVODQJXDJHWHVWLOJRIDVQXPFOPLDPDQWVDZHG DSSURDFKDFHVVHG0D@*

0DUFVH3KHODQJXDJHRIJOREDOLJDWLRQ¶Monthly Review, SS±

DUWtQRIEDNU WKHBUH7KHURHRLQWLBUDFWLHVQHWLQEDQ
SDH¶Journal of Language and Politics , 13SS±

0RJKDGP90Globalization & social movements , RZPDQ/LWWOH¶HOG3OPRXWK

0XIZHQH¶QWKVRIJOREDOLJDWLRQ:KDW¶SULFDQGHPROLQJXLVWLFVUHYHDOV¶SXEOLF OHFWXUH
QLYHUVLWRIRUJLD)HEUXDU\

0XIZHQH¶JOREDOLJDWLRQJOREDOL(QJOLVKDQGRZUOG(QJOLVKHVQWKVDQGDVFWV¶Qe
handbook: language and globalizationHG1&RXSODQG:LOH¶DFNZHOO2[IRUGSS±

1GHUYHHQ 3LHWVUH - ØREDOLJDWLRQ DQG FXOWXUH ØREDO PpODQJH UG HG RZPDQ
/LWWOH¶HOG/DQKDP0'

2VYXML (3HQQFRRN \$¶HWUROLOJXDOLVP)L[LW¶XGLW¶DQG ODQJXDJH LQ D X[¶
International Journal of Multilingualism, SS±

BIRDQOLKH¶Q The Sage handbook of sociolinguisticsHGV5RGDN
¶KQ¶HUEOQD¶HQRSS±

KLOOLSR¶Linguistic imperialism , Oxford University Press, Oxford.

B0OHU,LEWLELMUMWDQKDOMWLF , Oxford University Press, Oxford.

B0OHU,7DNKDKL,¶WVKHLQ¶HUMWLE¶QHUOD¶HHDQWUDQWLE¶QOLM¶Q The
handbook of language and globalizationHG1&RXSODQG:LOH¶DFNZHOO2[IRUGSS±

3LOOHU, DNDKDVKL,¶DQJXDJHPLJUDWLRQDQGXPDQULJKWV¶QThe SAGE handbook of
sociolinguisticsHGV5RGDN¶RKQVWRQH3.HUVZLOO¶JH/RQGRQSS±

DPWRQ% Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents, Longman, London.

5RHUW¶UDQDWLQDQOH[SHULH¶LQ¶RWL¶W¶LQOPRHORSHWH¶QWLF
L¶HOLWLH¶QKHMRLO¶HUM¶Qiversities, SS±

KLUDWRHEE- Understanding globalization¶JH/RQGRQDQGRKXVDQGD2DNV&\$
¶LGGOKRIHU¶Understanding English as a Lingua Franca, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

NQEE.DD¶L¶WLELMUMWDQEL¶LMUMW¶KHWKUHDWURNOOHUOD¶H¶
in The politics of English as a world language: New horizons in postcolonial cultural studies, ed.
¶LU5¶RL¶PWUGDPDQ¶HESS±

¶HPEURDQDWLQ¶KHRDQPLUDWLRQ The Sage handbook of sociolinguistics,
HGV5RGDN¶KQ¶HUEOQD¶HQRSS±

¶LWK - Social movements for global democracy KH -RKQV RSNLQV QLYHUVLW3UHVV
¶DOWLPRUHO'

¶WHJHU0% Globalization: A very short introductionUGHG2[IRUGQLYHUVLW3UHVV2[IRUG
¶WHJHU0%LOVRQ(. ¶WLJOREDOLJDWLRQRUDOWHUJOREDOLJDWLRQDSSLQJWKHSROLWLFDO
LGHRRJRIRWKHJOREDOMXVWLFHP¶H¶H¶H¶Q¶¶¶ Studies Quarterly, SS±

7SD¶¶WRLH¶L¶WLRP¶L¶WLR¶KH¶M¶RL¶KLQKHKLQSS¶L¶V
¶DYWKHUOD¶H¶L¶W¶KH¶P¶WLOLO¶PDPUNWSODH¶L¶Q Language as commodity: Global
structures, local marketplacesHGV3.: DQ XEG&RQWLQXXP3UHVV/RQGRQDQGHZ
RUNSS±

XSDV¶JHG ¶HTXDO(QJOLVKHV KH SROLWLFVRI(QJOLVKHV WRGD) Palgrave Macmillan,
¶M¶¶N

:HL¶ERPDPUNW¶PSORHQDQWKHUKHWLE¶LORDOLDWLRQ European Union
discourses on un/employmentHGV30XQWLJO:¶HLVV5RGDN-RKQ¶H¶QMDPLQV¶V¶VHUGDP
SS±

:HLVV *RGDN ¶KH (&RPPLWVHH UHJLPH DQG WKH SUREOHP RI SXEOLF VSDFH¶L¶Q
European Union discourses on un/employment HGV 3 0XQWLJO *HLVV 5RGDN -RKQ
¶H¶QMDPLQV¶V¶VHUGDPSS±

:LOOLDPV5 Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and societyQGHG2[IRUGQLYHUVLW3UHVV
1HZRUN

:RGDN 5 .U]DQRZNL 0)RUFKWQHU %KH LQWHUSOD'RI ODOJXDJH LGHRORJLHV DOG
contextual cues in multilingual interactions: Language choice and code-switching in European
BRWLWLLW Language in Society, SS±
HTX 台灣新移民的健康網絡
護理雜誌 The Journal of Nursing SS±
=DSSHWWLQL) EDGJHRI (XURSHDQQHVVKDSLQJLGHQWLWWKURXJKWKH (XURSHDQQLRQV
LQVWLWXWLRQDOGLVFRXUVHRQPXOWLQJLQDQGLYB and Politics, 13SS±

A cultural political economy of Corporate Social Responsibility

The language of stakeholders and
the politics of new ethicalism

Ngai-Ling Sum

Introduction

introduced to capture the changing social relations between retailers, suppliers and labour

to reinvent corporate relations with society by promoting a business case for Corporate

What is cultural political economy?

GHQLOJ WKDW WKHDOVR KDYH VHPLRWLF SURSHUWLHV ZWK WKH PRUH FROWLQJHOW C
 features of language use, knowledge production, the problematisation of truth regimes,
 PSHDONDWLDQWKHUHPDNDDOUHODWLDHSHEDOOQWHL[SORHV
 the interface between these semiotic and material moments as they transform social
 UHODWLDQSDWLDO SURMVKH RLVHQ QWKH RVKHM LQHUFWLCHRHV
 PRHMEOHGKLDLMMKXKHQUHLEMMGLPHVHGKDOUHODWLDJ
 DSLWDOODEKRSLSWDOQWKHUHODWLDUHKDOOHGQDQHMUHLPLDGHJ
 DSLWDORPQWPUHSHW KFLMLWKDWHWEDWVLPDLQZ
 SLEHDSUDWLHWKDWPLKWUHHMVKHMKDOOHVVKLDQHMHQWKHMR
 &DUHSRWRKRDQDOROLDWLDKLDML[SORHGLQHUPE
 KDW HEDGLDQRDUVLQLUHG E\ EDWVPLERHMO ENR
 NUHQDOLWDQSRUHQGHUHODWLDQOQHGLQWKQRHQDQ
 LOOHU 5N ,QKLVHDUG H[SORHVK KKHGH LV
 constructed and how its transformative impact is mediated through discursive networks of
 actors.

7KLMUHQDPLQWKHUHODWLDHWHZHQDQHDQSDWLWLEQKHUHQVSKMR
 HBLEHUDOBSLWDOLPZWKSHEDOUHUUHQWKSHEDOOMQWKHVKLV
 WH[W WKH QHQDLVHSHHG WRQSHWKHROKWLKHQR
 SDUWLDUHQLEPDLQULHMPHUHLQDUUWVKDQHQ[WKSDUWLESDWHV
 LQKHGLMMQWFKDWQWUW SURWHQRMHVESRDWHUHQDQ
 HQULMHHOLK KDF KDW DGGLWLDQ LGHDVQ SUDWLHVUH MOHWHG DQ
 GHSORG WRHQH[WQOLM WKHMSUBMGRMHVQWKHLQHUGLMMYSDH KDW
 governmental knowledging technologies are involved in constituting particular subjectivities
 DQLGHQVLWHVHODWHGWKHKWKHUDHVKHMKHPHKBUDQLQDWWR
 KKHPHVPSDWMMQQRHOHQMUGDH[SHULHQDQ KDUH WKH\
 UHSUHMVHGDUHMLWHGEGLuHUHQOMWVWHGDHQHDWKHHQDHLQKHMMQ
 QHWHG UHPDNDDOUHODWLDHSHWHQDUVHKUHDWWHQVLQKHHPQ
 discourse, power and structural constraints.

Neo-liberal globalisation of production/retail: towards Wal-Martisation

7KHLGHDWKDWFRUSRUDWLRQVKDYHVRFLOREOLJDWLRQVVRVHUYHWKHSKOLFLOW
 the late nineteenth century. However, in the US, formal writing on social responsibility did
 QHPHUHQLOWKHWHQVQLHWKHQKBRLOQWENQKHLQSHGUG5
 KQ Social responsibilities of the businessman ZKLFKSSHDQGWWRWKHVRFLO
 FRQVFLHQFHRIQLGGLYGXDOEXVLQHVSHRSOHUDWKHUWKDQWRUPV/DWHUZRUNLQWKI
 V HJ -RVHSK : OFXLUH RQ Business and society LQ WKH &RPPLWVHH IRU
 Economic Development on Social responsibilities of business corporationsLQFDOOHG
 IRUUPVWRUHFRJQLVHVRFLOUHVSQVLELOLWLHVWRZDUGVWKHLUHQYLURQPHQWWK
 WKHLUOHJDODQGHFRQRPLFREOLJDWLRQVVKLUWFKDSWHUFDQQRWSUHVVHQWVKHI
 WKLV GLVFXUVLYH FRQVWUXFW EXW VHH &DUUROO DQGLQO FRQFHQWUDWH LQVW
 GHYHORSPHQVLQFH WKH V ZLWK WKH ULVH RI QHROLEHUDOLVP DQGLQJOREDOLVDWLR
 production and retail trade.

Neo-liberal globalisation of production and retail

,Q WUWVDO WHUPWKH WZWKH WUHWFKLQJ RI JOREDO FRPPRGLWVHUHV
 .RUMQLHFDQGUHWDLQFKDLQVQWKHEURDGHUFROWHWVRIWKHULMDQGSUHDGRIQHR

OLEHUDOLVP7KLVDVSDUWONDFLOLWDWHGEWKHIUHHWUDGHDJHOGDSXVKHGEWKH:RUO
 2UJDQL]DWLRQLQVHFUXLQJJIUHHWUDGHH[SRUWSURFHVVLOJ]RQHVDVZHOODVRSHQLOJRVIV-
 LQFOXGLQWKHUHWDLOVHFWRU6XP7KHVHJOREDOKDQJHVDORWUDQVQDWRQRQDOFRUSR
 HJ:DOODUW1LNH\$SOHWRHQJDIHLQJOREDOSURGXFWLRQDQGUHWDLOEQWHJUDWLOJFKH
 ODQGDQGRUNHUVIURPWKHOREDO6RXWKLQWRWKHLUQHWRUNV,QFULWLFDOSROLWLF
 this process of transnationalisation has been related to changes in labour regimes, capital-
 ODEKUHODWLRQDQDQPDWLRQWUHQH[H]DPSOHQGHV[LHG
 new work regime in southern China, the labour-dormitory system, which supports global
 production. Workers are housed in dormitories close to the factories so that they can be
 PRLQMG WSHURP NUWLPHEW DQVLPH \$JHSRW E\WKH Catholic Agency for
 Overseas Development SS RQHOFWURQLFVHFWRUZRUNHUVLQ &KLQD VKRZHG
 WKDWWKHKDGRZRUNLOOHJDORYHUWLPHPDNLQJDRWRDORIKRXUVSHUGDQXQGHUYH
 SRRUFRQGLWLRQVWRHDUQWKHPLQLXPZDJH/LNHZLVHLQKDLQDQGVXEFQRWUDFWHGZR
 HDUQHGDPLQLXPZDJHVKDWGRHVQRWHYHQFRYHUIRRGDQGRXVHKROGHI[SHQVHV
 VZHDWVKRSFRQGLWLRQVRFEXUQRWRQDQVSHFLQVLWHVZKHUFODVVJHQGHUHWKQ
 FDVWHLQWHUVHFWRIDFLOLWDWHODERXUH[SORLWDWRQLQVSHFLQZDVEXWHOVHZI
 JOREHWRRUPWKHQH[XVRIVLWHVWKDWIDFLOLWDWHZKDWHOZQFDQOVWKHPDNLQJRIW
 JOREDO ODERXULQJ FODVVOREDO SURGXFWUVDQGVEXHUVUHVVRUWRORFDOVXEFQRW
 GLUHUVHUVLWHVWRRSWLPVHFRQWURORYHU ODERXUVRWKDWWKHFDQEHQHVIURPV
 low-cost production and surplus value extraction on a global scale.

Wal-Martisation as a low-cost accumulation strategy

7KLWKSWHUZOOM:DOODUWVSSURDFKWRWKHJOREDOLDWLRQRUIHWDLOFKDLOQGHVLEHG
 here as Wal-Martisation, to illustrate some of the strategies and stakes in this more general
 SURMORDOGLWKLQDQDQDUWUWKULMGRWAlways Low PricesDEHOEXW
 UHSODFHG WKLVLQ ZLWK Save Money. Live BetterWV EDUJDLQEDVHG DFFXPXODWLRQ
 VWUDWHJGHSHQGVQRJOREDOORFDOIDFWRUUVWKDWLQFOXGHHQWHULQJLQWRORFDO
 DWVSHFLQVLWHVDQGVLQJPLFURPDQJPHQWWHFKQLTXHVXFKDVFDWHJURPDQJPH
 DQGVFRUHFHDUGVVLUV:DOODUWHQWHUHGQDWRQRQDQPDUNHWVEIRUPLQJSDUWQHUV
 ORFDO JRYHUQPHQWV HJ WKH VWDWHRZHQInternational Trusts and Investment
 CompanyLQ &KLQDQVZHOODVZLWK SULYDWHFRPPHUFLDQFRQDQWUWK,
 SeiyuLQ-DSDQBest PriceLQ,QLDDQCasSmartLQRXWKULFDKHVHDQGRWKHUYHQWXUHV
 enable Wal-Mart both to sell and source in these countries.

Second, underlying these partnership strategies is the use of information technology that
 integrates retailing and sourcing within the global supply chain. Wal-Mart has developed its
 own communication-logistical-inventory system that enables it to link the retailer with its
 SOLHUVQZGH HJ :DODUW KDVLVDOOHG EDUHG UHGHUVLQOO LWV
 GLWULEWLRQVUHVDQVUHQG UDGLHHQGHVLPWLRQW KDOR
 GHSORGDWVUH SURDPPH HJ DOOHG Retail Link that connects all stores,
 GLWULEWLRQVUHVDQV SOLHUVKLVWLRQVDPGH :DODUW LQWKH ODUHW
 SULVWHV DWHOOVWRRPDLRUDWELQWKH HOG,WRHUDWHV DSHWDEWH GDWD
 DUHKNWKDWBOHVDQDQMSRVBOHGDWDHWRHEHULWHPHEHU
 QVLRQVMOOLVHWVHOODMHSLVUDRQVQVGRWRWHPHMO
 7KHMBSDEWLHVDOODUW DQLW SOLHUWRIDPLQDQEHVW NHU
 demand patterns as well as to co-ordinate product sales and inventory data through the
 Retail Link system. Mainstream economic and management studies argue that this
 WHQRDOSUHQDEOH:DOODUWVKDUHLRQPDWLRQWKLW SOLHUVQDQLQ

FRVW DGYDQWDJHV EDVHG RO DXWRPDWLRO MRLQW GHPDQG IRUHFVWVWLOJ DQG WKH M
 VXSSOYVWPHJEDUFRGHWULJHUHGUHSOHLVKPHQWYHQGRUPDQDJHGLOYHQWRUDQGI
 LQYHQWRUMXUQRYHUWLPHPROPHVZVNHRZRYHUWKLVLNLOGRILQIRUPDWLRO
 VKDULQJLQOHDQUHWDLOLQJRODFLFK :LOVRO SSFDQDOVREH HPSORNG
 FRHUFLYHO)UHH SSZYHQWKDWSULFHYDOXH DQGFRVWFRPSHWLWLYHQHVVGULYH
 VXSSOFKDLQVRIWKLVLNQG &KULVWRSKHU S WKH HYHUGDRSHUDWLROVRIPHJD
 retailers are based on particular calculating practices that manage costs and margins. More
 SHEPOOWKHM SUDWLHLQGHDPWHRPDQHPHQDQORHONLQ
 DPWHEPDQHPHQWKLKLD EKQYUDWLH WKDW EHDQVWKH XHUPDUNW
 EKHMDOODQVUHWDLOHUWRPSUMDOHDQSUWEPDQLQRWDPWHEHLV
 HDSSDUHOWWMSDUDWHEKQWVWKKWKLULQULEDODUWDPWHE
 managers work with suppliers to develop category plans and such routine contacts are
 facilitated by the *Retail Link*RPRQLWRUSURYDELOLWDQGHVFLHQFVXSSOLHUVDUHWUDLQHC
 DQGUHTXLUHGWRVXEPLWVFRUHHQVWVWRVWKLHQWDLQVRSQLOJWKLHLDFFRXQWLQJ
 GHWDLOVHJLQYHQWRUSULFLOJSHUIRUPDQFH DQGVDOHVWRWKH UHWDLOHFDQOHG
 DFFRXQWLQJZLWK WKH DLP RI FRRUGLQDWLQJDFWLYLWLHV WR UHGXFH FRVWV DQGRU
 margins.

URDQEGLDQHZRY WKHMFBHUGXHUDWHDDGLMMDSSDUDWX
 WKDWSUEGHDPFNOHFLMDQDPHWULBONVWDOODODUWDPWHE
 PDQHUVDQ WKHLU DMWDQWKBH HXZVWKH XSOLHUPOHPDUSQ
 PDULQVWRDQVHWKHH7DEOH7KLSURBNHQHGHGSDH
 WKDW UHQHUSOLHUQDQDRLWLQLEOH LQGHU WRGHVLDMDQHWW
 UHODWLQHDULQKHKDLQVHEHQDSUWDELOLWGHQDMOEODGK
 SFEUHSLSQHUWQV SUHMHWRHMHXURWDPWHEHLV
 WKH LGHVLPDLQWKHM DMQHuHW UHODWLQKSGHWKHHMUGD\EDMR
 calculation, intervention, hard-nosed negotiation and control. Mechanisms of control enable
 DPWHEPDQHUWRHURPWKHROKQWLQDWLWLVWLMMDONWLQKHKDR
 HDKXSOLHUWDPDULQQUHKULQWWRDWKLWONVWSULHREHMVW
 RSDULQDKXSOLHUWDPDULQWKKWHDMDUDHLQURKQPR
 EGLQWHGRSHWLWLQHWZHQXSOLHUWDMQVHEXSOLHUWRDWKWKH
 OKUSULHRSHWLQXSOLHUWMDOWHUQWLMDMGRSDQDPLEHZ
 WKHXSOLHUWDPDULQQDZQDNVQKHPKXSOLHUW
 QULEWLQVBUGPFXHLQWLMVUHKNDOODQVHQVUHLPEKMPHQV
 SHEPUBPPHXDPDUSQDULQVHWLQDQDGMUWLMDDUW
 S

GHQ/KUKWKHPLERLQUDWLHFBHUGWKLVRPDWLQDULQQ
 WKHXSOKDLQVWDLQNRDQVWLRQVUREDMGRRPDWLROKHU
 MFKH MELOLW\DQ EHQPDUNXSOLHUHQEOH :DODUWDPWHE
 PDQHUWGHDPDQOKU SULHVEHQPDUNWKH DMUDH DQ GHPDQ UHQVR
 XSOLHUVKLQVLESOLQXSOLHUQHMHQQVQGLDQVHUPV
 virtual panopticon. RSWHULMGRSRDWHDPUGHQWRDQVWLRQMMLOODE
 XSOLHUQRDUH DORHQOHG LQKHLU QLESOLQUVH ,QVW WKH MR
 scorecards and similar micro-accounting practices enable Wal-Mart to expropriate margins
 URSOLHUVKLMMHPLQPDQHULDOORWLBOLQPDWLQVWQVWKKR
 HRLQWKHEW DORBLWLBQVWKHODWVHUUHDUGLWH[KLELWDPHWULBOSXU
 relations that assist the transformation of capital-to-capital social relations, in particular by
 WLOWLQKHEODQDQVWKHUHWDLQHUWVWKHXSOLHUNDPVWKHUMVNU
 GULMPPGLWKDLQVUHvRMQHZFHQ

7DEOH Knowledge produced through Wal-Mart supplier scorecards

Measurement criteria	Elements of measure
Sales measurements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MUDOLQHD • Comparable same-store sales • MUDHMOHWRH • Sales at full prices vs. markdown
Markdown measurements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DUMQPDUMRRODUMWQ • Prior and current retail price
Margin measurements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • QWLDOPDULQ • MUDHUHWDLLOSULH • MUDHW • UUMDWLWHPHMO • UUMLWHPWRH • Margin mix
MURPHDMHPHVV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SHSOHQKDEOHWRHLWR\ • RSHOHQKDEOHWRHGHOLMU\ • Warehouse inventory • Lost sales from out-of-stocks • Excess inventory • Past date codes • W/DORGLWR\
5HWKPHDMHPHVV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Customer defective returns • Store claims

PHULRWLWDLWRKQ5WDEOH

EGHG E/WKLV RPDWLRQ PHUMDODUW\$UKHPHQ WDU PHPEHUVDUH
W/DQOPDNQHDOKWKWKQNSOLHUWRUGHRWDLORHGWDODUWV
MULHQVSHEPWLRQGLSULERQOLWDMQOHMVEHQHOLMU\
DQPRHUHQVOWDLQELOLWUHKUHPHQVWKLMPULSMUSSOLHUNDWKHUV
and the unrelenting push for cost and price-value competitiveness mean that manufacturers, in
WKPWSDW/KHLUW/DQSURWLRQNLWHWHUPLQWLQRGHUWVKHLU
ENUNUNUQODUW\$SOLHUDWRLHKLKWKH.QHUQWLRODEN5LKWV
QWHUPDODUWHDWKSMMWKHLU DHW DQDHWQDQODUHPHDMHV
LRHG7KLMNGHQVLUHSRFSURNGE\ *Students and Scholars Against Corporate
Misbehaviour* & 2DRQJ.RQJEDVHG12WKDWPRQLWRUHG:DOODUWDFWLYLWLHV
KLVUHSRUWLGHQWLHGH[WHQVLYHODERXUDE XVHVHJZDJHDQGKRXUYLRODWLRQVXQVDIHZ
FRQGLWLRQV GHSULYDWLRQ RI ODERXUFRQWUDFW SURWHFWLRQ LQ YH WRIDFWRULHV LQ
PDQXIDFWXUH GIRU:DOODUW6PLOUDUSUREOHPVZHUHLGHQWLHGEWKH&OHDQ&ORWKHV&DP
in its *Cashing In* UHSRUWKHODWWHUIRFVHGRQWKHJDUPHQVWXSOFKDLQVRIWKHYHELJ
UHWDLQHU:DOODUWAVFR&DUUHIRXUQGLDQG/LGODQGLJKOLJKWHGWKHSRRUFRQGLWV
WKHLUZRUNHUVLQKDLQDQG,QGLDQJODGHVKDQGG6L/DQND
KLVRYHUDOOSURFHVVFDQEHVXPPDULVHG DV:DOODUWLVDWLRQXLOGLQJRWKHHGHQ
SURYLGHGE&20 DQGFRQFHQWUDWLQJRWKHSURGXFWLRQVLGHWKLVSOSHUWUHDWV
Wal-Martisation as a change in the social relations of production where power shifts from
suppliers-manufacturers to giant retailers, with the former trickling insecurity and poverty
GQUGWVKHLUHQ[LEOHENHLQ/KHLUMDUKRDGLESOLQUQW WUDWHJ
7KLSURMHPGLDWHGKDDHMHKQRDORWLQDODQPDQHULDOBQNDWLM

SUDFWLHV WKDW HQDEOH JLDQW UHWDLOHUV WR PRUH HuHFwLYHOVfROGXFW RUJD
VXUYHLOODQFHRIVXSSOLHUVDQGvXSSOLHUVWRHQJDJHLQVHOIPROLWRULQJDVZOODVWV
extent, tactical manoeuvres in the buyer-supplier game.

Reinvention of CSR since the 1980s: stakeholder languages and practices

:DOODUWLVDWLRODQGLWVFRVWUHGKWLRO SUDFWLHV KDYH SURPSWHG WUDQVODV
FRQFHUQDPROJQLRQV12VDQGRFPPLWJURXVVKDVS/&2V(HRQ:DOODUW
:DNH8S:DOPDUW:DOODUW:DWFK&OHdq&ORWKHV&DPSDLJODQG6&20WDUJHWLQJWK
DFWLYLWLHVRIWKHFRUSRUDWLRO6RS,QJHQHUDOWKHVHJURXV DUHFKDOOHQJLQJWV
ODFN RI VXSURW IRU LPSURYHPhQW RI VXSOLHUVV DIHWWWDQGDUGV ORZJHV RUNH
intimidation, gender-based discrimination, unpaid overtime, replacing full-time workers with
SDUWWLPHUDQJLQNUKRSODLQMHWRDQWKHLUENUDQ
7KHMRPDERKMEWLQUHQRVWRDOUHWDLQDLQWELF
groups challenging global production and retail have taken aim at brand-name producers
KDLNHVWUDWKHSDQSHHNRWKHODWHKSDUFWLHKDM
DLG PRH SKOLEWME WKH VEMDWLW KDVGRWHG QPHDQKDPH
WUDWHLHWLKLKODERDQHURHQDEMVKHMPHPhQDQWKHLUEURGHU
DOWHUORDOLWDLPSDLNHSDDNHRSRDWHDWLVWLHMQWUWKRQGWKHP
accountable. Well-known campaign and civic groups in the garment industry include Clean
QWKHPSDLQRHDKODGLGDULWHWENQGDQWHGGEHQDLQ
HDWKRWKH QDPQWKHWH DPSDLQDQ WKH ,QHUDLWK HQUH Q
RSRDWH5H5VELOLWVKH6KHSDUWLESDWHLQKHQRWLWLSWLVR
KDOOHQHDWKRDEMYKLQRSLWLEQGHDOORWUDQWLQORSRDWLQ
7WDMHPRHUH5VELOLWR WKHLUHPSORHMHUWONHKLQWKH
label and think about which products they buy, and for the general public to address issues of
ORDODQOROLQOLW\

Corporations, with expensive advice from management consultants and development
practitioners, responded to these counter-hegemonic challenges by reinventing the
GLKMPQRWKHQDQWUWVKHUHDDWVKHLU&
knowledge to incorporate new themes such as stakeholder management, corporate social
SHURPDHQDEKQWKLQURROSVKHEUSDWLQURGHQGWKHP
further to include corporate citizenship, sustainable development, corporate philanthropy
DQRPHWHQPHQDQDQDQ 7KHPEWLSOLDWLQ
SRMPLEQNUODSSLQGLMMOHG HDUQRDUN WKDW &LDQZ
LQHUGLMMGLEGHUWKDWKDVHWHGURRRLWLBDOWUHQDLUQK
SS+BDNS+MQWVDEOHdqDPELQWKHLWLQOR
DSSURULDWHGDQUHLQHUSUHWHGGEWUDWHLDFRQLQHEMMKHVKHUHWKLV
HQUH[DPLQV K PRHQ KLK KDQ QDOO WKH SHUKV
conjuncture, when corporations – aided and abetted by policy gurus, management
consultants and development advisers – selectively deployed the discourses and practices
NDNKQGHUWKHRPDQHPHQVRHLQVGLQGLUHWLQ

Stakeholder languages and practices

7KHFRGHUMFRQMDFWHRRFNUHGLQWKHODWHVWKHMFURSRUDWLRODGRSWHGWKHLU
RZFRPSDQFRGHVJ:DOODUWVRGHRI(WKLVQDQFDUULHG RWMOIUHDDWRU\

auditing of their suppliers in accordance with the stated standards. Given their in-house

QWXRHRWKLHLD&LWLDUDWLHMHUHELWLEMGRZQZSUHMQQEHLQ
MOMULQWDLWLUHQWGHGEWKHLURWYHUQORDKDWHGPRWV
DQWKLUMWHLWWEHRHKDQWESOLHUQDQKLENUWRMWKH
ULKWDUWUWBRKQHSWVKHMLWLEMPDQHPH
WWDQWVWWRHQRD&LWLDQUHEKOGESRDWHUHSWDLWLRQSHURPDH
EUHQH[W&BOLMDUWLDUDUPDQHPHVDGW&BOWKHUHQD&WLS
URPDMDG&W&W&DNKR&GHUW&K&R&W&K&D&W&M&O&H&W&H&G&W&H&R&L&H&Q&B&L&Q
KDOGLUHWL&K&L&W&K&H&R&W&K&H&U&P&D&L&Q&W&L&D&O&S&R&D&U&L&M&G&E&U&H&H&P&D&R
S&R&W&H&G&W&K&D&W&R&S&R&D&W&L&R&G&D&G&G&U&H&W&Q&W&K&H&L&U&K&D&U&H&K&R&G&H&U&W&H&U&H&W&E&W&D&O&W&K&N
W&K&H&L&U&W&K&H&U&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&D&N&H&U&R&N&U&D&Q&M&U&P&H&Q&M&G&H&G
W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&P&D&Q&D&D&W&L&Q&K&D&W&H&Q&H&U&V&L&Q&R&H&O&D&W&L&R&L&S&V&W&K&P&D&Q&W&K&D&W
L&A&M&R&D&U&H&L&Q&A&M&G&E&W&K&H&R&S&D&K&L&M&D&G&H&P&D&Q&L&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&H&O&D&W&L&R&L&S&V
H&M&Q&L&D&O&W&R&H&W&L&M&H&Q&H&U&S&L&M&P&D&Q&H&P&H

7KLQUDWL&M&K&D&G&B&U&L&K&U&D&D&R&W&K&H&R&P&D&W&L&M&H&W&U&R&D&G
W&K&U&K&W&K&H&P&D&Q&H&U&L&D&O&L&W&K&H&O&L&H&R&W&R&K&H&U&H&O&D&W&L&R&O&R&P&D&W&L&M
D&S&H&W&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&H&O&D&W&L&R&D&U&D&U&U&L&W&R&Q&K&H&R&L&L&Q&O
G&L&M&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&P&D&Q&H&P&H&Q&M&L&W&V&W&K&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&H&O&D&W&L&R&L&S
P&D&Q&H&P&H&Q&M&L&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&H&O&D&W&L&R&L&S&H&E&E&P&S&O&L&D&W&L&R&S&H&U&G&D&P&L&F
G&H&S&H&Q&K&L&G&L&M&S&U&H&B&L&O&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&P&D&Q&H&P&H&Q&M&L&W&D&H&L&P&S&O&L&H&W&K&D&W&D&O
W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&D&H&P&D&Q&H&G&E&R&S&D&Q&H&Q&U&L&R&D&G&G&D&Q&P&D&N&V&W
K&D&U&G&E&H&[&W&H&U&Q&O&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&W&R&H&E&R&S&D&W&H&S&U&D&W&L&H&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&H&O&D&W&L&R&L&S
P&D&Q&H&P&H&Q&M&L&W&K&H&L&Q&H&U&H&Q&P&W&B&O&L&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&H&O&D&W&L&R&L&S&V&Q&H&W&E&N
W&U&W&K&H&W&K&D&W&L&R&Q&H&M&U&L&O&H&Q&U&H&G&W&K&H&U&P&W&H&U&H&W&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&H&O&D&W&L&R&L&S

denotes power sharing, interaction and partnership.

7KLW&W&G&L&M&D&Q&L&W&D&D&W&H&G&R&H&G&L&S&U&D&W&L&H&Q&L&G&W&D&L&Q
S&R&D&U&L&W&D&R&S&D&W&L&R&H&G&P&W&L&R&D&O&O&H&W&R&H&R&D&L&W&W&K&H&L&U&K&G&L&W
K&D&V&H&Q&E&O&H&G&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&P&D&Q&H&P&H&Q&M&L&W&P&R&S&K&L&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&H&O&D&W&L&R&L&S&V&Q
W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&H&O&D&W&L&R&L&S&H&M&U&B&W&K&H&W&K&L&V&K&H&W&R&L&D&L&M&O&H&Q&U&D&O
place in important works such as the Post, Preston and Sachs book, 5HGHDQWKH
corporationDDQGDUHODWHGSDSHULQCalifornia Management ReviewDDQDJLQJWKH
H[WHQGHG HQWHUSULVH KH QHZ VWDNHKROGHU YLHZE)XUWKHU WKLV W&D&N&H&K&R&O&G
ODQJXDJHEHJDQWRFLUFUXODWHLQWKHFRQVXOWDQDFFRUSRUDWHDQGSROLFZRUGVD
FHUWDLQKHJHPRLQIRUPXODWLRQJPDMRU&FFKHPPH

2QWKHFRUSRUDWHOYHOLQWKHHDUOV:DOODUWEURDGHQHGLWVWDNHNKROGHUEDV
VKDUHKROGHUV DQG FXVWRPHUV WR LQFOXGH H[WHUQDO VWDNHNKROGHUV VXF& DV VZ
DFDGHPLFOHDGHUVDQGGJRYHUQPHQWV,Q:DOODUW&KURXJKODUW&K&D&R&Q&W&D&J&R&Z&Q&D&Q&G
\$V&R&F&L&D&W&H&V&D&J&O&R&E&D&K&H&D&G&K&X&Q&W&H&U&D&G&Y&H&U&W&L&V&H&G&D&Q&H&Z&S&R&V&L&W&L&R&Q&X&V&L&Q&J&W&K&H&V&W&D&N&H&K&R&O
H[Q&L&R&L&U&H&F&W&R&U&R&Q&W&D&N&H&K&R&O&G&H&U&(Q&J&D&J&H&P&H&Q&W&R&X&O&G&Pioneer a new model of how Wal-
Mart works with outside stakeholders resulting in fundamental changes in how the company
does business)KLVPRGHOF&R&X&O&G&E&H&G&H&V&F&U&L&E&H&G&D&V&D&F&R&P&P&X&Q&L&F&D&W&L&Y&H&E&D&Q&D&J&H&P&H&Q&W&R&Q&H
LQ ZKLFK QHZ WHFKQLTXHV VXF& DV W&D&N&H&K&R&O&G&H&U&D&Q&D&O&V&L&P&D&S&S&L&Q&J&D&Q&G&F&R&P&P&X&Q&L&F
strategies such as global responsibility reports, newsletters, web sites, podcasts and blogs
K&D&M&E&H&H&Q&H&S&O&R&G&M&E

7KHMK&D&M&Q&D&O&D&U&W&H&U&H&L&R&P&H&G&D&P&H&G&L&D&W&H&G&E&W&K&H&R&U&H&Q&G&H&M&O&R&P&H&Q
R&R&D&O&R&P&E&D&M&G&K&H&P&H&W&D&Q&D&U&G&K&D&W&K&H&R&W&H&G&D&W&L&R&D&O&R&S&D&W
W&K&H&O&R&D&O&5&H&S&E&W&L&Q&W&L&D&W&L&M&D&Q&W&E&L&O&L&W&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&H&O&D&W&L&R&L&S&V
W&D&Q&D&U&G&7&K&H&M&D&U&H&P&D&L&Q&R&P&D&W&H&G&L&Q&H&U&P&W&L&W&D&N&K&R&G&H&U&K&H&P&H&W&K&D&W&R&E&L&G

DSULQFLSOHEDVHGSODWIRUPIRUGLDORJXHZWKHPSKDVLRQFHVWSUDFWLWFHΦH DUOQLQJF
SDUWQHUV7KH81OREDO&RPSDFWVGVHVLQJHGEARKQ5XJLHWKH.LUNSDWULFN3URIHVVRU
RI ,QWUHQDWLRQDO \$DLUV LQ WKH DUYDUG .HQQHG6FKRRO RI RYHUQPHQW DQG RvFLDO
ODXQFKHGLQ6XP-HVVRSSUDZQJIURPKLVFRQVWUXFWLYLVVWVKHRURI
LQWUHQDWLRQDO UHODWLRQV 5XJLH VHHV WKH &RPSDFW DV D QHWZUN WKDW ZOO V
VWLPXODWHFRUSRUDWLRQVDERXW&65WREULQJDERXWFRQYHUJHQFHLOFRUSRUDWHSUDFY
XQLYHUVDOOVKDUHGYDOXHV(HOO5XJLHS)LUPVDUHHQFRXUDJHGWRHODUQDQG
adopt socially responsible principles such as human rights, labour standards, environment
and anti-corruption, and thereby improve their governance and performance on these issues
KHUHMU WKH\RHUDWH 7KH PDNRWKLQWENMG PHKDQV DONKHUHV
GLMMSUDWLHWKDWBQHLQW WKHUHODWLQLSEHWZHRSRDWLRQWVKHLU
union critics.

7KH WDNKRGHUODPHVVKL PHG UN WKH RSRDWHQWDFDLF
EUKWZUH MOHFWHG DQ UHLQVHG LQVWUW WKH ODPH WDNKRGHU
HDPHQVWMOHFWHG UDWKHU WKDQWDNKRGHU PDQPHQVWGHQVH QWEN
SDUWUUKLS HQ WKH OLPHWHQDQ WDNKRGHU HDPHQVWVPEHGGHG
ZWKLQDOULPDQPHQVWQ DUWLQDWHG WRWKH DOOHHG HRLUDWLROLWR
RSHWLWLMQHWV\KLRQELQWLQPHMQRDENS SHUE\
WKHRSRDWHRDO5HVQELQWQWLDWLMWKHUBUG.HQGRUPHQV

Current network-based operating models highlight the growing importance of the
extended enterprise by establishing greater connectivity among and between
WDNKRGHUDEFWKH DRH 7KLVWLVW\KDQDQHDWHG HQLUHO\BZ
WDNKRGHUQUKHUHQWLMRPLNDQHPHQV7KHMKDHLQKH
RHUDWLPHHOKDMOHGWBMQV\KLVWLDUNWSHUR\MXWVRHUV
and traditional investors but also, and more importantly, toward stakeholders:
RPHWLHMPORHVVHEDWESRLWLEDNSOLHUHQHMQKHPHGLD
DUHQWVKLVWLDUNWSHURDOULV\DUULMQUHDQUR
global corporations.

URDRSDQHUSHVWLMQDOULMLNDQWKHUULDULMKHQWQ
EHKDMR\WKHDFWLRKHUMQWRHUDWLPHURHQVEHDWHMQUDELOLWLHQ
the case of social risk, stakeholders may identify those vulnerabilities and apply
SUHMHQKHSRDWLPHKDMR\QDOKDQWKHDELOLWVQLWHQVSRDWH
WDNKRGHU\HUSHVWLMQDOLMHRHRSHWLWLMQHWPDQLQ
social risks will need to become more fully embedded in corporate strategy.
.WOHXJLHS

KXV&SURJUDPPHVDUHVHHQDVHVVHQWLDOWRHuHFWLYH\LVNPDQDJHPHQWPDQGLQ
WWDNHRKROGHUHQJDJHPHQWVIXQFWLRQDOLVHGDVDFRXQWHUPHDVXUHURUWKHVHU
WKRVDORQJ WKH VXSSQFKDLQV.WOH XJLH S KLV SUDJPDWLF PHDQLQJ
PDNLQJ ZDV ULSH IRU IXUWKHU IXQFWLRQDOLVDWLRQ DV RFLDO ULVNVZHUH WUD
HFRQRPLF REMHFVW\KDWPLJKVWHUYHDVPHDQVWRWKHQGVRI SURGXFWLQQRYDV
HYLGHQWLQDVXEVHTXHQW DUYDUG.HQQHG6KRRZRUNLQJSDSHUEVNH;HQNLQV
DQG.WOHRQMRFLDOULVNV

RFLDO ULVNVDJRSSRUWXQLWLHVIRU FRPSDQLHV WR LQRYDWH DURXQG SURGXFW
processes, and leadership methods to translate risk into opportunity and position
WKHPMOMRPHWDLQEOHQVHUPMSURDWLMDQWUDWHLBSURK

RIDQRUPVL]HDQGFSDFLWYKHFDQEHLOGLYLGXDOVRUJDQL]DWLRQVRUXQRUJDQL]H
JURXS@

)RXU PDMRU DWWULEXWHV DUH LPSRUWDQW IRU 6WDNHKROGHU QDOVLV WKH VW
SRVLWLRQ RO WKH UHIRUP LVVXH WKH OHYHO RI LQXHQFH SRZU WKHKROG WKH OHYHO
LQWHUHVWVWKHKDYHLOWKHKVSHFLUHIRUPDQGWKHJURXSFRDOLWLRQWRKLFKWKHFK
RUFDOUHDVRODEOEH DVVRFLDWHGZWK 7KHVH DWWULEXWHV DUH LGHQWLHG WKUR
data collection methods, including interviews with country experts knowledgeable
about stakeholders or with the actual stakeholders directly.

:ROG@

7KLROG@QUUDWLMHWDNKRGHUDEMHWRLMUQHZWKGLMUM
SRLWLBODQKDODWWULEXWHWKDWBQNHWKHSBLWRHVYKHEHRH WLPH
MOWLMWDUHWEGDWBOHFWLSUBLDQPRWLDWDWHQUDWLDQORDMQ
tools, such as *Darzin* software, charts, weightings, matrices and continuums are deployed to
WUWWDNKRGHUSUBHMMGRKLGWDWDWKHDUHPDSSHGR

DWLEQLQDLWLESRWRWKHUHPROHWRROBUOHW
WRLKDUULKW7KHLUBULQHUHHSRWDUHPDUNGRKHOHQZWKDBOM
LQDLWLEWKHLUHRPSUHHUHQ7KLP SOHPHQDORUGHDKKORWKH
QDWKHODQLOOQLQWLQWUHRKWKDWSSRWSMREDUHLQLuHUHQ
to reform.

:ROG@

7KLPHQHPHQU@HPDDEOLWDWHSUDWLESDWLRWLWLDOMUODLGE@DLWLF
WQHWHPELESOLQUWRDQSUDWLHWKDWDUHGHMFGWBPDS@DLQDLQ
UHLWDFW@BUGSLEHREPE@MELOLM WKHPLE@BLWLB@H@SBLF
DUHDEKOGWDNKRGHUBOLWLDQ@SRWDQGSUB@H@H@WKHUP@Q
policy agencies.

Technique of obfuscation and the politics of new ethicalism

7KHVHFROVWHOODWLRQVRIGLVFRVHVHVDQGSUDFWLHVHVEDVHGROVWDNHKROGHULV
JUHDWUKHWRULFD@H@H@LQFRQV@WDQ@FRUSRUDWHSROLF@LUF@WV,WVSURFDSLW
FRKHUHDQGFROVROLGDWHDQH&65VWUDWHJWKDWIRUHJUR@GVWKHVWDNHKROG
KLOHROGHUFROOHFWLYH LGHQWLWLHV HJ IUDFWLROV RI FDSLWDO @UNHUV @LRQV 1
UHFHGH:KHUHDVEHIRUHWKHVJOREDOLVDWLRQRISURG@WLRQDQGUHWDLOGHQRWHO

social relations between retail and manufacturing capital, as well as capital and labour, it
now seems only to signify companies and communities of stakeholders who contribute
W@UG@RL@ONSUB@L@WKHUP@K@L@L@L@H@D@Q@H@M@H@Q@
M@H@K@H@R@W@L@O@N@W@H@U@W@K@D@W@G@L@M@U@W@D@W@H@L@R@R@W@K@H@G@D@N@
side of exploited suppliers and labour to the bright face of stakeholder communication,
H@D@H@P@H@D@Q@U@R@7@K@L@R@W@L@U@D@G@L@W@L@R@H@M@H@Q@G@H@R@B@O@
instrument of passive revolution where challenges by civic activism are resolved in favour
R@M@W@H@U@H@W@D@U@L@Q@

7KL@DMMUHR@W@L@R@H@M@D@W@K@H@H@P@H@H@R@Z@W@K@L@B@O@L@M@L@K@W@D@W@H@L@H@V@
K@D@W@D@N@K@R@G@H@U@H@D@H@P@H@D@L@P@W@R@H@Q@W@H@R@L@S@L@E@H@Z@W@K@H@Z@D@O@
community norms that are dominated by the use of techno-managerial tools and practices
H@W@U@D@L@Q@W@H@U@H@E@L@D@O@N@G@D@W@D@W@K@H@L@S@U@B@L@R@D@U@W@D@W@L@H@M@W@K@L@V@

UJHDUG QHZHWKLF DOLVPTDO EH VHHQ DV DQ HWKLF DOLVHGP DQDJHULDO UHJLPH WKDW V
 VWDELQVH H QK DQ F H QHROLEHU DOLV P WKURXJK P DQDJHUL DOLVDWLRO P DQ G W H F K Q L F D V
 ZWK GLVFLSOLQDU DQGRU JRYHUQPHQWDO HuHFWV 7KHVH HuRUWV WR EXLOG QHROLEH
 SURGXFWHPSRUDUVWUDWHJLF JHVKRZYHUWKHFDQQRWSUHYHQWRSSRVLOJGLVFRXUVHY
 FROWLQXR XVFKDOOHQJHV DULVLQJIURP DQGRU UHVSROGLQJWRWKH FROWUDGLFWLROV
 JOREDOSURGXFWLRODQGVXSOKDLOV PVLGHWKHSURPRWLRQIPQHZHWKLF DOLV P QGWKH
 DWWHPSWV RI P URJUHVVLYH P UNHUV DQG JORFDO PRYHPHQWRULHQWDWHG 12VWRUHVLV
 FKDQJHVRUH[DPSOHWKHFULWFLVHG P WDNHKROGHUHQJDJHPHQW P VDGLYLGH DQGXOH
 WKDW DVUHFRRPHQGHGWR71 & VESXEOLF UHODWLRQVJUXUV P WRLVRODWHWKHU DGLFDOV
 the idealists and educate them into becoming realists; then co-opt the realists into agreeing
 ZWK L Q W U P R K R S S E S : D W K S U H W H G W K H M
 H U Q Q W H K Q V E H D M P D G L B O V H H O P Q L B D W H G E V S R D W H
 H Q H P H Q V E W N G W E L W P W K H U H R H B O O F W K H Q L Q O M R R D W L R O
 O D R H K D P D O D Q H R B O M W L H P Q H B O L W U D W K H U W K D R S U R L M
 Q U U D W L M W D W D N K R G H U H Q H P H Q P D Q G L D O N P K H R P H U L R P W K H L U
 solidaristic actions rather than as being absorbed as stakeholders in the micro-political
 H R R D W D B O H W L R U P L Q Q P R W L R M D W L M P

Concluding remarks

7KH RUH W L F D O O W K L V F K D S W H U K D V D U J X G W K D W D & 3 (D S S U R D F K F D Q F R O W U L E X H V W
 V W D Q G L Q J R I W K H U H O D W L R O V K L S E H W Z H H O O D Q J D J H D Q G S R O L W L F V L O W R D V) L U V W L W H
 D U W L F D W L R Q R I V W U X W D O I H D W M H V R I F D S L W D O L V W H F R Q R P L F S R O L W L F D O U H
 Q H J O H F W L O J W K H L U V H P L R W L F S U R S H U W L H V W R W K H P R U H F R O W L Q J H O W G L V F V L Y H I H
 construction, selective knowledge production, and remaking of social relations. Second, it
 adds to the agenda of Critical Discourse Studies by highlighting the importance of structural
 W H [W E W K H H P H U H R R R L E P D L Q U L H W H [D P L A K L K L Q L Y G B O V
 groups, or organisations participate in this discursive network, what ideas and practices are
 selected, what disciplinary and governmental technologies are involved, and how are they
 resisted in the remaking of social relations.

Empirically, this chapter has used CPE to examine how capitalism is changing in the
 H R L E H U D O D H , W H Q U D W H G W K H U L M R D O U H W D L O K D L Q Q W K H Q L G D W L R
 Wal-Martisation as a low-cost accumulation strategy. With the development of scorecards
 D Q G D W D X H U M P W K H M O R D O U H W D L O H U W H W R D L Q D L Q U P U L S M U X S O L H U V
 manufacturers and pass their costs and production insecurity to their workers. Labour unions
 D Q K D M K D O O H G W K H L U O D E N D Q H Q R H Q D O H [H M Y D P L [H G M R
 W U L K W E L W L E P D Q P H D Q K D P H W U D W H L H Y Q H S R E S R D W L R W K D G M H
 from policy gurus, management consultants and development practitioners, have constructed
 W K H O D Q H S R D W H R D O S H Y N E L O L W K H W D U W H G E L Q U R K Q N G H V
 R N D Q K D M U D G N O O P N G W B U G W D N K R G H U L M P W K H W K H N D E O H
 and polysemic nature of this discourse is also subjected to appropriation and interpretation
 E W U D W H L B W R D W S H E M W K H 7 K H G L N M W D N K R G H U H Q H P H Q V U H
 U H S H D W H G O M O H W H G P D Q H U L D O L M G D Q W H K Q D O L M G E Y W Y H U Q W L R O R D Q W L R
 O R D O R P E W L R W D Q H Q K H O R D O R S D W D Q L W W H S E W L Q
 L Q W L D W L M K D M E H H Q L W L E M G D V Q U R H O V R S K O L E H O D W L R O M D K L Q K L V
 U H Q W H Z W K W K H E L W L R E H H Q K L Q H M O O H G E R H D W W K H D M U H O D W L R
 E H W Z H Q P D Q S M E R H H Q E W D N K R G H U U D G N O O E H R H R M H W R
 H U Q P D Q M H W W M U P H O D O B O N D W L R H U Q W R D Q S U D W L H V

OLWFKHOO55CH5RRG7RZUGDWKHRURIVWDNHNKROGHULGHQWLFJEDWLRQDQGVLDOLHQFH
 HQLOQWKHSULQFLSOHRIKRDQGGZDUWUHDQOFRXQWV of *Management Review*
 SS±

IHLQVROBVLWHU1URPSUHFHDULWWRSUHFHDULRXVQHVVVDQGEDFNDJDLQ/LIHDQGXQVWDEOH
 QHWZRUYe *FibreCulture Journal*, iss. 5, available from: KWWSMEUHNWVHMQRJ
 MURSUHEDULWWRUHDULWVQEDNDLQDENOLHDCQWDEOHQWEN
 [accessed DUK@

KUHNLYKHEDODFCNHDUG:KDWLWKHNH Accounting, *Organizations and Society*,
 SS±DLODEOHURVHGLUHWRHHDUWLDHSL6
 DHNGDUK@

W-BHWQKS SHGHQVKHRSRDLW Stanford University Press, Stanford,
 &

W-BHWQKNDQLQKHH[WHQHGHVHUSULM7KHQVDNKRGHUMH
 California *Management Review*SS±

3XQIMade in ChinaXNHQLYHUVLW3UHVXUKDP1&
 &20 Wal-Mart's sweatshop monitoring fails to catch violations: The story of toys made in
 China for Wal-Mart-XQHDYDLODEOHIURPKWWSVDFRPKNZSFRQWHQWXSORDGVZDOPDUW
 UHSRUWVDFRPMXQSGIDFFHVHVG0DUFK@

HOZQWRPPRGLWFKDLQVFUHDWLYHGHVWUXFWLRQDQGGJOREDOLQHTXDOLW\$ODVVDQDOVLV
 Journal of *Economic Geography*SS±

XP1/DOODUWLVDWLRQDQG&LJDLWLRQLQGHYHORSLOJFRXQWULHV Corporate Social
 Responsibility and regulatory governance HGV3WVWLQJ - &0DUTXHV3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQ
 /RQGRQDQGSHQHYDSS±

XP1/-HVVR% Towards a cultural political economy: Putting culture in its place in
 political economy, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK.

K1RDRDOLDWLDQSDUDGHVHWKLEO WUDQWLRO SURWLQ
 Competition & ChangeSS±

QLWHGIDWLRQV(FRQRPLFDQG&FLDO&RPPLVLRQIRU\$LDQDQG WKH3DFLEd Nations
 Global Compact Training of Trainers Course Guidance Manual, available from: www.unescap.
 EUHNNHWHGQWLQRDORSDFWUDLQWUDLQUNMKGDHPDQO DHMG
 DUK@

:DQODUWVBOOKLDENUKWEDN The American prospect\$ULO
 available from: KWWSUHNHWRDUWLDHDPDUWVBOOKLDQRNUKWEDN
 [accessed DUK@

:BDMKHGLNMMKLWRLBODSSURKIQ Methods of *Critical Discourse Analysis*, eds.
 5:BDNHU DJH/RQGRQSS±

:RUOG DQN KDW LV VWDNHNKROGHU DQDOVLVQDYDLODEOH IURP ZZZRUOGEDQNRUJ
 SXEOLFVHFWRUDQWLFRUUXSW3ROLWLFDO(FRQRPVWDNHNKROGHUDDKQVLVWKPDDFFHVHVG

The rationalisation of politics

Ruth Wodak and Bernhard Forchtner

Introduction

7KL VFKDSWHUDGGUHVHVVDJHQUHWKDWKDV EHF RPHLQFUHDV LQJOV FHVVIØLQUHFH soap operas dealing with politics and the actions of politicians, such as *The West Wing*, *Borgen*, *House of Cards*, *In the Thick of it*, *Yes Minister*, and *Im Kanzleramt*. Even more recently, 83KHJW DV presents the viewer with a scenario of the United Kingdom Independence Party 83ZLQQLQJWKHVLWLVKQDWLRQDOHOHFWRQVØQGWKH SRVVLEOHFRQVHTXHQFHVRIVXFKDQHYHQW:KDWDOOWKHVHSROLWLFDOWHOHYLVLRQF WKHLUSRUWUDDORIZKDWLVVXDQOLQDFFHVVLEOHIRUWKHZLGHUSXEOLFVKHEDFNVWD :RGDN :RGDN)RUFKWQHU &RUQHUEFKDUGVRQ 3HUU\ YDQ=RRQHQ:ULQJROO&RUQHU3HOV

WXUQLQJWRWKHIDUOHVVVWUDWHJLFDQOØODQOHGDQGSROLVKHGEDFNVWDJHRIFR SROLWLFV DW OHDVW LQ FRPSDULVRQ WR WKH WKRURXJKOPDQXIDFWXUHGIURQVWWD UHSUHVHQVZKDWLV DVVXPHGSUHVSXSRVHGRUHYHQKDOINQRZQDERXWWKHHYHUGL politicians, about their private lives, their advisers and spin-doctors, possible scandals or QVDMOODWKHWUDWHLHDQSURMROLWLBOSUROHPØMNDØH\ DUUEOH\DUUEOH\KDOOHQØQØQ:ULQ SULKWOMWWWKHMPEGHUQUDDPD\LRQNHROLWLBOLPDLQWLR and understanding, complementing or even contrasting with the standard sources that MQOLFRHU\

7KLVDUEODWOHDWRWKHUHDQWKHPHGLDKDMWUWHGWRHEHDWHWKH EDNDHLDØPWSRHUVDQWKHU PHGLD LQGHU WDWLWKH ZGHYUHDG demand, as expressed in opinion polls and surveys, to know more about how decisions are taken, how politicians live, and what their everyday lives might consist of, that is, what GRDLWLFLKWPHDQQLPSOØURGLDQSSDUHQVZQØWKHJHDOLWLHV EHKLQSLWLKSURDPPH\UWDSURLPLWVKDWDOOKH\UWEHODWHPRH ØMO\WSDWLWLDQ SRLWLEDQWKHU EGVHPLROLDWLSSHUROLDWLQ DHWKHWLEDWLQHEHDMGGLDWEDQGDUPDWLWLRQODQØKHDXGHQVLPWLRQ comprehensibility by the audience. Citizens and viewers disillusioned by present-day SRLWLEGLMØPDWLQQWKHØOOHGGHPEDWLEHEFWØDUHWKXHUHG

DXWKRULWLHVRIWKHQDWLROFROFHSWXDOLVHG DV D IDPLO\H EHOLHYH WKDW ERWK 1ERUJUHODWH WR WKHIUDPHRIWKHIXUWXULQJ3DUHQW\WKRXJK VXEWOHGLuHUHQFHV where it is assumed that the world is basically good, or at least that the good would win, DWHUDULWUHXHMUGDQUNQGLv\WWWKHKOGPDEHDWSUHMQLWBDQ WKQHRHEHWWHU,\QKLMQBPLOWKHKLKHWPREDOMONDUHHPDWDKQ UHSMELOLW\SHMELOLWLVWLWLDOMFEHLDRQW\KHUPHDKHLQHSMEOH not only for looking after the well-being of others, but also being responsible to ourselves WKDWZBDQDN\DUH\WKHU\QHW\QW\XDO\PRDOLWLV\SUHMGD\XDO UHSMELOLW\7KL\UHKUHV\RHUWLD\QDWKHUWKDQ\SHWLWLD\Q UHRWLR LQ\HUGHSHQH\HDS

7KLMDFHLM\WDSM\GZWKWKH\WUL\W\DWKHU\WUL\Q\RSHWLWLM\OGKHUH WKHUHDUH\H\WULQ\Z\UD\Q\OMU\KLOGUH\RS\SHROH\DUH\H\Z\GDS\W\H\WLD\OO\ weak and bad, they have to be disciplined. Morality and success are thus linked through GLESOLE\K\K\PH\VL\H\KUH\G\WRD\OD\H\WKH\PR\DO\EN\K\K\K\W\ MHU\ED\WLM\Q\H\H\WUL\W\DWKHU\PR\DOL\W\WK\K\PS\OL\H\D\Q\W\K\D\OW\UD\GL\WLR\OD\Q conservative moral order.

.R\K\Q\SH\ND\WH\KD\WK\K\ORD\OL\M\G\M\H\Q\EH\OL\H\DE\N\S\RL\WLD\Q SRLWLED\Q\K\W\LPS\O\R\SHRO\H\W\W\W\W\H\Y\Q\RL\Q\EN\S\RL\WLD\W\K\DW\DUH\WKH H\K\K\K\K\K\Q\SHU\W\D\Q\LS\RL\WLD\W\HP\ODU\H\O\UR\W\K\L\W\OG\R W\LR\OL\M\G\S\RL\WLD\

Staging and doing politics

Most examples in media studies cast their gaze on the work and life of politicians from W\MG\HU\DW\KHU\WKD\Q\W\K\L\Q\K\H\K\OG\RL\W\K\H\M\DU\H\RE\DO\H\Q\H\G\H\M\G\E\WKH SK\OL\G\DK\LM\K\DW\UM\PD\Q\H\H\U\H\G\W\B\W\W\DH\K\HUH actors perform in sanctioned public arenas, stage their work and are perceived by their DUL\K\L\H\H\PD\Q\HG

R\UH\W\O\W\DH\G\D\Q\SHUR\PH\G\K\DU\DW\HU\O\HD\G\W\K\H\D\&L\H\Q\WR\PS\W\H\DM\OM\W\D performed character, but this imputation – this self – is a product of a scene that comes RD\Q\W\K\H\D\MR\W\7\K\H\M\O\W\K\H\Q\D\SHUR\PH\G\K\DU\DW\HU\L\W\DR\D\Q\F W\K\L\Q\K\DW\K\DM\SY\HE\Q\B\W\L\Q\Q\DP\H\Q\D\OD\W\H\L\WR\HER\Q\RD\W\K\HD\Q W\B\L\H\L\WLD\G\UD\PD\W\L\H\U\H\W\DUL\Q\Lu\M\OUR\DM\Q\W\K\DW\L\SU\HM\Q\H\G\D\Q\WKH characteristic issue, the crucial concern, is whether it will be credited or discredited.

R\PD\Q\SS±

7KHM\DW\L\K\W\LH\B\O\X\HE\Q\PD\Q\U\H\Y\Q\DUH\UL\W\B\OL\M\G\D\W\UD\G\H\OP\D\Q ØDL\PH\GL\Q\LM\PL\Q\O\EN *The symbolic use of politics.* However, in contrast to this U\Q\W\DH\H\UDU\H\O\K\DM\DH\W\K\H\ED\W\DH\W\K\H\politics de couloir\WK\HP\D\Q\ FR\Q\Y\H\U\VD\WLR\Q\VD\Q\G\WK\JRVVLS\L\Q\WK\FRUUL\GRUV\Z\K\H\Q\SROL\W\L\FLD\Q\V\PHHW\L\QIRU\ :R\G\DN\HW\DO.U\J\Q\R\Z\VN\L2EHUKXEHU

ØFN\VD\JH\LV\Z\KHUH\SHUIRUPHUV\DUH\SUHV\H\Q\W\EXW\WKH\ZLGHU\DXGLH\Q\FH\LV\QR\W\H\ SHUIRUPHUV\FD\Q\W\H\SR\X\WR\FK\DU\DF\WH\UZL\W\KRX\WIHD\UR\IGLV\UX\SWL\Q\J\WK\H\SHUIRUP\D\Q region is the place where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly Q\UD\GL\W\H\G\DD\PD\W\WHU\H\MR\PD\Q\W\L\K\HU\HD\W\S\U\HM\GL\Q the frontstage and various kinds of informal actions may appear, which are not accessible to W\MG\HU\W\WLD\Q\SHUR\PD\Q\EH\RH\Q\PR\H\GL\W\Q\WP\DW\W\WHU\H\DP\H\PEHU\WKH

PLOOLRQVRIYLH#UUVDFURVVKHJOREHDOGDUDHDXDEOSDUWRIRQHSDUWLFXODUJHQUH\$
PDE#FKDUDFWHULVHGIROORZQJ)DLUFORXJKSDVVKHFRQYHQWLRQDOLVHGPRUHRU
OHVVVFKHPDWLFDODD#HGXVHRIODQJXDJDHVVRFLDWHGZWKDSDUWLFXODUDFWLYLWVDP
UDWL#G#WKDWLVVRFLDODD#FFHSHWG#D#R#XVLOQJODQJXDJHLQFRQOHFWLRQZWKDSDUWLF
W#SHR#VRFLDODFWLYLW#PLODUWR)DLUFORXJK#GHQLWLRQ#B#NKWLQ#S#VSRNH
DOUHDGR#JHQUH#LQ#WHUP#VR#H#D#FK#V#HSDUD#WH#X#W#W#H#D#Q#F#H#L#V#L#Q#G#L#G#X#D#O#R#I#F#R#X#V#H#E#
V#S#K#H#U#H#L#Q#L#F#K#O#D#Q#J#D#H#L#V#V#H#G#G#H#Y#H#O#R#S#V#L#W#V#R#Z#U#H#O#D#W#L#Y#H#O#W#D#E#O#H#W#S#H#V#R#I#W#K#H#V#H#X#W#
:K#D#W#F#K#D#U#D#F#W#H#U#L#V#H#V#W#K#H#V#H#U#L#H#V#H#D#U#H#L#Q#W#H#U#H#V#W#H#G#L#Q#K#D#W#P#D#N#H#V#X#F#K#V#H#U#L#H#V#R#E#
:K#L#F#K#L#Q#W#H#U#H#V#W#D#O#G#Q#H#H#G#V#D#P#R#Q#J#P#D#V#D#X#G#L#H#Q#F#H#V#D#U#H#W#K#H#V#D#W#L#V#L#Q#J#5#R#O#O#L#Q#V#
2#R#R#O#Q#R#U#H#O#D#E#R#U#D#W#H#W#K#H#U#H#L#V#Q#R#V#L#P#S#O#H#D#Q#V#H#U#W#R#W#K#H#V#H#T#X#H#V#W#L#R#Q#V#7#K#H#U#H#D#U#H#P#D#

possible factors motivating audiences to watch these programmes, ranging from simple

KL#R#W#W#K#H#L#G#H#Q#L#P#L#Q#W#L#Q#W#K#D#O#W#H#U#Q#W#L#M#S#R#L#W#L#F#
#H#I#D#P#S#O#H#H#H#U#V#L#K#W#D#S#S#U#H#E#D#W#H#W#K#H#S#R#W#U#D#D#O#R#R#L#W#L#E#D#Q#W#K#H#L#U#D#G#L#M#U#V#
#O#O#H#G#R#P#D#O#K#R#D#H#L#D#H#H#H#U#H#H#S#U#L#K#W#O#W#D#W#H#V#
W#K#D#W#L#L#L#W#The#West#Wing#X#U#Q#V#D#E#O#L#Q#G#H#H#W#R#W#K#H#V#R#I#V#W#D#u#S#R#O#L#W#L#F#V#D#Q#
I#D#F#W#L#R#Q#D#O#L#V#P#L#Q#V#L#G#H#W#K#H#K#L#W#H#R#X#V#H#K#L#V#L#Q#L#G#L#F#D#W#H#V#W#K#D#W#D#O#W#K#R#J#K#S#R#O#L#W#L#F#L#D#Q#V#

as emotional, irrational and ambivalent human beings, they all seem to identify with the
R#O#H#D#M#D#Q#U#D#H#O#R#S#H#W#H#Z#W#K#H#D#K#K#W#K#H#U#R#U#D#G#L#W#H#D#K#K#W#K#H#U#The#West#Wing
W#K#H#D#W#H#D#Q#S#U#H#M#H#D#H#D#Q#W#Q#L#N#O#W#R#L#U#R#D#W#E#O#R#L#W#L#Q#K#R#H#W#
K#V#L#R#K#W#K#H#M#U#D#K#U#H#W#K#H#W#D#W#H#D#O#L#W#K#H#D#M#K#H#V#L#R#O#L#D#W#L#R#
of politics, and Crawley therefore makes the interesting point that the:

lure of television is that it promises to bring a new opportunity that is as much about
L#W#H#O#O#H#W#E#O#L#Q#L#P#D#L#W#L#E#H#P#W#L#R#O#H#Q#W#H#O#O#H#W#E#O#W#K#H#S#K#O#L#P#D#
recognize the players of the familiar presidential performance but what allows them to
U#H#S#D#W#H#G#O#D#W#K#W#K#H#S#R#H#U#D#L#M#D#U#W#W#K#H#K#H#W#K#D#W#W#K#H#H#W#S#R#L#W#L#E#D#Q#O#P#D#N#
them feel better.

R#D#O#H#S#S#±

W#Q#H#S#U#H#M#D#W#L#R#S#O#L#N#The#West#Wing#and#Borgen#R#U#H#U#D#V#S#H#F#L#F#S#H#U#V#S#H#F#W#L#Y#H#
R#Q#K#R#Z#S#R#O#L#W#L#F#V#L#V#G#R#Q#H#R#U#W#K#H#H#U#L#F#D#Q#R#U#X#U#R#S#H#D#Q#O#D#D#X#G#L#H#Q#F#H#V#D#Q#G#E#H#F#D#X#V#H#W#K#
V#H#U#L#H#V#K#D#Y#H#E#H#H#Q#G#X#E#E#H#G#L#Q#P#D#Q#O#D#Q#J#X#D#J#H#V#D#O#V#R#D#O#P#R#V#W#Z#R#U#O#G#Z#L#G#H#R#Z#H#Y#H#U#Z#K#L#
Z#D#W#F#K#L#Q#J#W#K#H#V#H#V#H#U#L#H#V#D#Q#V#L#P#L#O#D#U#S#U#R#G#X#F#W#L#R#Q#V#L#Q#R#W#K#H#U#F#R#X#Q#W#U#L#H#V#Z#H#P#L#J#K#W#D#
whether or not this is the *only* way, or whether it is instead just *one* Z#D#R#I#G#R#L#Q#J#S#R#O#L#W#L#F#V#
,Q#G#H#H#G#Z#H#P#L#J#K#W#T#X#H#V#W#L#R#Q#Z#K#H#W#K#H#U#H#S#U#H#V#H#Q#W#D#W#L#R#Q#I#G#R#L#Q#J#S#R#O#L#W#L#F#V#Q#V#R#D#S#F#
L#Q#I#D#F#W#U#H#V#H#P#E#O#H#W#K#H#H#D#O#H#Y#H#U#G#D#O#L#I#H#R#I#S#R#O#L#W#L#F#V#D#W#D#O#O#Q#E#R#W#K#F#D#W#H#V#Z#H#Q#H#H#G#W#
the media represent politics in this particular way.

Narratives and myths

&H#Q#W#U#D#O#L#Q#K#R#Z#W#R#U#L#H#V#narrative#and#story#D#U#H#X#V#H#G#V#Q#R#Q#P#R#X#V#O#L#Q#W#K#H#I#R#O#O#R#Z#L#Q#J#V#X#F#K#D#
W#K#H#V#H#D#U#H#S#U#H#V#H#Q#W#H#G#D#U#H#J#V#W#D#F#R#X#S#O#H#R#I#F#R#Q#F#H#S#W#W#K#D#W#F#D#S#W#X#U#H#U#H#O#D#W#L#R#Q#V#E#H#
discourses through which meaning arises. W#H#U#W#H#W#H#G#L#W#to#the#fact#that#all#texts#are#
linked to other texts, both in the past and in the present. Such links can be established in
G#L#u#H#U#H#U#Q#D#W#K#U#K#L#G#U#H#H#U#H#E#W#R#W#L#E#W#K#H#P#D#L#Q#F#W#K#U#K#W#K#H#79#
series; through reference to the same events; or by the transfer of central arguments from
R#W#H#W#L#Q#W#K#H#Q#W#7#K#H#O#D#W#W#H#U#S#U#R#M#D#O#R#V#U#H#R#H#W#E#O#L#D#W#M#D#N#Q#
D#U#R#H#Q#D#Q#U#H#W#D#W#L#D#W#L#Q#H#W#H#W#I#W#R#M#U#M#W#K#H#S#U#R#H#H#H#H#W#H#W#E#O#L#D#W#L#R#

and then, when the respective element is implemented in a new context, of recontextualisation.
7KHHOHPHQWKHQKUHGHZHDQHEHMPHDQQUHRPHGLMLLWVHWHLQ

Interdiscursivity, however, indicates that discourses are linked to each other in
DULVMA GHQ GLMM DSULPDULO\WLEFHODWHG WKDWLDGLMM D
political actor, event, object or process, then a discourse on terrorism, for example, may
typically refer to the topics or sub-topics of other discourses, such as religion, gender, threat,
security or racism.

HQZ SRQ WVKHQUUDWLMRPWU 5LKK DQRH R.WV
SDUWLNDULWLHMQGHUWRDNMMR\KHMULHDQWKHLUDSSHDQBOBKWQU
KKWQU.OVDDDUUDWLMNQEOHW\RHSLWKDHRGHMORPHQMM KHU
words, the succession of *events*, involving the selection of events, their fore- and backgrounding,
and the choice to arrange them according to the fundamental schema of beginning, middle,
DQHQLHMV DQ5LKK SODLPPHVLWVGHQWLRLWV
VULEWLVWVKHGHMORPHQVKHQUUDWLMVWVKHRRHUUDWLMGHULMMR
LWVLDUUDUUDPHQVNOHFWHGHMVLOQEHGSOWOLQPDNWKHMM\KH
LPSOLEWBNOLWLHDQWKHMM\KHWRDSSHUQWQDO5LKK

What we want to focus on here, is the particular status of the hero in narratives – due to the fact
WKDWLWLMVKHKKHVKKHUWKDWDWREHRRHGHG¶

7KLKDUDWHULYDORR VVKH DWHRLHVDGLPLU BRS GHULMGURKLV
seminal analysis of folk tales.⁴ L WKKWVKH KHUSRQ WRDWOHDW WFKDO
GLPHQWVKHURDUHDQDMM\DUKRRHMONGLDWUHHRRHWKLD

Second, the position given to this character implies that the audience will be invited to
DKDWHLGHQVLWVMOZWKWKH KHURHUH UHWKVLK S KM
VLRUUDWLMGLGHQVLWUHWVVKHDDLPWKDW [i]t is the identity of the story that makes
the identity of the character that is:

that the traits of the main hero cannot be at odds with the kind of story narrated about
KLP,WLVQKHMLWLBOO\MEOHQKDW BDDSDUDWH D WDEOH DWHRLBO
identity, which is associated with the listing of certain personality traits, from the
narrative identity developed in the unfolding of the story, in order to analyze how these
WBUHLQHUMLK

KKWQU.OVDDS

7KLVUNOVKHKHURHODWHWVBDMBOPWKNQMDKLOOHMHULHGDQPDQ
WKHUVKLK KDM LQVQRPHG PHDQPDNQ\HPSRDUVHWLHV
H[DPSON:ULKWVDEOHWRQWUDWHWKDWWKHHQHLOG:HWQPMQ\PSRWDQ
VLRPHULBRHWLPHDWPVKDENWKHSLRHURRMDQH[SORLQ
WKHUVLHUNHNUWKHMPSOHDQKHDQLMMDQEDGUHSUHMVHGE\
hero and villain forms a basis for the perception and interpretation of historic events where
WKHZZQWKHEDGOMVKMDDOUHDGQVHGLQLLGNOWH[WMSLHVDUH
embedded in a web of contexts through which the good and the bad gain their particular
PHDQQLHVKWVWL:ULKWPDLDLQKDW

,WKHRRPWKDQQUUDWLMMLPBRHORPDNMMR[SHULHVKHWVKH
VHQV RDUWLNDUPWKMPERLHDQPDNSMEOHWKLVBHO\KHDO
PHDQPWK PD\EHRR LGHQLHG ZWK WKH QDPHQDO RDDWLK
QHUWDQLQKLVKWKPLQVWMOIDQLWVQOG R WKLVDHQLWLV
DSSDUHQWKDWLADUHNQVSHUWDQDQH[SODLSHEKRDQWLKPV

be able to relate those actions to the social narratives or myths of the society to which
WKHDFREHONVLDWOHDWSDUWOWKUKWKHMPWKWKDWKHPDNMMKLV
world, and thus the meaning of his actions – both to himself and his society – can only
be grasped through a knowledge of the structure and meaning of the myth.

:ULKWS

When viewing the enormously positive reception of *The West Wing* and the emotional
LGHQLDWLRQWKWKHDUDWHURHMGHQDUWOHWWLWPDNMQWRHODWHWKHDEMWR
WKLFPBRLWLDLPHQ, QHHG&DHS MWKDW WKLFLRO
B/HMGHQRPWVHUHW\$HG\$SWLRQB/HMGHQRWKHKP&LH
ZWK DOO KL VDKKQCHLQQ B/HMGHQ KHLVQHOOHVNO PRDO DWKHUODQ
DWKRLWDWLDQEHWDWHDPHDCWHPKLR\$OLH\$W\$WKWUDGLWLRQ
M\$ZUW[SHWDWLW\$WKHUPRHE\$DHS\$HMMUDOLW\$D\$WKH
KHUHWKLVLRQKOGK\$HOG\$D\$HPSODUP\$HOW\$KHUHDO\$OGRRLWLF
M\$D\$D\$WLD\$DWKH WHDKHU\$WKHDWLRQ\$G\$WLD\$DWLRQ
journalists in the *New York Times* and the *Detroit Free Press*UHIHUWRDUWOHWWV\$ROLFHVVD
JRGPRGHOWREHIROORZHG RUPHQWLRQFKDUDFWHULVWLFVRI3UHVLGHQW\$DUWOHWW
SUHVLGHQWLD\$D\$D\$GLGDWHVRUHDQ\$K\$K\$XOGEHZLVHWRFRS\$KHUFRQWH[W\$DOLV
also apparent outside of the US: the *Guardian* -XOQDORQJUH\$RUWGHVFULELQJWKHQ
&RQVHU\$D\$WLYH OHDGHU DYL\$ &DPHURQV LGHDV DERXW KLV SRVLEOH UROH DV 3ULPH
VKRXOG WKH/DERXU 3DUW\$RVH\$WKH JHQHUDOHOHFWRQDVWKHGLGLQIUHTXHQWQ
referred to *The West Wing* KLVLOOXVWUDWHV\$K\$West Wing serves as both global-
BHGHEUDQDQW[H[WPHOR\$WKH\$GHDO\$DLWLEDQ\$DLWLD\$M\$H\$DOR
:B\$SRDQ[W\$H\$M\$GL\$M\$WLD\$W\$S\$D\$OH[D\$PSOHRUHM\$W\$L\$HEF
SUNDR\$W\$S\$Q\$W\$R\$D\$G\$M\$D\$Q\$W\$U\$B\$H\$G\$H\$D\$R\$H\$U\$H\$D\$O\$S\$D\$W\$LEDQ

Vignette 1: The West Wing, or, the story of a nurturing patriarch

7KH HSLVRGH RPPHQFHPHQW\$K\$LFK\$J\$VW DLUH\$ LQ WDNHV SODFH RQ WKH HYH RI
DUWOHWWV\$G\$K\$W\$HURH\$V\$RPPHQFHPHQW\$DUWOHWWUHSUH\$V\$H\$Q\$W\$H\$G\$D\$V\$D\$U\$D\$W\$KHU\$V
gains authority through wisdom. He is the nurturing parent, overcoming resistance, as in a
URDQ\$W\$R\$U\$H\$7KHUHL\$M\$M\$D\$Q\$K\$W\$K\$K\$H\$R\$M\$U\$H\$D\$Q\$K\$R\$D\$G
DQH\$O, WLVUWDLQWKH\$M\$WKDW\$DUWOHWWL\$Q\$D\$W\$UL\$W\$DWKHU\$H\$WKH\$D\$O\$R\$H\$W
WUD\$Q\$W\$K\$H\$M\$UR\$P\$R\$W\$UD\$G\$L\$W\$R\$O\$K\$H\$U\$W\$H\$D\$G\$K\$H\$U\$S\$U\$H\$M\$D\$Q\$W\$K\$R\$L\$W\$D\$W\$L\$M\$H\$
but one which is good and wise.

BHNUDDOUHDGPHQ\$R\$G\$DUWOHWWGHSL\$W\$WKHOLEH\$UD\$O\$B\$H\$UL\$D\$Q\$O\$N\$Q
L\$D\$Q\$P\$V\$D\$K\$H:KLWH\$M\$D\$Q\$WKH:H\$W:L\$Q\$U\$H\$P\$H\$R\$W\$K\$H
ELH\$W\$S\$K\$U\$K\$V\$Q\$H\$UL\$D\$Q\$DL\$W\$K\$L\$K\$H\$U\$H\$W\$K\$H\$B\$H\$M\$G\$H\$M\$Q
UHHL\$M\$G\$H\$P\$H\$H\$W\$D\$U\$H\$O\$R\$H\$H\$L\$W\$D\$W\$H\$M\$W\$D\$Q\$W\$LD\$W\$H\$W\$K\$R\$S\$W\$L\$R\$O
S\$R\$L\$W\$LED\$Q\$Q\$W\$K\$H\$S\$U\$H\$V\$K\$L\$K\$H\$U\$H\$B\$H\$UL\$D\$Q\$DL\$W\$L\$E\$R\$7\$K\$H\$R\$S\$W\$L\$R\$Q
W\$K\$L\$M\$W\$K\$H\$5\$H\$S\$K\$O\$L\$D\$Q\$U\$W\$D\$O\$D\$W\$W\$H\$P\$S\$W\$R\$S\$M\$D\$Q\$R\$W\$U\$M\$W\$D\$W\$K\$H\$L\$U\$M\$D\$W\$Q\$K\$H
Senate and Congress; however, due to the two-party system in the US, there are no
S\$E\$LO\$L\$W\$L\$H\$R\$D\$Q\$U\$D\$G\$L\$W\$R\$R\$OL\$W\$L\$Q\$U\$P\$H\$Q\$W\$K\$K\$H\$B\$H\$M\$G\$H\$Q\$L\$Q\$K\$H\$B\$W
DUHS\$U\$H\$M\$D\$W\$L\$M\$H\$H\$D\$V\$Q\$H\$R\$H\$D\$Q\$UL\$H\$E\$W\$H\$u\$H\$W\$L\$M\$O\$W\$K\$H\$P\$W\$S\$K\$U\$Q
S\$R\$L\$W\$LED\$Q\$Q\$K\$H\$R\$U\$P\$H\$Q\$W\$K\$L\$D\$W\$K\$H\$R\$R\$L\$W\$B\$O\$D\$Q\$K\$L\$W\$E\$L\$B\$O\$Q\$H[W\$Q
The West Wing and *Borgen*DUHYHUG\$Lu\$H\$U\$H\$Q\$W\$Z\$K\$H\$Q\$Z\$D\$W\$F\$K\$L\$Q\$J\$W\$K\$H\$V\$H\$V\$R\$D\$S\$V\$W\$K\$H\$F\$R\$Q\$W\$H[W
have to be kept in mind in order to understand the subtle underlying intertextual meanings
and insinuations as well as presuppositions.

,QWKHIROORZQJH[WUDFWVWUWOHWWWEULHIVWVKHVVDuRQKLVSDVWUROHLQDFRYHUM
 YHDOOHJHGWHUURULVWVJRPLVLQJ)HDULOJWVKHFROWURYHUVWKLVPDFUHDWHSUHVV
 &HLHGHGWVULNDGHDOZWKKHURPHUERLHQDQLQWLDOMKQOLW
 Danny, in order to keep the truth buried. Meanwhile, a new Secret Service agent is assigned
 WRUWHWVKHUDGFWH=RKQWVRHQWVKUHHQKLDULEWKKHUERLHQ
 DWHU UDGNWLUWUOHWW LVHSUHMVHG DV KUHZ SBLWLEDQLQWK SWHQLDO
 terrorists, but also as a concerned father who wants to persuade his daughter to stay in the
 MMU=HNDQKHVDQLOH WKH ZH WKH BHLGHQSHUODGMMU
 7RLMELUWK WRVZQWKHUPRH WKUKW WKH KQH HSLZHNRMUM WKH
 BHLGHQSUHSDULRPHPHQDQWKSHHKKHLGNWRMVKHUHLVLDQ
 PHULDQGLMU:LOOKHOSKLPUSHSUDUHWKSHHKKDWWKHMUQDWPLNHSHEHUH
 theme in *The West Wing*,LVWKDWUWOHWWH[FHOVZKHQJLYLQJVSHHFKHVHYHQDQGVPRHWL
 especially – when they are given spontaneously and without notes.

,QKLMQ:LOOLMUVWGHWRDNDWDUWVKSHHKDUWOHWWBMOOWKUM
 RRGHUDWLDREHU KLWELDO WHVLD HWKH WKDW DOOHWKLEURG
 RHGHMMU:LOODMHPQLQWKHBHVGHWKLEKWRH=RWWD\
 in the US, suggesting that the speech might be counter-productive; while the speech exhorts
 WKHQWLQRPEDHFKDHDQDQGMVQKHUWOHWWLHUGWNNHSLKQDKWHUDH
 at home.

§77. #EHHQKLNQ:OLNWRDQEN EHDWLEW;KGRW
 WDUWHGPHWKKWQ,OMRQ

:.HMU

§77 KDWGRVQLDEN KWKHGRD:HOWVHLQHDGRVKH
 Gandhi.

:.HOO,WKLVKHEWKENVMH,EGQPDNDPRHKDHC
 WDWKQKQKL<

§77 RWEHWKHKDEHVKDWLW± RWEHWKHKDEK
 WMHLQKHEOGI,WRKOLNDWHUSKLOK\
 :.HOOLWDERWRU

§77 QMDQKLOLMGLQLD

:.ADKLU WKL VHHK L DEN EHDWLEWDLQ LQMHHPHQLWQ KRH
 UCDWLWLWLDVSHHK WKDW ZOOH=RWWRVRLDE
 tomorrow.

§77:HOOOHWVWLWHWKDWR

QNSWKHGHKQHWVULNRSQ&URWDE

HMUWKHOHVLLOORMUMWKDW DLW WDQWKHJW GUDW LD KRHUSKLVWVW
 PHWDSKEUREDMEOOMUMWVHDWHLGHQLPWLQWKWKH PHULDQGLHQDV
 SHUKDSGHWKHSUWHVWLMKHWNHSLKQDKWHUDWKRH7KHBHMLGHQVHSRLV
 KRWDQKQKQKDWLQHGHLVSHHKWKDWZOOHNSKLGDKWHUDH:KHQW
 RHWRWUWOHWWVDWHUQOLQLQVVEHDWLEWDFWVKHUSRVRGHQLPWLQ
 RWKHD&LHQVQLVULHLQHUDVLRKHWUMVHDQRHQWVKSHHKDUHGHEGHG
 QWQUHPDLQRHZLWWHQWKKWKHDLGH:LOODGGUHMWKHBHMLGHQVWKKW
 GHUHVLDOSHSLWKHWLUWKHLQHUDVLRMUWKHOHVHMPEOHVDEUDLQVPLQHWVH
 peers; hierarchy remains latent, and the President readily accepts advice and criticism.

,QKLMQWKHKHUM[HSWLRQDELOLWLEHUHG:LWKWKHDMORQH
 of a skilful orator, the President has not bothered to write up the whole speech, he merely

KDV QRWHV ZLWWHQ RQ QDSNLQV VVXuHG LQ KLV SRFNHVV 8QIRUWXQDWHO'E'SXWWL university gown, he cannot retrieve the notes, and thus, he suddenly discovers when GHSHUDWHO MDUKL B D Q Q Q L Q L W H W K D W K H Z O O K D M W R H D E W K W consulting them.

QUBHMGHQ"

SG77QHUWDQLW WLP H H L S X K L K L K L Q G H W K H U H K W H

chevrons for his degrees, honours and disciplines and two cowls. The uniform of academic knighthood.

& \$ & (/ 2 \$ H R X U H D G Q U 3 U H V L G H Q W "

D K K D Q N V : L O O I R U W K H K H O S

./: V P L O H V \$ H W K H (X G R U D : H O W L W W E H W W H U

K D Q N R X

And BARTLETT and the CHANCELLOR, also impressively decked out in academic badges, lead the procession of FACULTY in their gowns and as they come out, the SPECTATORS all stand and APPLAUD.

& \$ & (/ 2 \$ X Q G H U V W D Q G R X W H Q R W X V L Q J W K H H O H 3 U R P S W H U

D K Q R , # H J R W L W G R Z Q K H U H I R O G H U D Q G R Q V R P H Q D S N L Q V L Q S R F N H W V , Q W K L V P \

& \$ & (/ 2 \$ H R X J R Q Q D E H D O O U L J K W Z L W K W K D W "

Z K H D K , # O E H Q H R X N Q R Z X Q O H V V R P H W K L Q J F R P H V X S

& \$ & (/ 2 # L N H Z K D W "

7 H O O I R U L Q V W D Q F H , M X V U H D O L J H G , G R Q W K D Y H D F F H V V W R P S R F N H W V D Q P R U H E X W R X N Q R Z Z K D W D U H R X J R Q Q D G R "

KHUKHWRULFDOTXHVWLRQDWWKHHQGRIWKLVEULHIVHTXHQFHPDQLIHVVVERWKWKH3U VHOILURQDWQRWEHLQJDEOHWRQGKLVQRWHVDVDIHDQGKXPRURXVPRPHQWRIKXPDQIUDL

and his jovial self-assurance that he will just have to manage without his notes, which – as H DU H P H D W R R H U E O O B M D S U R O H P K L P K K H U H I H S W L R O D E L O L W L W K H U Q H U O L G L Q K H S U H H G L U R H K H U H W K H M U M W K D H O O R L M S U L M G that the President will not make use of the tele-prompter. Earlier in the scene, we again see the human, approachable side of our hero as he takes time to thank his aide, Will, who in W N Q K U W D O D W P L W H E G R G M H D E W K L K W H W M

7 K H M W M H P M O O W U D W H M M U D O L P S E W D Q K D U D W H U L W L W K H B H M G H Q K H K D D M Q K K N D H S W D G M H D Q F L W L E P D Q L M H G H D E O H H M Q E W D W H U Q S K L O R K H D O N U B N W K H U D W K H U D E W U D W R W L R H D W L W D W K H H Q U D O W R L E his speech, further adding to this portrayal of a liberal-minded and intellectual hero. He L Q H U D W K W H L R P D O O Z W K K L D L G H D Q W H D P L W D Q Q A I L E O H B S D E O H R D R P B D W L Q W E W L R N D Q K W O W U D W H L K H G O L N W R K L V G D K W H U W W D D W K R H N D W S H H K S H E P O O W D L O R H C R W S H U M G H K L G D K W H U # K D M M H Q H L D O M O R H Q K H W K D W K H B Q D Q H Z W K W R H V , Q H H G R P L K W S H D W H K H W K H U W K L S H U R P D F H N D N Q W K W R H E W D H G R W K D W K H G K D M W K H R S E W E W W R L S O D K L N D W E S U T K M W K L K H U W S H B Q H G H N L E H G D M W K L S D W U L D U K D E M V L D O O R D Q Z M P D Q W D N M M E O B U H E W K W K H Q W L R M O O D K L D P L O , W L K H M U D O B N M H W W S H W K D W R H V close to a traditional, romantic hero who, in our case due to expertise and knowledge instead K L W G L S R M G W W H H U K L S H R O H W K U K G L V W S H U L B D Q M U R H K R W D D H W K L S D W U L D U K L D W H R O H P D W L E G H Q L P W L R W K H D S L H Q

7KURXJKWKL VVFHQHDQGRIFRXUVHPDQRRUHWKURXJKRXWVKLVHSLVRGHDZVHDPLDEOH
 and paternal hero is constructed who will ultimately protect his daughter and save the
 that *The West Wing* JHQUHUHVHPEOHVWUDGLWLRQDOWKDWLVVLP SOHSORWVZKHUHKHURH
 FRXQWUJURP GDQJHURXVYLOODLQVDQGLQWKH HQG KLVDQVRPHDQV KRZHYHU WKLV
 series implicitly constructs politics as a series of stories where the good and the bad are
 HDMOGLWLRQKHGDQWKHZMBHGHQZOOQOOPDNWKHULKWGHM
Borgen KRZHYHU DV ZLOO EHFPH DSSDUHQW EHORZ GLUHUV LQ VRPH UHOHYDQW DV
 IHDWXULQJ D OHVV JHQHULF SORW DQG RuHULQJ D OHVV PHORGUDPDWLF VHSUDUDWLRQ
 bad.

Vignette 2: Borgen, or, the story of a nurturing multitasker

WVKHFHQWUHRWIKHVRIDUQDOVHDVROVHDVROZHQFRDWHUWZPHO JVVW1ERUJ
 KRKDV UHWXQHG WR SROLWLFV DIWHU KHU PHWHRULF ULVH WR 3ULPH 0LQLVWHU LQ
 IROORZIG EKHU H[W LQ RUGHU WR FDUH IRU KHU FKLOGUHQ LQ VHDVRO DQG VHFROG .D
)QVPDUN KHU VSLQGRFWRU WK DUH VLQJOH PRWKHUV EX DV PLGGOHXS HU FODVV KL
 educated women, they remain distant from the reality that most single mothers in low-paid,
 LKHMRL[SHULHQHMUWKHOHWKLVH[WDOBSUKGHG LuHUHQVEDN
 RWKHV LQOLDWLRQLWLVKDWKHWELHNDOKHURDQOMGDENM
 BHMGHQDUWOHWWDUHKLGDKWHUDQPRLOLMWKHSDQWKHDUPKHQMUKH
 is in danger; however, he has a dedicated wife who is in charge of the everyday life routines
 WKHPLOKHPHULDDPLOLDUDWHULMGEWUDGLWLRQHQHUURDQGHV
 UHKUHWKHBMHGHQWBHDOZWKWKHGLOHPPDHFGEHQHSDUHQV
 7KHMGLUHUHQUHHPHGGHGLQPKZGHUMWRLMULUWUKHMWLRUWDLQ
 no coincidence that it is a Scandinavian political soap that has put a female Prime Minister
 HQUHWHDH7KHSRLWLBDWHPLQLKERRHUDWHMDOMHGHQOGLUHUR
 that of the US, given that the former is a multi-party system, a factor that contributes much
 to the drama. However, similar to *The West Wing*, the political scene is closely mapped onto
 UHDOZHQW DQGLKLOH *The West Wing* DOOXGHVH[WHQVLYHWRWKHFRQAFW
 EHWZHHQHPRFUDWVDQGSXEOLFDQVWKHGLUHUHQFHEHWZHHQIRUPHU3UHVLGHQW&
 WKHWKHQ3UHVLGHQW WKRVRH IDPLOLDU ZLWK DQVK SROLWLFV ZLOO HDVLOUHFR
 closely the parties – and in many cases, characters – in *Borgen* PDSRQWRWKHFRXQWU
 political landscape.

RGHUWRORDERDWHQKHGLUHUHPEHWZHQKHWKULHGHWHGHUHSRHR
 the third season of *Borgen* KHHOHFWLRQFDPSDLJQLVLQIXOOVZLQJDQIERUJSDUWVKH
 IHZHPRFUDWVKDYHEHFRPHVWDEOLVKHGDQGVWDEOHWKHSDUWQRRNVIRUZDUGWRZ
 IRXUWRVL[PDQGDWHVVKLVZRXOGEHDVFFHVVRUDQHZSDUWEXWLWZRQOGQRWEHHQRXJK
 LQXHQFHSROLWLFVDQGRXOGWKXVRQOEHDQRWKHUVPDOOSDUWLQRSSRVLWLRQKLVV
 GXH WR WKH IDFW WKDW RQH PHPEHU RI WKH SDUW LQHQHU FLUFQH IHWH WFK KDG IRUZ
 VWUDWHJLFLQIRUPDWLRQWRWKHLUPDLQULYDOVWKHDQVRFHQWULVWVRGHUDWHVX
 KH ODWWHU ZHUH WKXV DEOH WR DSSURSULDWH SRSRVDO DIWHU SRSRVDO EWKH IHZF
 JUHQZDVKLQJWKHLUSURJUDPPHWDNLQJDKDUGHUVWDQFHDJDLQVWVKHDQWLLPPLJU
 3DUWVWFDQGDYHWKHUHEVTXHHJHGKHSROLWLFDOVDFH
 ,QWKLVLVWDXDWLRQULJLWVGHFLGHVWRWDNDULVNEPWWDFNLQJWKHQRGHUDWH
 WKHLUKSRFULVDQGSRLVLRQLQJWKH IHZHPRFUDWVDVWKHWUXHSDUWRWIKHFHQW
 public debate with Kruse, she attacks their policies, literally tearing apart their programme.
 QHVKHGHUDWHWDWDPDLQDKHUEDWWDNRHUSHUOLWad

hominem WRZKLFK ULLJWWH UHDFWVEVVDWDLQJFRQFLVHOKWDWiHOOVWLFN WRSROLWL
.UXVHZHDU KLPVHOIRXWZLWK SHUVRQDO DWDFNV RZHYHU)QVPDUN KHU VSLQGRFWRU
VFHSWLFDODVDWQFHZKLFKLVIXHOOHGE,DVSHU-XXOWKHIRUPHUVSLQGRFWRURIIERUJ
IDWKHURI)QVPDUN(VRQZKRRuHUV)QVPDUNSURRIRIZKDWZRXOGEHDPDMRUVFDQGDOWKH
RXQJDQGPDUULHG.UXVHKDGFDXVHGDFDUDFFLGHQWXQGHUWKHLQXHQFHRIDOFRKRC
PLVWUHVVDWKLVLGHLQJZDZDUHRIWKHFRQWHPSRUDUPHGLDORJLF)QVPDUNLVFRQYL
that the story needs to be published:

6., WPRR
-BDLQ

:KLOHKKKHUONSDQDENW HOGHOLKWHGEMMUDOMQDUMKHO
WQKHUKHDGLQQLLESDWLRQWDFDLQDQWKNQWKLQ
in turn, acts as a manipulator, suggesting to practice the dark arts of leaking materials to the
SKOLKLOH SUWHFWLKLVRDQDQWLRQMPHQ ,QW Z MH
MDUBOOLQDQSDSHUEWQWLPDWHOKDQDQWULQVHERWR
receive authorisation for using the material without discrediting her; something the latter,
KMMU UHMHWVRDOURVUMQDWWDEEDHDM KHU BOHDHY[SHW
ERWRHDEWEXKH WLMKHURPLWPHQV WQWWDKHU SRQV SHUQOO\
,QHDGKHRPLMQMULNOQDWLQKHEHGLELOLWVKHGHUDWHHRLF
SRLPDNQKHMHIUQHU KHWKHURQERDWBQOQSHUWDQWKHSEOLF
KLEMSUHSXMGDRPFGHEVHHSWLMWQDOV
QGDQDWHUIMHPDUNQHUPHVMWMDUKLRKKHUQHERSLQ
KHUKHDGDQWDNQSKRBOOKHLODWHMWDUULMWBNNWHUWKHLUDY
he tells her that he had seen Kruse with two journalists responsible for the witch hunt and is
MSULMGWKDWWKHHPEDWQDMQVBOQKLGKGMHWSKOLKWKHDRHPHQLRG
materials.

7KHMWQWLRQDQWQKHHMQQKHMUPPHGDWEDVHRHWKHHOHWLR
KHQWDEORGMEQOLWKDUDMDNDERFGDKWHU :KHQRPHGDEW WKL
HMVERKRMHHWLQHUPHQVHQVEMUPMOODQWULQMDUNV
control – the safety of her children is an absolute priority.

37KHKDMWRBHDMPKLOGUHQR
65RRLV
37KHQDOOPHDKSELWHM WKHKDMWRDRPKLOGUHQVLV
GHQWHOUMGRQW

HQVLSULMGDKHKDQWKHDUGKWLSEWQWEX/SUWHWV

65ULWWHGQGRW
37ONQDQGRQNDWLHULQDHHQWRU
65;WWSRLWLBOOQHODW
37HQVPRKLOGUHQ

:KLOHMHUMLKWP SDWKLMMZWKWKLDVRLWLBOOLHDMWWULHUNGHQLPWLQ
ZWKULLWHDQDPKXHUVDHFWLRQDORHPLQWKHPKXHLUQPLQLV
LPSRWDQWQHWKHSUHMHQVEMUKRHDUOWHOOWKHDEHLHQDQERJ
KDWWKHPLKWPWKLQVREGH,QHHG BorgenGRHVQRWVHHPWRMXVVLNERUJ

Borgen LVQRWIXQGDPHQWDOOGLuHUHQWLQWKLUVHVSFWKRZHYHULWDVNVWKHDX
LGHQWLIZLWKDPRGHUQIDPLOVVDVFDUHHUZRPDQZKRLVDFFXVHGRIQHJOHFWLQJKH
KXVEDQGDQGGKHUFKLOGUHQDQGWKHOHHDUQVWRVHWKHUSULRULWLHLVLDGLuHUHQ
IHPDOHSROLWFLDQZKROHDUQVGRLOJSROLWLFVWKHKDUGZDEHFRPHVXFFHVIXODQG
WKHGDLQOJHRWLDWLRQVDQGVHWEFNVWKHVWUDWHJLHVMDQZNDQGLFVrealpolitik

third, learning to cope with challenges in her private and public life in independent ways, taking decisions for which she is responsible without relying too much on her advisers.

DKKDQDORVKHUMPLODUSURDPPHSRLWLEHRHFDQHDEOHLNDHDQ
WLPHGMLMEOHLQVWHPSEDOMMHDQGWBLWLEWKSXDSHGDDQDPRLMG
through plot devices and dramatic tropes, taking place amid anxiety, panic, danger, imminent
GLDWHULQULNLOOHRLPRHQVMDuDLUDQRRROHPDUHMMGDQ
HDKWRVLMQPRDO7KHKHURDWOZQDQEPONWULFSK,QUDW
HPSLULDOUHMDUKQKHHMUGDQLHRHDOSBLWLEDQOOXUDWHWBDWKDWWKHLU
life is far from neatly packaged into stories, isolated problems and straightforward plots.
5DWKHULWLKHFVLDLHQOHHGZWKDBULHWBFLWLHLVDDRUHSHWLWLMUWLRWR
RSOH[GHEMRDNDQWKHPDQHPHQKHQDuDLUVKHPHVDHQDDQ
topics merge into one another; there seems to be no explicit temporal order as to when and
KBHQDDUHQDOLMGDQLPSOHPHQVHGDDQPDQLuHUHQVHDHQDDUHSKMGDWWKH
same time. Disturbances can always – and unpredictably – occur.

7KHVLRQOLDWLRQLWLF DQWKHSRLWLEDWLRQLR WKHUHRHKDMMUDO
MHHVHDWLDQKOGWKDWLWLOOPDQHDEOHWKUKWKHWUDGLWLRQULK
SRLWLWKKGLSORDSUHMHUHVHKKHDDQWLDWLRKLMKOG
KHUHEPONSUHMLOKHUKDWLMLGHGGEWKHMULHWKHSUHSNG
PRDOMQUHSUHMVHGEWKHVLROKDUDWHUYKLEOGDORRHWLDQOHHGFWH
by exploiting the passivising medium of televised politicainment to socialise the audience
LQWKHEPONSUHMVHGEWKHVLROKDUDWHUYKLEOGDORRHWLDQOHHGFWH
increasingly apathetic electorate.

WKHSUHHGLDQOMGHPWUDWH *The West Wing* creates a myth about the activities and characters of US politics, in contrast to the existing experiences of incomprehensibility that draw on particular schemata with a long tradition in the US, in the genre of Western **EPPEHMU**

The West Wing has to be interpreted against the background of **HRPELOLNDQELWLMVKKHMHUPHQVDWHUDQWDDOLDZKLO**

EDND OLEHUDO QLVQLN BHMGHV,QUDW *Borgen* depicts the trajectory of an ambitious and successful woman, struggling with multiple challenges in her family and **ENQLMWK7MSRHUDDURWLRQLGHQVLPWLR**

The West Wing and *Borgen* are also translated and aired worldwide, the various storylines are recontextualised in other countries and cultures. **KHFDUULPSOLFDFWLRQVIRUDXGLHQFH EHLHIVDERXW DQQ** engagement with, the real world of politics. Given the manifest popularity of these **SURDPPHMKRHWKDWELWLDUHHVWLRQKHLPSDWWKMLRQOLDWLRQLWLF** will inform future research.

Notes

ZPGEFRPWLWOHWWUHYLHV
ZSURUJERUJHQLVGHQPDUNVHVWZQJEXWHYHOEHWWHU
7KLVVLEWKHDDOVRWUMIRUWKHHYHUGDOLIHRSROLWFLDQVLOKXHRUJDQLVDWLRQVVK
WKHHRHDQUOLDPHVQKHJWVWKRMMUFWLRLHLDQSGDWLRQLWLEDQ
by their advisors takes place in the long corridors, running from one meeting to the next
:BDN

Two languages: religion and the secular as analytical concepts

Habermas and the post-secular

7KH NH'GLYLGLQJOLQHLQF0UHQWFKRODUO'GHEDWHFRQFHUQLOJUHOLJLRQDQG WKH MF0DU
 GLuHUHQWGLMSOLOQHMHWHZHQWKRMRMHWKHGLWLOFWRLRQDDQDOWLFDORHDQLOJIDQDQ
 WKRMRMHWKHGLWLOFWRLRQDDQREMHFWRIGLWYHWG)RULQWDOFHWKHLOAQWLDO
 R0NRI-UJHQ0EHUPDWDJRRGHDP0OHRIWKHIRUPHU0EHUPDWHV
 UHOLJLRQDQGWKHM0DUDWRGLuHUHQWUDWLRQDOLWLH0HOLJLRQDQJHLWKHODQJ0JHRI

a particular community, whereas secular language is supposedly universal, common to all.
 7KLW0SLBORWKHPR0HUQLMMWKDWLSUHGLDWHG0KHLGHDWKDWUHOLL0GEH
 DSULDWHPDWWHUKHUHDMM0DUODR0HGRLQWHSKOLBQ0RLWL0SKHUH0EHUPD0
 writings on the post-secular address the problem that follows from modern discourse: people
 KR0HD0KEL0GWRUDWLFHWKHLU0HOLL0QW0HDGDSL0LHL0KHLU0BHDWLF0
 are supposed to participate in a democratic process whose results must be kept free of any
 UHOLL0DPLQWL0EHUPD0KHL0WLE0HLQW0KWKHDSWLR
 WKDWUHOLL0R0K0GKDM0EHHS0DUDWHGURWKHUDWLRQ0UDWLR0KHSKOLF
 sphere, but now the norm has to be re-evaluated: religion should not be excluded from
 public discussion, although religion remains subordinated to the rules of public discussion,
 EH0UHOLL0R0HQ0DQ0W0WHUD0K0G0EH0WUD0DWHG0LQ0M0DU0H0UD00\
 DH0E0H0D0R00EHUPD0

One of the rare examples of translations Habermas provides is that the biblical idea that humans are created in the image of God can be translated as a defence of human freedom
 DQDWR0KHUHD0EHUPD0MHWR0EULGHEHW0HQ0K0NG0\
 GLuHUHQ0ODR0HMS0LWL0QPR0HQ0UD0OL0KHSKOL0KHUHDUHDW0HDW0W0R0G
 LUW0KDWL0K0KHSKOL0L0R0R0R0H0L0K0MD0QPR0GH0PR0DWL0K0X
 providing a more solid foundation for society. Second, Habermas assumes that religions are moral resources. Understood in this manner, religions appear as special cases supplementing
 KDWLOD0MM0DUUDWLR0QGL0K0K0M0EHUPD0R0S0OLM0
 two distinct languages is rather conservative if secular language and morality are not enough
 to protect people against the potential risks of technology, science and global capitalism.
 7KHUHR0HWKHUHDUHW0R0HUSUH0WLR0EHUPD0M0KHUHODWLR0LSEHW0HQ
 UHOLL0Q0WKHM0DUL0L0L0WLR0KHS0M0DU0WKH0LKW0DQ0LUHOLL0
 D0KL0MH0HOLL0R0HG0UD0D0WLR0R0GHUWR0HS0DUWR0D0WLR0D0D0M0DU
 GHOLEHUDWLR0Q0WKHP0SHUDWHO0SURHOLL0K0K0MH0M0DUGHOLEHUDWLR0Q
 need of moral support from religions.

0EHUPD0L0GH0GL0NG0W0PD0KHUK0MDGGUHM0GUHOLL0M0DUPR0HOV
 EK0K0R0HWLH0DUH0RDQ0G0DQ0K0G0EH0RDQ0G0R0L0D0W0KH0GLWLR0
 EHW0HQ0HOLL0Q0WKHM0DU0KDEH0R0H0UDWLR0OLMG0GLuHUHQ0O0L0GLuHUHQ0QWLR0
 WDWHY0KH0R0WHG0D0DWH0K0D0M0R0SURHOLL0M0DUL07KL0PHDQ0KDW
 M0DUL0M0PHDQ0W0BUD0HHUH0GR0R0HOLL0R0H0OLWR0DOO0R0DQ0SUDWLR0V
 L0M0D0W0KDW0WKHP0L0K0L0K0H0SUL0DWH0SKHUHD0QE0R0H0W0D0R0H0V
 another model by applying a strong principle of state neutrality towards religions by not
 R0S0WLR0W0KHP07KH0R0H0L0K0W0R0KH0HW0DEOL0KHG0K0K0K0R
 QDQ0W0BUD0HH0V0SUL0OH0G0UR0H0WR0L0WLR0W0L0W0L0D0NG0KDW0ZWK
 R0H0UDW0HM0DUL0M0R0L0W0HOLL0UH0D0R0U0W0H0WHG07KH0R0H0W0K0WLR0D
 DEOL0D0W0R0UH0L0L0K0L0L0H0D0R0H0D0W0H0Z0K0L0W0L0WLR0ORSURL0M0H0UJ
 0HQ0L0WLR0K0S0L0WLR0E0H0L0W07DUL0R0K0D0G0HH0Q0HG0WKHU0D0WLR0

FRUJH : %VKV DGGUHVWRWKH QDWLRQJLYHQ RQ 2FWREHU FODULIKRZJHOLJLRXV
GLVFRXUVHIXQFWLRQVLSROLWLFV)XUWKHUPRUHKHSXWVDQHPSKDVLRQWKHHPSLULF
WKDQQRUPDWLYHDSSURDFK/LQFROQSDEHUPDVSORGRRG:KDW

his approach shares with Habermas and other aforementioned scholars is that religion and
WKH MDDU DUH MG D DQOWLBO RSWVKH DPHLWKH WUN R ROOHG SRLWLBO
theology – a debate that combines empirical analysis with normative deliberation.

Political theology

,WKD VHRPHRPPROSODFHWWRWDONDERWDRFDOOHGJUHWXQRIWKHUHOLJLRQSRQLWLFDO
WKHRU V KLVDOR NQRZ DSRQLWLFDO WKHRORJ VLFK LQYHWLJDWHKRZWKHRORJLFDQ
concepts, ideas and discourses relate to politics. German jurist and political theorist Carl
Schmitt argued in his *Political theology* WKDW D DOOVLJQLFDQWFRQFHSWVLQWKHPRGHUQWKH
RIWKHVWDWHDUHVHFXODULJHG WKHRORJLFDQFRQFHSWVFKPLWW @EVLGHDV
have inspired many interesting disputes about whether contemporary politics can do
ZWKW WKH RRDODQUHOLLDDH KWKHUPRHLWLWHOHDDQ W WSKWKH
separation of religion and the secular has never been as clear as hoped for in modern
SRLWLBO WKHRD VOO D KWKH OHDNQ HOLLDDH LQ R XNIGO \
MDDU VKHUH KDWDNQODH LQWKH SDW DQ LQWKH SUHMW HLWKHU R R
unconsciously. However, there is a tendency in these examinations to see theological and
UHOLLRSWVHMUKHUH DQ WRHGN WKH QLRMDDU LQDOPW DQ
impossibility.

WLWLKSKLORKKHU6PRLWKOHDUMVQ 7KHDLWKWKHDLWKOHS HSHULPHVQ
political theology WKDWPRGHUQLWFDQEHVWEHYLHZHGDVDVHUH V Rphosofes
of sacralisation ULWFKOHSKLVDSSURDFKUHMHFWWKHDOOWRRVLP SOHVWRUWKDW
sets secular modernity in opposition to pre-modern religion and explores the traces of
WKH RRDODD HLLQRLWLWKHUPRHLWOHDH WKHGRHWVWFKBULK
SUDWLHMHUHDOLMGLQHSHQHVKHWKHUWKH DUHDDMHGDMHOLLMMDDU
7KL DSSURK LVKWB OGHMORHG LQNHLPDQWDO RORWKH DFBHG
SDUWLDDUOLQKHERRHUWMOODK-HuUHSHDQHUDQPRHUHHVORGR
RMR7KHPRESUROHPDWLSDUWDSSHDUMQPDWLMWDWHPHQDQLQ
RHUHDGLMULRRLWLBDWKHRLWLWKOHSQHWKDW SRLWLW
SUDWLDEOHZWKWUHOLLQVDR EHHuHFWLMLQRLQLM SHROHZWKW DUHOLLK
GLPHQR PLODUDUKHQDQHQLQKHRLW KDERLDPEHQDLQ
DGLRHUU DQHWKQOEDDQ GDM LHPDQKHRLWVUH

seeking the middle ground between theism and atheism, but the problem here is that
SUDWLBOOHMUWKLQRHVKHRRDOR UHOLLRH[DPSOHLWLWKOHV
UHDGLRQD VRLWLBO SKLORK \

UDWLWLWVKHPRGHUQPDQSDWRSURHFWMDUWHUHOLLRSUHGLDWHGR
WKHLGHDWKDWKRDQUHDQPDOSHEHPKOLNDQKHUUDSWKHUH
is no progress in society, no perfectibility of humankind, and all we can do is to learn to live
ZWKWUWDLWKOHSDDUHWKDWUDDWRLDQ
LGHDWKDWKRDQUHNOOHU DSHVHWKDWKRDQUH DFGDQSWHQLDOOVZNG
EHDWKHMMHWKLDQDQWDLGMUMR KHLGHDRLLQOMQKHUHDUHDWOHDW
WKUROHPLOKLMWLRUW WKHDMQVXHUEDODDOPW DQHMHWLR

the idea that humans can become more perfect would count as an example of a version of
RLLOMGRKWKHRLMQHDMUQLWWOHSDHRKDWLWUHOLLMMQ
brutal criticism of the surrogate religiosity of modern politics, without any other form of

salvation, is just another version of theological and religious discourse, the whole idea of the

Discourses on religion and the secular as objects of study

break has practically vanished in much of political theology by reducing the notion of the
despite countless studies focusing on the relation between religion and politics, they are not

discursive tools used by individuals, groups, institutions and governments in organising
religion as a distinct private, non-political sphere of life that has to do with personal
commitments and experiences of the divine and salvation of the soul – developed in
seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe and the United States, although earlier discourses

Nation-states

strategy by which large-scale social identities are controlled, domesticated and marginalised.

utopian social and collective action that were at odds with the state by labelling them as

that in order to imagine politics – an area of supposedly rational action – it has been
secular rationality.

©WKRXJKWKHLQGLYLXGDOLVDWLRQDQDGFVWUDWLRQRIFROOHFWLYHWHQWLPHQWVVD
 have been one of the functions of discourse on religion from the point of view of nation-
 states and governments, the development would not have been so smooth if the groups
 WKHPMOMEGQ KDM EHQWHGURWKDWGHUQWLDWDHWSKHGJHOLLK
 URXBUGKRRQDWLQLOHSULYOHLQWLDWXLQWHLWHDQDQWKRFL
 UWKBRQLDQOMKQGLWLDLQHWZHQULDWDHWDQSKOLEDLJ
 DUWLQHQWKDWWKHGLWLDLQGLQMPSPDULQOLMUNQQLWLDWLD
 deemed religious, but secured their right to socialise their children in the dominant ideology
 that guaranteed the privileged status of Christian institutions and norms while making the
 LPEULWLDLKKDQGDWDHODUHOLQMEOH7KMDWKHUWKDQHLQKHGLWLDLQ
 between private and public, or Church and State, as two fully separate spheres, they should
 be seen as interlinked in a way that helps us to analyse the circulation of power from one
 SKHUHWBQKHU7KHMWBSHWKHWLDKHLGLMHPHOLLRQGHUQ
 nation-states – governing by the state and maintenance of the privileged position of dominant
 JHOLLKMDMEHHQHOPSWXHGVDODODGSKRQHV
 WKDWWKHPGHUQLMHPHOLLRQDWDSDUWBDWUDWHROLEHUDOMDUR
 WKHPHQDQROLEHUDOKULWLDWKGHHHRHOLLQ

7KHGRHWLDWLDLQHWLDQOGLXSWLMUXLQVQHWHGEWKHWDWHEW
 both majority and minority groups themselves take active part in negotiating whether they
 are a religion or not, often with the implication that if they are religious they are not political.
 Groups themselves employ the discourse on religion, thus seeking protection, recognition
 and privileges, as well as a representative position with people using the same identity tag
 HQDLUD7DLUDHWLDWLDLNUWKHUHOLLRWKDLMLQLWLDW
 SEWLQMDMLSRQ-EDLVEHDQVRHRLMGDDUHOLLRQLKWHHQKDC
 QHWHHQKHQKQMDLRLWVKHPGHUQUDWKHUHNUH-HZKRPQWLHZWK
 SHEFHQHWLQGLQDZWKSKPHQVQHEH(RPQDWLQ
 DQEW-EDLFDQGHUWRDGLWLDLJHOLLKKHUHRH7KH
 GLMMDLMDUHOLLQHMRHGDMDQUWVKHSUROHPRUQHZK
 LQHUDWLDLQVKHHUPDQDWHWKHMDMPWLDLMDLMDUHOLLRQDWDWHLF
 DWWHPSWWMPLQDWH-HQVPGHUQLQDWHMMLWQKDW-EDLMLHWKLO
 GLuHUHQURVKHNUHPSRLWLDQDQKRLWVKHNUHLQDWHDQPDQW
 RSOHPHQWKHNUHLQDWHQDQWHE-EDLMLHQHUHGLQRWV
 QRHWLDWHGSKHUHKHUHLWLDHODWLMOMSDUDWHURDSRLWLDQDMDHQLF
 DQHRKKHUHRH

QVKHNDWKRDUKQWKHUHOLLRWKDLMDMQHOKQ
 KKHGKLDWLPKHQKQDGRKOUULKWMD-EDLMDV
 DMGRHLQDWDHYZWKLDWDHWDKDWNGQEHLDHWDHGLQVKHBMQ,W
 DQHUWRLSRLWLDQWUPVHQHQKQHGG-EDLMDUHOLLRQSMG
 to politics in *Jerusalem: Or on religious power and Judaism* RULJLQDOOKKHUHLV
 -HZLVKODZDFFRUGLQJWROHQGHQVVRKQEXWLWGRHVQRWKDYHDQSRQWLFDOSRZHURU
 DVVWDWHVKDYH\$VXFKWKHUHLVQRSUREOHPLQWHJJUDWLQJ-HZVLQWRWKHPRGHUQQD
 DWQLWJNSS±

Colonialism

RORQLDOLMDQRWKHUMQLFDQWFRQWHVIRUWKHHPHUIHQFHQDQGSUROLIHUWLRQRWKHFDWH
 RIUHOLLRQSDQDOOFVKHRODGLGHWHUHQ
)LWJHUDOGDOWKRKLWLDLQRPDQMSDUDWHIURPWKHGHYHORSHPHQWRIWKH

modern nation-states. Discourse on religion has been entangled with modern colonialism in at least two related ways: Western colonialism asserted its superiority by extending their categories outside Western societies, and colonised people have been governed by

the dominant religion, Christianity, and so on before the modern era, as well as many uses of certain ideas and practices that formed a unity of some kind. Christianity was conceived as the most advantageous religion, thus integrated into colonialist discourse of the concepts and hierarchies onto others.

of a magisterial system, it was discovered to have an indigenous religious system, thus demonstrating how negotiations over religiosity were part of local control mechanisms

to being about private meanings and experiences marginalising dissent, has been a discourse others who are barbarians. Civilised people are Enlightened or have Christian religion, whereas others have no religion at all, or they have a false religion. One example of such a

example is that we see Darwin – the idol for many contemporary secularists and atheists – speaking highly of religion. However, religion – here, practically synonymous with civility

and Christianity – was seen not as the endpoint of history, but, at least for the educated elite, and temporary role between pre-modern savages and the future secular society.

:KDWKDEHHGSHUH GKHUHLW D KFWKLRW R HOLLR QWKHMNDUEW D KRW KLWR P RGHU G L M V P HOLLR Q WKH R HOLLR MNDU P Q WKHLU SRLWL D O N L K H L P S R W D H R W L W D W H D Q R R D O L F K D E H H Q P S K D M G although the development of the modern discourse on religion and its relation to other DWHRLHMNDUSRLWL D O H R L K D E H H Q R H R S O H [D Q D P R H O R D O Q SURR W K H U P R H K G L M K D Q U H P D L G W K H D P H W K U K N W K H H V K L H V and, what is perhaps more important, it has never been possible to reduce the functions of G L M V H O L L R Q R W B S H W V G H U W R H P W U D W H W K H P W L W L R O D Q heterogeneous nature of discourse on religion and its continuing connections with politics, the next section focuses on more recent examples.

Discourses on religion and the secular in contemporary public life

Problematic conceptualisations of religion

One of the most relevant recent contributions for the conversation about the topic of this *KDSWHULMPLWKLWHUDOGS* *igion and politics in International Relations: The modern myth* KHVWXGDQDOHVWVKHZDVLQZKLFKVFKRODUVRI, QWHUQDWLRQDOHODWLRQV,5 distinguish religion and the secular, and thus legitimate what he calls the modern myth: the LGHDWKDWSRLWLEDVSKHUH R RGHU QDWLRQD W L W D P G L W L R K H G U R W K H W H O L L R K H U H R O R U U D W L R O D Q X H U Q W D O L G H D M Y R Q L W K D W U H H Q L W H U H W L Q W E L Q H O L L R P S K R D U V L O E H M W K H D S S O W K H D W H R R H O L L R without paying attention to its highly contested nature, without deconstructing the myth by examining how the categories are employed, and for what purposes.

LWHUDOGKLRWLEBODURHQLWKDWWKHLGHDRHOLLRQSRLWLEWMSDUDWH SKHUHMPHUHGLOVKHODWHMMVHHQKHQNDWOHDWLQKMHWKLGLM with its essentialised concept of religion is prevalent in the recent interest in religion among KRDUKRLWLEQ,5HOLLRQDUHOLRHGLOVKMHOGEDORLPHR DEN DUWL D H S K O L K H G L Q O H W H G , 5 M E Q O W H D W K H G U H O L L R D Q L P S R W D Q L A E H W H H Q Q L W H U D O G S H Q N K I O N O R W H W K H R O O H G W K V R H O L L R Q S W W K H O D W W H U S D U W W K H U W G H D G H W K H W E Q U W H Q N D O W K K K H R H W K D W R W K H R D W L R Q R U H Q W S O D H L Q V L W K L D R [D P L Q K W K L W R O D H E W D Q K H U W R [D P L Q K E H O L L R D Q M D U S R L W L K D M E H H Q S W N O L M G Z W K L W H U D O G R S L A W K D W W K H U H L D W H Q H Q W D O N E N U H O L L R W K K L W L D W K L R H M Q Q H Q Z W K D E M V L D O O G L u H U H Q Q W K H U R S R L W L E W H U D O G S , Q U D W L H W K L W H Q H D Q K D W U H O L L R N H Q H L D M W K H E O G S U R O H P W K D W S K H U H O L L R W D P L Q W H G E S R L W L M H K G

,QHHSKOLEGLMLYOHGZWKLNQLDORPHQDWKRWWHH UDOLMLQKH QPHRHOLLRQQHVOH[SODLQWLEWVKUHHUHQWRHROHVHOLLRW\$ HOOEIPSOHLDPNONLWVKHMVKHODKRYOLDWLWLRQ KQLKKHWDNWDPDREMOLDWLRQOLGHQVLWDPKXUNGLQ WVLDRYOLDWLQUHGLuHUHQLDWHGURHDKKXUPWLPSEWDQOEUHOLLR DQWKHMGLuHUHQWKKQHHMULOVRHQLOWKHPMOMKDMHQUUDWHG WKH

image and distinctive voice in the public sphere, recognition from the state and dominant

state-school classrooms. She suggested that they violate the principle of religious freedom.

,WDOLDQWHDQ MWLQ[SOLEWQW KDW DWLQDQWWDNWK WKH GRLOQ

UHOLLRKHW DWHDQWKH QWVKHDWLRautsi and Others v. Italy 2011DWSUD

TXRWHGLQHPDPQSKHUHDVRLQJRIWKHFRXUWZDVVXFKWKDWDOWKRXJKWKHFURVV

LVFHUWDLQODUHOLJLRXVPERO#WHYRNHGSULQFLSOHVWKDWRFXOGEHVKDUHGRXWVLC

IDLWK#KHGHPRFUDWLFYDOXHV#ZHUHVHQWREHURRWHGLQWKH#PHVVDJHRIWKHFURVV

PHVVDJHFRXOGEH#HDG LQGHSHQGHQWORILWV UHOLJLRXVGLPHQVLRQ#WKXVEHLQJ#

FRPSDWLEOHZLWKVHFXODULVPDQGDFFHVVLEOHWRQRQ&KULVWLDQVDQGGORQEHOLHY

Italy 2009DWSUDUTXRWHGLQHPDPQSK

Heated media debates and court cases concerning garments that signal collective

as a result, temporarily classifying a particular garment as either a religious obligation or

possible for these local and national cases to become part of an ever-more global mediated

Despite the recent rise in scholarly interest in secularism, not many studies have focused

these do not ask explicitly how the word is used, and for what purposes. One exception is

discourse, good secularism is supportive of moderate religiosity, especially Christianity,

systems in their examples of secularism, but the media uses the same word for all varieties

.XEIONRYi 9 ~~JKH WXUQ~~ WR UHOLJLRQ:LQ ,QW~~HUQDWLRQDO~~ 5HODWLRQ~~Y~~-~~TR~~W~~LD~~Monal
 Relations HFHPEHU DYDLODEOH IURP ZZZHLULQIRWKHWXUQWRUHOLJLRQLQ
 LQW~~HUQDWLRQDO~~UHODWLRQVWKHRU~~D~~FFHV~~VHG~~2FWREHU@
 /LQFROQ% Holy terrors: Thinking about religion after September 11KHQ~~LYHUVLWRI~~&KLFDJR
 3UHVV&KLFDJR,
 /LQFROQ% RGV~~DQ~~GHPRQV3ULHV~~V~~DQGVFKRODUV&ULWLFDOH|SORUDWLRQVLQWKHKL
 religionsKHQ~~LYHUVLWRI~~&KLFDJR3UHVV&KLFDJR,
 /QFK* The sacred in the modern world: A cultural sociological approach, Oxford University
 Press, Oxford.
 DUWLQ Masking hegemony: A genealogy of liberalism, religion and the private sphere,
 KRR
 WKH The discipline of religion: Structure, meaning, rhetoricRXWOHGJH/RQGRQ
 OF&XWFKHRQ5 Religion and the domestication of dissent: Or, how to live in a less than
 perfect nation(TXLQR|/RQGRQ
 ORGRRG ~~TR~~GHUDWHVFXODULVP H|OLJLRQ DV LGHQWLW~~W~~DQGVHVSFWIRU ~~PHOLJLRQ~~
 QuarterlyYROQRSS±
 IRQEUL% Before religion: A history of a modern conceptDOHQ~~LYHUVLW~~3UHVV|HZD~~YH~~Q
 &7
 2EDPD~~MLV~~Q~~RW~~,VODPE~~V~~W~~KHH~~QHP The Guardian)HEUXDU~~D~~YDLODEOH|IURPZZ
 WKHJXDUGLDQFRPXVQHZVYLGHRIHELVLVLVODPEDUDFNREDPDDPHULFD~~VE~~GH~~RV~~HG
 W@
 ZQDLUD7~~JKH~~W~~HE~~R~~H~~OLLR~~Q~~SKOLE~~D~~M~~W~~L~~R~~DULWUHLWUDWLR
 WKHUKGHW~~EN~~QDQ:DOHNQ Religion as a category of governance and sovereignty,
 HG~~V~~D~~N~~GH~~H~~U~~T~~LW~~H~~UDOG~~W~~LOOHLGHSS±
 DLG~~JKH~~SK~~Q~~DPLW~~KU~~HDW New York Times MagazineIRYHPEHU
 DLG(Representations of the intellectual 9LQWDJH|HZRUN
 FKPLWW& Political theology: Four chapters on the concept of sovereigntyKHQ~~LYHUVLWRI~~
 &KLFDJR3UHVV&KLFDJR,
 WDFN~~Q~~WURGXFWLRQ~~Q~~ Religion as a category of governance and sovereigntyHG~~V~~DFN
 IROGHQE~~HU~~J~~L~~W~~J~~H~~U~~DOG~~W~~LOOHLGHQSS±
 DLUD ~~PHOLJLRQ~~DVDGLVFXUVLYHWHFKQLTXHKHSROLWLFVRI~~FOD~~V~~VL~~LQJ:~~L~~FD~~W~~ of
 Contemporary ReligionYROQRSS±
 DLUD~~KH~~FDW~~H~~JRURILQYHQW~~H~~GUHOLJLRQ~~Q~~HZRSSRUWXQLWIRUVWXGLQJGLVFRXUVHVRQ
 UHOLJLRQCulture and ReligionYROQRSS±
 :LMVHQ)KHUHDUHUDGLFDQXVLPVDQGRUPDO0XVLPV~~Q~~DQDO~~V~~LVRIWKHGLVFRXUVHVRQ
 ,VODPLFH|WUHP~~EX~~H~~H~~ionYROQRSS±

Part V

Applications and cases II:
language, politics, and
(de)mobilisation

Discursive depoliticisation and political disengagement

Matthew Flinders and Matt Wood

Depoliticisation has recently emerged as an important concept for critically analysing the public cannot see why engaging with politics would concretely change anything – how it disengage from voting for, and joining, political parties, institutions at the heart of liberal democratic governance. which logics within these particular discourses make politics appear absent; and what is frameworks of discourse analysis, which to date has not happened, despite obvious theoretical links.

of discursive depoliticisation within one particular framework, namely Glynos and analysts to framework of three logics of explanation underlying dominant forms of discourse – *critical* H[SODQD

parties make to potential voters, changes in the character of electoral competition, changes in what the public demands from politicians, but what politicians can – or *say they can* –

action, rather than inexorable material structures or contextual factors. Marketisation is a them as essentially utility-maximising, non-ideological entities competing in the marketplace to become disengaged and disillusioned.

have chosen themselves for themselves

DEOH XSSOVLGHDXVHVRISXEOLFGLVHQJDJHPHQWZLWKSROLWLFV

Phenomenon	Content	Key reference
UDUNHWLVDWLRQ	,QWHUSDUWHOHFWWRUDOFRPSHWLWLWROBRNUNWR be seen as analogous to businesses competing in the market	
DLRUHQ	Political parties compete on ephemeral issues regarding the personal trust and competence of leaders, as they hold essentially similar policies	DQRPV
KOLKRHWKRRHWLFDKSWL	Political elites internalise ideas about the incapacity of politics to deliver public goods	LOG
HSRLWLEDWLQ	7KHGLSODHPHQVREHSELOLWR policy-making or implementation to independent public authorities	DLU

KHGDSWHGURDS

connect with voters on a personal level and enthuse them through personalised narratives, a crucial caveat is that their engagement tends to be more based around the construction of emotional relationships with politicians, and disappointment and disenchantment become

elite politicians and their supervisors have done just this, and by projecting such ideas in their rhetoric and policies, they have encouraged the public to think in just that way – that has yet to emerge in existing literature, there has been a growing focus on the expectations experiments that politicians who are seen as self-interested in seeking re-election receive an outcome being that if politicians are not more honest with the public about their goals and aims, they risk alienating them even further.

Ruling the void is perhaps the most growth of expert-led agencies and decentralised governance alongside growing public feelings of exclusion and disillusion with traditional parliamentary politics.

prophecies – politicians have internalised negative theories of themselves, which has then communicate because they have internalised the negative notion of politics assumed by the political have all come to believe, through a set of ideas translated to each other in political discourse

only purge ourselves of these assumptions and construct a better image of genuinely
DOWUKWLSKOLNULH WKHCHPEDWLSRLWLKG KDM DPK EHWWHU W KH 7KH
objection would be that this is to move towards an unwarranted idealism, which arguably
OHWSRLWLEDWVKHKPKDWSODHWKHPQHUBWLPDWHO WKHEODPH
is pinned on the ideas themselves, politicians have just been foolish for imbibing their toxic
substance.

7KLDMPHVEGKEMUGBPOQMDGLMULHEHMLWRM WKHU
WKDQSKHONUWLEWDEW DUKDWDHDGWKDWWKHKLWLQDUDFWHURRLWLW
itself DQG LQORYDWLYH ZDV RI H[HUFLVLQJ SRZHU PDEH DW KDQG KLV LV EHFDXVH WKH
LGHQWLFDWLQJ depoliticisation as a supply-side variable seems to also hang over the other
DWEQHHGPKWKHUHPDLQHURBPOQOMHSRLWLEDWLR
KLM\$RQREUEHLQRMWKHH[WHQWELKWKHWHPSRDUQLWLQ
RPPDO SRLWLBO GLM uHFWLQDQ GLMDHPHQ L WWHG ZWK WHPSRDU\
SUMEHSRLWLEDWLRQS 7KHBORRQDSWHUWKHKKE
PWWKX\$SOMGHDWRMGHQLHGDEMDHMKHGQHUKHREUHOODRSW
RHSRLWLEDWLRKHDOOMUMLQuHFWREULMDSURKLNURDMWHU
KQDPDUNG\$SODHWQWUHPWVKHSRLWLBOKDUDFWHURHEMRDND
7KH PDUNWLDWL\$UROHP SRLWUHQ WKH UWK \$KOLKRH WKHRHWLF
assumptions and what Hay calls depoliticisation – but in other terms might simply be called
GHOHDWHG MUHQDOLQHUPDPOO WKHPMOMEHNGHUHGLQH\
RPGULMHSRLWLEDWLRKLMHDMWKHNURKURWVKHSRLWLBO
QWKH \$KOLGHEMRDNDQ SDUWRSHWLWLQKH DUKHQ KHUH LWKDW
recognising this entails focusing more intently on *depoliticisation* as a central driving
\$SOMGHQHSRLWLBOGLMDHPHQDDNRMHWRUWZWKUHDUGWR
discerning and interrogating the causes of disengagement, and arguably just as crucially,
how disengagement may be challenged. However, in order to do so, we need to recognise
the distinctly *discursive nature of these processes*.

Discourse involves the making of speech acts and their reception by an audience of
actors who subjectively interpret, internalise and relay the ideas contained in the speech act
WVKHU DWEU UHMHXHKLuULQBUWK :KHQDWEW\
politicians – make speeches in which they proclaim policies to be beyond the realms of
WKHLU WURDQ WKHUHRH Q KMHW WBSRLWLQPHDQQEW WKHQKH
SRLWLBOQWKHWKMSRLEHGHNWDRDWLBOOHWKLWHGDDQWVKHHWKHU
5DWKHUHW \$Mpts such a shift ZKLFKPDURUPDQREHDFH\$SWHGEWKHPDXGLHQFHQDW
in turn may mean that the audience is less likely to recognise in future that the policy in
HWLQWBOO is political, and to act upon that acknowledgement by engaging
substantively in raising the issue as a political problem in a public forum. Of course, the
RSEWHPDEHHTOODOLNOWKHDGLHQPDUHMHWWKHDMUWLQKDWWKHSRLEQ
case is non-political, and instead re-engage with the issue, perhaps even more virulently
WKDSUHEH\$KDOOUHWKQWKLMDURHQWUHMWORWKKLWLWLWLBOWR
emphasise that, from the perspective of political disengagement, the supply-side argument
is one concerned properly with *depoliticisation as a discursive process*, QRU\$GHUWRFULWLFDQO\
DVVHVW WKH VXSSOVLGH GULYHUV RI SROLWLFDO GLVHQJDJPHPHQWZH UHTXLUHDIUDFW
XQHDUWKLQJDQGH[SRVLQJWKHGLuHUHQWQDVSHFVWRIGLVFRXUVHVWWDWPDNHWKHPQ
DQGIDFLOLWDWLQJDQDQDOWLFDODSSURDFKWKDWHQDEOHVFULWLFLVPRIZKHQHOLW
DFWRUVDWWHPSWWRXVHVXIFMORRZLQJVHFWLRQDUJXHVWWDWLQWHJUDWLQJWKHFRQ
of discursive depoliticisation within a framework of logics of critical explanation enables
us to do precisely this.

are uncovered and critically analysed, as opposed to their strategic, socio-political

What, then, is this approach and how can it be integrated into the analysis of discursive
develops an eclectic set of insights from post-structuralist socio-political theory into a
typology of three logics of critical explanation: social logics, political logics and
fantasmatic logics.
conceal the radical contingency of social relations and to naturalize relations of
depoliticisation as discursive denial, the shielding, obfuscating or veiling of the capacity
of humans to collectively alter their common institutions, practices and social conditions.
support its dominance at any one particular time, and uncovering social logics enables
visible the contingent character of any practice, policy or institution by showing the role
the
past
previous political struggles that it has survived in order to become dominant. Lastly,
which subjects are rendered complicit in concealing or covering over the radical
what it could, in theory, become. Often, then, analysing logics of fantasy involves
analysing how discourse conceives the future.

might be achieved were the rule to be followed, or what catastrophe might ensue were the
argue that examining the domination of a particular discourse by interrogating these three
discursive depoliticisation.

analyse the critical case study of the depoliticisation of austerity policies during the post-

7DEOH 7SRORJRIGLuHUHQWORJLFRIGLVFXUVLYHGHRSROLWFLVDWLRQ

Indicator of discursive depoliticisation	Denial in relation to...	Empirical trope of denial	([DPSOH – Coalition Austerity Discourse in the UK	([SODQDWRUFocus logic (Glynos & Howarth
Denial	7KHSDW	7KLVUH worse in the 7RGGD	7KHMNDR Europe in the V	DLWLDO genealogical arguments stating things
	7KHSUHM	7KLVUH holds in all EURWD	BSLWDOAKW thesis	SHWDWLQ logically DMHGWH
	7KHWH	7KLV change, disaster will H	Danger of EHLN	SHWPSWLR captive audience through the politics of fear

Theoretically deep, empirically *shallow*: Analysing austerity discourse through discursive depoliticisation

6LQFHWHKJOREDOQDQFLDQFVLVLDQGLQSDUWLFDDUWLQFHWHKH(MRSHDQ8QLRQVRY
 GHEWFULVLVLFKHUHVDDWHGLQVHYHUDDOJRYHUQPHQWVLOQFOGLQJUHFFH,UHODQGDQ
 VHHNLQJDDVVLVWDQFHIURPWKH,QWHUQDWLRQDOORQHWDU)DGRYHUQPHQWVDFURV
 VRKWWRLPSRVHDXWHULWRSROLFLHV7KHVHLOQFOGHUHGKWLROVLOFHOWUDOJRYHUQ
 IRUJHOIDUHEHQHVVHGHKDWLRQKHDOWKVVHUYLFHSURYLVLRQDQGRWKHUSKOLFVHUYLF
 WDQFUFUHDVHVSRREHURIDQDOVWVKDYHDDUJGKWKDWWKHLPSRVLVLRQRIDWHULW
 GHRSROLWFLVLVQJWVKHUHQWUHQFKLQJQHROLEHUDOLVPDQDQGLGHRORJLFDOSDUDG
 SROLWLFDO RSSRVLVLRQ .HUU HW DO ODFDUWQH\ 3DQ 5DGLFH
 ODFDUWQH\HVSLWH WKH JURVRI GHRSROLWFLVLVQJ GLVFRVH KRZYHU HPSLULFDO
 evidence shows that political opposition and participation is greater than would be expected.
 7KLVWLRQKDWWKHGLMGGHRSRLWLEDWLRQDPHDEOHWEHDOZWKWKL
 apparent paradox by generating theoretically *deep* nuanced analysis of the logics behind
 particular acts of depoliticisation, while allowing for the increasingly dynamic, contingent
 or *shallow* UHODWLRQSVHWHZHQGHRSRLWLEDWLRQDQGLWLDLDOGLMDPHV ,W
 illustrates this through a brief analysis of depoliticising discourses employed in the case of
 WKHSDQOMRHEHQDQDQGLGPHUWDLWLDOSSHKHDQGLGHV
 HDKORRHQDOYWKLVQKLMOHWLRQ
 7KHUWLDORREHQDOLQHODWLRQWKHSDWPDGHXPKHGDDHDLQ
 BOKDOLMSLQDQDQDQRHZVHUHLQVHVEUHDR
 WLWDLQLOHGSOLNROHWHGUKELKQDSWKHMUHHUHQWBLWDLQ
 LQKHVDDQRLDOOEDDUGWKLUGKOGVUVEHRH WKH DGMWR
 7KDWKHULQVHWHVLRQWRURGHMVLWLRQVHWHKQDHR

FRXUVHIURPQHROLEHUDOHRFRQRPLFSROLFHLVVLXQWKLQNDHOH\$FHRUJH2VERUQH DUJXHG
VSHHFKWRWKH&RQVHUYPDWLYH3DUWKRQIHUHQFH

HVZVHFXXWKHEXGJHWGHEJLWEDTXDUWUHWLWVWVHOVRXVRPHWKLQJDERXWMXVVK
ELJLWVWVKDWKWHGHEJLVVWLOOKLJKHUWRGDWQDQKHOJLWLVKJRYHUQPHQW
EHJLQJWRWKH,0)LQWKHV7KLV:HGQHVGD,PDQVJRJLQWRDPHHLQJRIWKH
,0)RQVZUUVFQDXVHRIWKHUHVROYHRIWKHJLWLVKSHRSH, JRUHSUHVHQLQJ
country that is seen as part of the solution, not part of the problem.

ERQ

DYGBPHUHHKWKVKSUWBUHQPDGHMPLQDUDURHQ

:LWKLWUUDLQQUHMDUKHQUHQHWPNDRHWHUWKHEOGOHDPGHULQGBEG
PDWHULDOVHQH EKOGLDQRWKH RWK DQWK HPEUDEQZ
technologies, producing things and selling them to the world. So make no mistake
KQKQDUGLQWLKSRWLWQOQHDHMKHWQHEDOLFWR
WKHUMDUHWKHSUWVKHVKH

DPHQ

HUHDPHQVSSHDOLQVKHLPDHVKHEJGQGGDVKH DQKR
UHMUWLQPLQDUSLEHESUDWLHDWKHQMPSONKLNQEOH7KHQVKH
SUROHPDQDPHQVUHQV LQSSDUHQOQSDUWVKHJLQOHVLM
human agency is denied in this instance because of the juxtaposition of the past as purely
EDGQWKHSUHQVDSYHQVVKWDWDQHWKQDGDKLRGDQWGDWHG
RQDUGLQPHUQKHEPHDRHWWLDQWHUQWLMQQLQ
RQWLQEQJLKWHDWK

7KHMQRHQDOLWKHSSHDQWVKHUMHWKDWLQHDMGWD[DWLQQUHNDWLQ
EMQVHDGWESLWDOAKW7KHORKHUHDHVLQHQZWKEMQR
DRDOLDWLQKHRWKDWLQHDMDQDWHWD[DWLQHDGWESLWDOAKWDQGLMHPHQ
While such assumptions have received much empirical refutation, they nonetheless retain
MQVILKWGLMMQVQVKHSPOLWLRUPHQVPSORIGK
ORVVKHUMVLDWHULW\$HHKEDGDPHQVVKHSGHUDWLQ
JLWKLQWUQHPQUDWHWKLMOO

Corporation tax – coming down to the lowest rate in the G7 and yes, the top rate of tax
KDEHHQWRHQMQVQKHKDQDMLWDLQHQMQV
DQQKHVKHUKDMWKHKLKHWWRUDWHWD[LQKHVKLMDWEHLQK
PHDRQDWLKWRRVQHWDRQOOWKHQREUQVKDWQV
WRNPLQVGDQRHWDENWRREUQWKLQSSURKLNQ
7KHGHEWQESHUHQVQHUVWUDWHWUHQGOLOOLQSLQDWHMWR
MRVHDWHGLQVQDU\$RQVQDUPDWLBOOVKDWKDWKQUPHQKDV
helped deliver

DPHQ

DPHQPSKDMGWKLSRQDDLQWOHQKDWVKHSUWBUHQ

7RWGHQVMRQSHROHQVWRHQMQVQDPHQDOHQV
DWYDUHLQDRDOUDHWBDRQVQOLMDWHNDPELWLQ

WRFRPSHWHLQWKHJOREDOUDFHVDVLDULOGLVPLVHGVDVUDFHWRWKHERWWRP&WK
 PHDOVFRPSHWLQJZWK&KLODROVZIDWVKRSVDOG,QGLDROORZJHV1R-WKRVH
 FRXQWULHVDUHEHFRPLQJRXUFVVRPHUVDOGZMHRWWRFRPSHWHZWK&DOLIRUQLDRQ
 LQQRYDWLROFHUPDORQKJKHOGPDQXIDFWXULOJWLDROQDQFHDQGWHFQORORJG
 KHUHVRPHWKLQJHOVHRXQHGGWRUHFJRQLVHDERXWWKLVUDFH7KHSODLQIDFWLVW
 those global companies that employ lots of people – they can set up anywhere in the
 EOG7KH&G&R&O&L&O&O&H7&U&O&L&Q&H&K&H&U&H&L&O&Q&H&W&H&U&O
 these companies base their decisions on some simple things: like the tax rates in each
 &U&R&I&W&K&N&W&D&H&D&U&H&K&L&K&H&U&K&H&U&W&K&D&O&M&K&H&U&H&W&K&H&G&O&R&H&K&H&U&H&Q&L
 WKH&G&O&R&H&K&H&U&H&G&O&H&W&W&K&M&R&V

QPHUR

HUH WKH GHMUDELQWMLWDLQVROVHUQWLRQLOVWRVDO KLK WD[DWLQDWHVDUH
 SUHMVHGDCLUHFODQOR&O&O&UDGLV&V&K&H&W&K&H&L&M&S&O&D&K&H&G&D&W&D&Q
 DQOWHUQWLMW&K&L&L&U&W&H&G&H&U&K&H&U&P&H&O&L&W&K&D&S&S&D&U&H&O&O&H&G&H&G&W&R
 H&R&H&W&K&L&V&O&H&L&Q&G&H&U&W&K&L&H&M&S&H&E&H&G&N&R&H&V&H&D&W&L&M&R&O&L&O&H&U&H&W
 UDWHG&H&E&W&U&H&G&V&L&O&K&H&U&P&H&O&P&H&D&Q&Q&K&L&D&M&D&W&H&U&H&U&P&H&O
 LQOOWKHOREHDOLOQHODWLV&V&K&H&W&K&H&D&O&H&L&R&S&D&U&L&W&K
 S&L&W&L&D&O&V&H&O&M&K&H&U&H&D&Q&W&K&H&D&L&P&W&K&D&W&D&Q&L&M&U&M&D&U&R&D&W&H&U&L&W&S&D&L&E&H&V
 ZOOOHDG&W&K&S&L&W&L&D&O&D&O&D&S&M&Q&K&H&D&M&L&W&D&L&Q&K&H&R&S&D&U&L&Q&W&H&O&H&H&H
 where large-scale political disruption, widespread unemployment and declining gross
 GRHWL&S&U&R&K&D&M&E&H&H&S&U&H&D&O&H&S&D&U&W&L&D&U&O&M&F&W&K&H&R&E&L&M&H&D&Q
 George Osborne again provides us with a prime example, this time in a speech responding
 W&D&O&L&E&D&Q&W&K&H&Q&L&W&L&K&D&E&N&D&U&W&H&D&G&H&U&K&R&U&N&G&G&H&E&D&W&H&D&E&W&D&R
 O&L&M&L&Q&D&S&W&H&Q&L&D&O&D&O&W&H&U&Q&W&L&M&W&W&H&U&L&W

HERURDQPRHGHEWUHPDLQKHLUHR&S&L&W&K&H&Q&R&U&G&D&U&H
 W&D&O&N&W&K&H&L&W&L&K&S&H&R&O&H&D&E&W&L&W&H&D&G&W&K&H&G&P&K&U&D&W&K&H&U&M&W&W&D&O&N&E&W&K&H&W&R
 O&L&M&Q&W&K&H&W&D&L&M&Q&H&K&E&H&W&D&K&H&G&U&R&W&K&H&S&H&U&R&P&D&H&W&K
 economy. Well you ask the citizens of Greece what happens to living standards when
 W&K&H&H&R&D&L&O&D&M&H&R&Z&W&K&D&P&E&W&D&H&K&D&W&K&D&S&S&H&Q&W&K&H&L&U&O&L&M&Q
 W&D&Q&D&U&G&K&H&O&R&W&D&H&U&D&W&H&K&W&D&U&L&M&P&H&D&Q&Q&W&U&D&W&K&H
 D&M&U&D&H&P&R&W&D&H&E&L&O&O&D&W&K&H&E&W&L&H&Q&K&L&W&K&D&W&E&G&E&H&D&Q&E&W&H
 G&L&D&W&H&U&R&O&L&M&D&Q&D&U&G&K&H&O&W&H&O&O&K&K&H&U&E&R&U&Q&K&H&U&H&O&D&U&H&W&V
 L&K&H&U&W&D&H&M&D&Q&L&K&H&U&P&R&W&D&H&U&D&W&H&Q&K&L&K&H&U&N&P&S&O&R&H&O

ERQ

David Cameron made a similar statement days later:

,MHWKDWDE&K&D&M&W&R&S&H&G&W&D&O&N&E&W&K&H&G&H&E&W&E&L&M&Q&Q&K&H&W&D&O&N&E&W&K&H
 W&R&L&M&L&M&R&D&W&G&L&U&H&W&O&U&H&O&D&W&H&G&W&K&H&W&K&H&U&D&O&W&E
 K&D&W&K&D&S&S&H&Q&Q&G&H&D&O&Z&W&K&D&G&H&E&W&E&L&M&Q&K&E&W&D&u&H&W&K&H&W&R&L&M&Q
 M&W&R&Q&D&W&K&H&U&H&H&Q&K&L&Q&K&H&M&R&P&H&D&W&L&N&Q&K&M&M&L&O
 H&M&S&D&L&G&R&D&O&O&R&E&K&H&E&W&M&W&R&H&R&W

QPHUR

Here, the case of Greece is evoked in a spectral manner as a worst-case scenario, and is then
 O&L&N&G&W&R&W&K&H&G&D&H&U&D&O&E&N&W&H&G&L&D&W&H&U&R&E&W&L&H&Q&W&K&L&W&U&P&H&U&H&W&K&H

SRVWWVUXFWXUDOLVWSSURDFKHVWRSROLWLFDOGLVFRXUVHIRXQGLOSROLWLFDOWKHR
QRWH[SHUWVRXUVHOYHVEXWUDWKHUEHFDXVHLWLVDUJXDEONVSHFLDOODSSOLFDEOHL
SROLWLFDOVWUXFWXUHV DUH EHFRLQJ PRUH PLTXLGPXPDO DQG SROLWLFDO DXWKRULV
LQFUHDV LQJOEHLQJVFUXWLQLVHGDQGFQVHVVHGHDMHU3XWVLPSONIDUJXDEOOLYHLQ
DQHUDRIKDW:HOFK FDOOV KSHUGHPRFUDFQ HVVHQFH KSHUGHPRFUDFV
:HOFK S GHQHV LW UHIHUV QHLWKHU WRPRUH GHPRFUDFQRU DQ H[FHV RI
GHPRFUDFVXWVKHQWHQVLEDFVGHPRFUDFVMOLEHUDOGHPRFUDFNHIIHUVWRDVVWHP
RIUXOHKHUHLQDXWKRULWLVHVDUHUHVSRQVLYHDQGDFFRXQWDEOHWRSXEOLF GHPDQGV
GHPRFUDFVHIHUVWRDVVWHPKHUHEWKHSROLWLFDOSUHVVXUHVUHTXLUHGWRPDNHWKD
RURUDVDYLG(DVWRQVHPLQDOODFOOHGKHPJOSXWVQVHQVLI\$XWWLQJWKH
system itself under strain.

QVKLWHP SRLWLEDVUWGHSSRLWLEM WKHLU GHEMSEWUDLQWKHP DV
LHLWDEOHRQHMHUHQHWDPHOHSDUKLOHWUWVKDOKLHUDUKLHV
WLOOH[LWZWKLOKVKLHUDUKLHNUHQWVWLOODHPULDGGHPDQGLQHDMG
SHLOQVUR[WHUDOSUHMHWVNDUURVWKHLUSKOLDFVYKH
implications of this for analysts of political discourse is that the frameworks they use should
EH BHOQ LQMM RWKH LQHWHUPLQVWHPSPDUVHWV DQ KLOH WLOO
VHDNWXWK WSKUDDQV KW WEH DZUH RWKH LQHDMLQVDEOH DQ
uncertain conditions within which power operates, and within which they analyse power.
7KLKDSWHU KDVLPHG WBSURGH D UDPHV ELWLBOODQOMGHSRLWLEMQ
GLMM LQ D D ELWLBO R WWHV SRLWLEW UHRM WV
contingent and indeterminate operation.

Notes

7KHVHDVSHFWVRIURUPDOSROLWLFVDUHFODUOQRWDOOWKHUHLVWRSROLWLFDOSDUWLF
forms of participation in the form of activism in social movements, local participation and
HUMUGDPDNDUHDUNEOVKHULMLDUKRESNSKKHUHWKWKH
DMELMDHPHQVUREPDOSRLWLSDUWLHSVUOLDPHQVQHOHWFEDOSURGMHY
DUHWDNDNUHMDUKVWLWVWLQMGHKLWLEKDUWLESDWLQKQ
EHGHG
ELWLBOODGGUHMVUFHOLWHVPSWVWQVWQSSUBKREDQOMVKHNSOMGHV
GULMURBLWLBOGLMDHPHQV WEGEHDUNGWKDWKQDQSSUBKWHQWRULKOHHD
VKHSHEPWLQRLWLEDQKHLUPHQVWVWKHH[SHQDURGHU
WUWVHGULMDLMDHPHQVDEDMGGLMDHPHQVH[DPSOH7KLVMLMMVHUHWLQ
VWLQENKRWVWRHVKHOGDNVDEOHSRLWLBOGLMDHPHQVVKLQVQ
DGGUHKHUH:HGGDUHHZWKREHWWKMMUKBOOEPRHUHMDUKV
LQVHUQOSUDVWLHRLWLEDQKHPMOMVWVWVWKHH[WHQVWLKWKHLUSVQVGHVUDVWLHV
are driven more by structural pressures, or are due to an internalized culture.
VHWKDWWKHMOREHHUEVKVWKHORMGEVHMMDUKHULQVKHLUH[SODQVWVQ
ORMGEVKHSRLWLBO DFRWKHVDUH WELQVQKH GLMMWKH DGRV QMM
theoretic analysis, the line between the researcher and the world they are studying is self-
consciously blurred or problematised, so as to move beyond overtly positivist approaches to
research.

References

WVQD= /LTKGPRGHUQVWVity, Cambridge.
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 SROLFDSSURYDQ Political Psychology, SS±

QDPHDERDQWKHSRLWLEHSRLWLEWDLQ The British Journal of Politics
 and International Relations, 3SS±

&DPHURQSHHFKWR&%%&ROIHUHQFHIRYHPEHU/ROGRQDYDLODEOHIURPZZZ
 WHOHJUDSKFRXNQDQFHFRQRPLFVDYLG&DPHURQ&%SHHFKLQIXOOKWDFHVVHG
 HPEHU@

DPHURSHHKWLEUWLMEDUWRUHQVWRHUQRHWHUDBLODEOH
 URWHOJUDSKSRLWLEGDYGPURQDWLMBUWUHQ
 DYGDPHUNHHKLEOKWPODFMGGHPEHU@

DUSHQLHU IH QHHQLDGLM WKHELVQRHGLD WELHY Journal of
 Language and Politics, SS±

EEHWW - LDQWKH SUROHP DQLSRLWLEDQ RLWLBO WELHYHMHZ
 SS±

DWSSURKWWKHDQOMRLWLBOWHPY World Politics, 9SS±

)DLUFORXJKIDiscourse and social change , Polity, Cambridge.

DWWWDUKHSRLWLEDWLEUHQDQSRWLWLBOSDUWLESDWLQ Policy and
 Politics, SS±

QLQHUV Delegated governance and the British state: Walking without order, Oxford
 University Press, Oxford.

QLQHUMGLQKHSS5HEWDOLMLRLWLEQWKHRLWLKOLFSHWDLQ
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DPEOHF Politics and fate , Polity, Cambridge.

DPEOHF/HULWDWDWHEDWU BUOLDPHQDUDLU,SS±

DULDQKSHUNOLDWLRRLWLEQIWHUQHPRDEHY The Leadership Quarterly,
 22SS±

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QDUWK' RLWLBOH[SODDWRQDODQSRWLWLBOWKHR5W/OHGH
 London.

QDUWK' WUWKH DHDQ SKU LQSRWLWLBODQOMWQ
 QH[WOLMGMOLQHUSUHWDWLE Political Studies Review, SS±

DMHUQ Authoritative governance: Policy making in the age of mediatization, Oxford
 University Press, Oxford.

DMMWUDWHLHRQDPHDEGDEHLUPHVS DPHENDQOMV
 LMRHW\ SS±

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 RZDUWKBRZHUGLVFRXUVHDOGSROLF Critical Policy Studies , 3SS±

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 3SS±

-RKDQVHQRelational political marketing in party-centred democracies VKJDWH)DUQKDP
 .HUU3VQH &)RVWHU (KHRULVLQJ &DPHURQLVP Political Studies Review, 9
 SS±

.LMBP&WLHQLSGHPREDQHGFWLWVKH5 BUOLDPHQDUDLU,
 SS±

LDUKHEPRLWLWLBOSDUWLESDWLQ British Journal of Political Science,
 SS±

LOOHNUDBLWLBOPDUNWLQKHMBQPHULQHPRDWLEHEWLELWDLQ
 -RQRUWELHWRDUNWLQ , SS±

/LOOHNHUEFKHLPSDFWRISROLWLFODPDUNHWLQJRQLOWHUQDOSDUWGHPRFUDFFR
 #DLUV, SS±

LOOHNUHULH5WLEUDQQPHEWFEKRDUNWLSBLWLWB
 GLMDHGHOFVFDWHRJurnal of Political Marketing, 2SS±

ODFDUWQH\&ULVLVIRU WKH VWDWH RU FULVLVRI WKH VWDWPHitical Quarterly,
 SS±

DBUWFAKHSUDGIRVHUDWLRQRHDQHPEDPQWKHGHEWELM Cambridge
 FYLHZRI, QWHUQDWLRQDORHURISULQVSS±

ODQQLQJ1 ROPHV0 ROLWLFDO HPRWLRQV SROHIRU IHHOLQJVRI DvQLWLQ FLWLJHQV
 GLMDHPHQVWKHOHWFEDOSBLWL Sociological, SS±

DBHQJHWHKQKEDQSRWLWLDHODHPHQVSURSWHGHESHUNOLMGSRLWLBO
 OHDGHUKLSPolitical Communication, SS±

LWKHOONUSDNMUGDDQULDEFLQW HUSHUNORH[W
 of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 21SS±

ORRO'6LVVXH RQ WKH ERQHV RZDUGV WKH GHYHORSHPHQW RI D SRVWVWUXFWXUDOLVW
 LQVWLWXWLRQDOLVW, 3SS±

2VERUQHSHHFKWR&QVHUYDWLYH3DUW&ROIHUHQFHFWREHULUPLQJKDPDYDLODEOHIURP
 ZZZQHZVWDWHVDPQFRPEORJVSROLWLFVJHRUJHRVERUQHVVSHHFKFRQVHUYDWLYHFRQIHUHQFH
 NOWH[WDFHMGHPEHU@

FRQSHHKWNUDWLMDUWNUHGHISWHPEHURHWHUDMLODEOH
 URZLWLNPHVDDOMRHRHQRUHQVSHHKLQ
 NODHMGHPEHU@

DBQFHGLWUDWLOHGHQWKHNUHLQHEWELM Review of International
 Political Economy, 20SS±

3DXO. 7LVFRXUVH DQDOVLV QH[SORUDWLRQ RI PHWKRGRORJLFDO LVVXHV DQG D FDOO IRU
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 Cambridge.

KLuULApproaches to discourseDFNZHOO2[IRUG
 WRNHUWhy politics matters 3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQDVLQJVWRNH
 YDQLMNLVFRXUVHDQGWKKGHOLDORIUDFLVP Discourse & Society, 3SS±

:HOFKHyperdemocracy3DOJUDYH0DFPLOODQDVLQJVWRNH

:RGN 5&ULWLFDO LVFRXUVH DQDOVLVQ Qualitative Research Practice, eds. C Seale,
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:RDNH&OOLD5 RPHPDWLRQKHSDW7KHGLMMWUNWLRQEDO
 QUUDWLMDENWVKHJHELWKNKHMSWULDQHSKOLF Discourse & Communication, 1
 SS±

:RRG0 BX]]OLOJDOGSRZHULQJLQSROLFSDUDGLJPVKLIWV Critical Policy Studies, 9
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:ROLQHUPHWKLNQHSBLWLEDWLRQ Policy and Politics, SS±

Identity politics, populism and the far right

Anton Pelinka

7KHWHUPRSØLPHVHOGWRRYHUKDGRZVKHGHEWDWHFRQFHUQLOJGHPRFUDFDQGWKHIDU
 ULJKWRSØLPHVHOGWRRYHUKDGRZVKHGHEWDWHFRQFHUQLOJGHPRFUDFDQGWKHIDU
 GLFRMDERWFRQWHPSPRUDUDQWLGHPFRUDWLFWUHQGVLKFKDSWHUDUJWVKDWSRSØLPLV
 DSKHQRPHQRQURRWGHLQWKHYHUTROFHSWRIGHPRFUDFJGHPRFUDFVGHQHGGEWKH
 FRPSHWLWLRQRIWRUPRUHSDUWLHUFDOGLGDWHIRUYRWHEKPSHWHUWKLQHDGWR
 DSRØLWSROLFRIDSSHDLQWKHH[LWLQJLQWHUHWRWIKHHOHFWRUDWHRURISHFLQHOHFWRUD
 MJPHQWVKHFRQMTMQFHLDQOO'SROHPLFODQJHRIWPSOLJGHFOMRQDQG
 LQFOMRQ7KHTWLRQKRLD SRSØLWFDQROQEHDOZUHGEVQLQWKDWLQD
 democracy, every party and every candidate running for election is, in a certain way, a
 SRSØLW7KDWPHDQWLQHUWDRWVKHGLuHUHQEHWZHQLuHUHQNQR
 populism.

7GLWLEKEHWZHSØLWSHEPULDEOHKDMWRHGHUHGKDPHW
 DQULKWVKHKDSWHUWVULPDULOQUULKWSRSØLFRDKMDLN
 QDOLWWULHWR

- B ERGHDQUYHVKHSØLW DUULKWGHQVKHUWKDWLKRGRWKH
 SØLW DUULKWH[GHURK
- B QHUOLQWKHGLuHUHQDQMPLODULWLHEHWZHQKHDUULKWVKHSDWDQWRD
 far right.
- B Stress that contemporary far-right populism does not confront democracy directly, but
 ØDLPWRHHQLWDDLQVHEHQPLHV
- B Distinguish between far-right tendencies in societies and political systems, especially
 RUQWKHLUHHQSDWVWGHRLQGHWKHPPWEQGHGEDR
 party system of the Soviet type.

The far right: a conceptual history of far-right parties and movements in the nineteenth, twentieth and early twenty- first centuries

7KHSROLWLFDOPHDQLOJRIPIHIWQDQJULJKWVWKHSURGWRIWKHVLLWVWQJRUGHURI
 SDUOLDPHQWGLQJWKHUHYROWLRODUSHULRG6LQFHWKHQULJKWVDEHHQDWHUPV

defending the privileges of birth and property against any kind of reform labelled liberal or

7KLW DUWHGWRDHLQKHWNQLHWKHOV7KH,WDOLDQEFWVHSUHMVHGDNQR
QWLROLWLFDOLWDULDQDQLWVUPDQDQOOHG WKHPDLRORDOLW
DUWVKHSDUWVPMXD WUDGLWLRQULKWZLRRHSUWVSURWLQWUHPH
UHDWLRUSBLEH, SURWLQkischen SozialismusWVKQLFDQOOHIFOXVLYHVRFLDOLVP
WKHSUWVSRNHRQEHKDOIRIDVLJQLFDQWSDUWRIWKHFUPDQZRUNLQJFODVVOHOFWV
EOXHFROODUYRWHUVZKREHOLHYHGWKHKDGUHDVQRWRSUHIHUEWOHUVSUWVWRVRFLL
RUFPPXQLVWV)DOWHU

KHIDVFLVVRWVKHHDUOWZHQWLHWKFKHQWXUHSUHVHQWHGQGHQFQRWWRVHH
GHFLVLYHFOHDYDJHRIWKHWLPHDVVKHGHHQGHUVRIWKHPDQFLHQWUHLPHDQGWKH
VRFLDOLVWIDFWLRQVGLGKHIDVFLVWVGHFODUHGDQDWRQDQGRUWDFHVPVKHGHQLOJF
WKHWLPHDGLQVRPHUHVSHFWWVKLVKDVQRWPXFKFKDQJHGRUWKHIDUULJKWRIWKH
WZHQWVVFHQWXUHKHGHQLOJRWKHUWVQRWVKHUHYROXWLRQDUDWKRPHLWLVWKHIRU
RUZKRHYHULVEUDQGHGDVIRUHLJQWKDWLVWKHHQHPDJDLQVWZKRPZHVDYHWRGHIHQ

ourselves.
7KHDUULKWVGDGRVWVKHEODWDQVUDEMDKDEHHQKHMLOVKHSDWVKH
WKHUWUHQGHGEELRBDQVDMXDKWKH-HZKUDHREXHUEDQ
PLMVHUSUHWDLRQKHWKHUWUHQGHGEKDUDWHULWLDVWVKH
REMOVLWLRQDQWKHMDH WKH H[DKVWKWKHUWUHQ

accompanied by promises of respect for the otherness – as long as they abstain from coming

WV
7MXLWVKHUVWLQD SULESDOGLuHUHQEHWVHQQVWKPVSHEF
QUUDWLVWUHQMGWGHDSHEPWLQUELDRUWHHREWKHUWVKH
EEDUNKULWLDQKRHDQMOVLWLDLQWKHRHVGDUWV
MLPQVWVWKHUWVKLVVHVKDMEHHQPKWKDNGEN
HLKEKVKDMEHHQKSHSHUSHWVWVLPWKHQDKWURWKHUHQDOHQPLHV
DQWUHQVUHVWVHGLRUBHDMVLPVKHMOSHUHSWLRHLQHUPDQVQ

the victim is a narrative used by nationalistic parties in general, and by right-wing populist

SDUWLHVQDUWLQDU DQQLW MUMVDMQV PWLWLRQKLWLRQDUHMLRV
.RHHN

WKHH[DPSOHWKHQLDQELWUWGHPRUDWHMVLMSHEDOOQVKHREPHU
RPNVSDUWVRKHKHUHDNQDGDKLQGUHMLRWQWLRQLFSQD
WUDGLWLRQUDENGLUHWHGDDLQVHQQARDQ[LWVWVKHNDVWV
GHPRDWLQDLPWKDWVHPSRDU\$RQLVHUSUHMVWKHQRWLQ
LWKHMLVLPVHHSQVWUHDWLHWKHSDWVKHQWLRQDQLKWWVWDDLQWKH
KHKVKNWUHDWLHQVWVWKHPVWKHDPHWLPHWKHMUKLQ
RNSULWOLMVKLQKHQRWLQUDGLWLRQD\$HQRKRDMDQDQGHQ

as agents of foreign interests.

5HEQVHUSUHWDLRQLWLRBOHMQVVRWKHEDWVOHQVWKHODWHLGGOH
VWVKH7UHDWVULDRHOSWVHUOLQDSHEEGHQLWVGHQV
WKHSHUPDQVWVLPVMPOLHVQDQVQODVH[DKVWKWKHU
MHPWRHDWUDGLWLRQPLHWVLUHQVWVWDDLQV

7KHUHMUKRRLWLBOSDUWLHMVUDODWHUQRKDSVWPKHPSKDMVKH
QWLROLWRRLDWGLGKHQVKHDS EHWVHQVKH UHQLMQWLRQOLW
narratives, more or less suppressed by communist rule for decades, and an orientation on

WUDQWLRQDQVWVH[PSOLHG E\WKH KRHDQRLWKHOWDQOGE

ODUNRZNL7yNDSS7KHUHYLYDORIQDWLRQDOLVWWHQGHQFLHVDQXQDYRLGDEOH
UHVXOWRIGHPRFUDWLFWUDQVIRUPDWLRQRSHQVDHOGIRUSRSXOLVWVWHQGHQFLHVDV
H[LVWHGLQ:HVWHUQ(XURSH7KHIRUPHUFPPXQLVWSDUWRI(XURSHIRUGHFDGHVQRWLQWHJ
LQWKH(XURSHDQLQWHJUDWLRQSURFHVVVLFKDLPHGIURPLVWYHUJHJLQQLQJLQWKHVVR
overcoming nationalism, is now the region in which a more traditional, revisionist
QWLQOLMDOOLHGZWKSRQLPDQBS±

7KH RG DEW DU ULKW KDG R RPCHRLQWE GHSLWH DOO WKH GLuHUHV
EHWZHQWLQQLWLRQLPDLPLWLFH7UHQUVHGDKWKGHQ
WKHUWKUWUHGWKHPMOMDWUMPHPEHURQWLRSROHMVKH
RPWUHLPHMGWKLWHUHW\$HLPPHGLDWHODWHUKHQKQND
5RQDQKHWLPLWKHWDOLOQDWLRURUHUHDOOHGRRLWDQ
RHRGE-HZSOHEDSSZKHQHPSEDDUULKWLWLOO
DQLRRLWDQMLQLHUHLVHEDOOLOHWHUQRHWKHWDGLWLRQ
DQLMPLWLSODMDDVOOHMUURHWKDDQKHSDWLQHWKHUHLN
DHPSEDDURUUDODWHURR

7KH RG DU ULKW BULOEEHMQWKHUKHWLWKHWHPSEDDUULKWELQKH
UWLRQMPLOMOHYGHQVQWKHPKHUSURDPPDWLGHDDUDWLR
DULQHIGUHMGHQVWKHUKRHWLQQUHHRGRLQKH
RRHDQUOLDPHQGHDDUHGDPDWHUGDKWKRHRMOMVHMDOVWGHGO\

plan: to deconstruct the nation states in order to create a new globalised order, one that
WKUHDWHWKHMLW\$URHULWLGHQLWQMDQWKHSHROHSH¶

7KLVWKHMUHMRHPSEDDUULKWWKLQDQWUDWHUWUHG
WKHUWKHSHMOMGHYOLKMLUDGHGGO\$ODQWKHMP\$OLHG
DHSWDHRWLQSHROH¶

Populism: a theoretical explanation of a specific understanding of democracy

Populism is a vague concept. Populist tendencies, populist thinking, populist traditions have been, and still are, part of the history of democracy. Populism *per se* is not directed against
GHPRDFKHWHUPKDEHRHDDUULKWWHQHQRHWKDWDDLPWKHDUHQ
DQLGHPEDWLEXUHSUHMWKHWUMRSHUWDQLRHPEDF

MQQMKHOUDLMWKHHLWLRHWKHUSRLPKRGGVHEHMQV
WKHSDWKRRGHPRDFQMLDQGHPRDWLSKRRHQRUR
RHOSS±

QKHSDWKHDUULKWDMDWH[LWVHGLQKHPREWSDUWLHMSHEDOOWKHDWLRQ
RDOLW HUPDQRNUQDUW\$KDM EHQVNDLQWKH EDMF
SULESOHGHPRDFKH WUDGLWLRQDUULKWR\$MGDQHUWDQLQMUO

basic rights as enshrined in the tradition of enlightenment expressed by the declarations of the
SHULDQQUHQHQLWLRKHSRLWDUULKWDUHWKDWHPSEDDUGHPRDF
LQKHOLEHUDQHWHUWHPKDDOOHMLPWRHOLWLWVWHQHQHWKHSRLWDUULKW
argues that it is necessary to defend the essence of democracy against elites.

7KLVURHQLMRW\$LQORWKHDUULKWWKHEHLQKHWLWVHWK
HVKSRHUW\$KHOMGLWVGRHLEHGHPRDWLBOOHQOHVGHUHSUHMWDWLMRHLQ
RLDUKLH\$WKWRDWLQKHUHQHPRDEKHQWKLMLWLEMDV
RGHUHGRHQHQLWV\$KDLKWLW¶

7KHUULKWSRLMLKDDUDWHULMGEW\$HQKHWLWVRLQMLV
DDLQWKHPDENQDLQULQDUWLHDDLQWKHSHUHQHWQHWQWKH

HFRQRPLF VSKHUH 2Q WKH RWKHU VLGH LW PRELOLVHV DJDLOVW WKHP EHORJ DJDLOVW HWK PLQRULWLHV DJDLOVW PLJUDQW DJDLOVW DQVHJPHQWLQVRFLHWKDWDFDQEHSLFWXUHG 7KHJVWUIURQW DJDLOVW WKHP VQRWH [FOXVLYHORZHGENDUULJKWWUDGLWLRQV, WLVDQV EOHIVLWVWHOGHQFLHV, WLWVKHEULGJHEHWZHQWKHSRSXOLVPRWKHIDUULJKWDQGWKH RIWKHOHIW, WLWVKHVHFRQGIURQW DJDLOVW WKHP WKDWJLYHVWKHSRSXOLVIDUULJKW AYRXU

&RQWHP SRUDUSRSXOLVPLVGLUHUHQWONRJDQWLGHPRFUDWLFDXWKRULWDULDQRUW movements and parties from the past – not *per se* DQWLGHPRFUDWLFKHFODLPSRSXOLVSDUWLHV RIWKHWZHQWV VWFHQWXUKDYHLYWRUHSUHVHQW WUXHGHPRFUDFDVFDQEHVHHQLQW RIWKHZHGHPRFUDWVDQGWKH(X)LQQV UHHODQG2MD0UDO3RSXOLV parties criticise the existing structures and institutions of liberal political systems as being GHPRDWLEQPHQRSLWSDUWLHQQWRHMHQWKHJHDOGHPRDWLSDUWLHV

Concerning right-wing populist parties, this is linked to an outspoken, or at least implicit, HWKQH[DMQWKHSHROHVRHUNRWKHQWLDXGUR WKHQWKQEDUHMNOPLRLWLKRUHMHQWJHDOOEHORVWK SHROHIDVSRDQSHEDOPLUDQKHPWRHSDPLODWHG LQWKHNDQDOUHOLLNLDVUHDPRDLPMQSH:GDN

Populism speaks on behalf of the majority, even if representing only a minority of the HOHWRDWH7KHQHWKLPDLGSHUHLMGURBHDGFWHWKHPDMLWLV DWURUHHUHRSHOHELEWDULDQHKQDQDQSHQLWUXGLUHWHGDDLQWKH institutions of representative democracies, such as parliaments. Of course, this has an old WUDGLWLRSHUWDKQDQWKHEHLQHULDQHPEDGLWLEKHG EHWZHQDWKHBOOHGDGLDHPEDDHPEDMGRHSUHMVDWLQWKD MQDGHUHHRLWUXGLUHWHGDDLQWKHPDMDQDRLWHPREDF RSDQORP WUHSUHMVDWLMLWLWLWLRKO

UWUDHNOGHG WKHPDLVUHDQSHUWDQLGHPRDWLWKHRD WDEOH democracy must keep a balance between representative democratic institutions and SOHEMEWDULDQVUHQV DVUHHUHQD UDHNODUHQVDDLQ DSKH plebiscitarian understanding of democracy is especially based on historical evidence, on the PDQSDWLRLUHSWMDGHPRDWLPHWKEDQV LGHPREDWLEHNDWKH HUPDDHNO

,WLDOQDUW WKHGRLQVSHUWDQLGHPRDWKDWGHPRDQV EH UHGNGWVKHUHRDMLWGHPRDQDWRHEDMGRRELQWLRDMLW rule and minority rights, which have to be guaranteed beyond the decisions and interests of WKHPDMLW, WKHLUQSHUWDQLGHPRDELKWLZSRSLWSDUWLHWHQWRDHW this aspect of democratic theory: respect for minorities, be they ethnic, religious or political PLRLWLHVQSOXDOLWLSRLWQOHU 7KLVWKH QHQDMP SOLWLF SHUWDQLQemosWK GHPRFUDWLF VRYHUHLJQ 3RSXOLV WHQGV WR FRQVWUXFW WKH SHRSOHV D KRPRJHQRXV HQWLWZKR VH QDWXUH VHPV WR EH XQGHUPLQHG E VSHFL HVSHFLDOOH [WHUQDOHQHPLHV3RSXOLVPHVSHFLDOOLJKWZLQJSRSXOLVPHQGVWR LG WKHSHRSOHVDERGZLWKRQHGRPLQDWLQJQDWLRQDOLQWHUHVWHYLDQWLQWHUHVVD DUHFRQVLGHUHGHLWKHUWKHUHVXOWVRIZURQJFRQVFLHQFHUHYHQWKHH[SUHVVLL illegitimate agenda, orchestrated by an evil conspiracy.

7KHUKKRRUHHRDQLUHWHPREDLWKHNRHDOULDPHV RPDWHVQWVWUWHUWKHUKKLEHWKHSWGLUHWGHPRDF EHOLHMQWWRHWKHQWLPDWHKHNRRLWLBQHWKMPHVSOLHGSHUWDQLQ democracy as an unlimited rule of the majority is representative for the populism of the far right.

Contemporary issues

3ROLWLFV LQ WKH WZIQWUJVV FHOQWLV GHQHG EWKH HOGRI WKH FOH DUO GHQ DEOH
BUOGR IWKH & ROG :DU)URPWKHYLH ZRLQWRIWKH HVVWGHQHG DVWKH WZVLGHVRIWK
1RUWK WODQWLFWKH BUOGLVSDUWLF DUOLQW QFHGEWKHULVLOJVLJQLFDQFHRIQH
SODMUV HVSHFLDOOWKH %&6 VWDWHV WDJLO 5XVLD & KLOD ,QGLD 6RWK ULFD EWKH

absence of any general explaining pattern, but – clearly – by the decline of the state as the
NUHL RDQWL RDQH WVKHWDWHDKDEHHHFWKHBIDHR
:HWSKDOLD LOHDQ OHVDEOH WURWKH RRDOLDWLQKH
WHPGHGLQDQW HUQWLRORGHUQHUWKHURNUHLW DWHKDV
RHWRHQ.LMUSS±

7KHWDWHDLWKDEHHQWKHPDLQHQHSUHVMDWKELWLQHUQOODQ
also the independent actor, deciding over war and peace externally, but the state as an
RDQWLQOWSHLVQGHDLQ7KHWDWHGHDLQLVQLDWHGEWKHSHKHQ
DUZWKLOQEHREXZWKWWDWHYRH:KUDURHUURDQ
attempt to bring a war against a phenomenon that was clearly not a state into a traditional
WHUPLRDUMQKHGGOHQWOLNWKHGLUHUHQDQDWKHPHWPHPSDUDOOHO±
DUGHWDWLQVULHXDVLDDQ,UDDUHDUWKDWWDWHUHQWHP
unable to control.

7KHWDWHGHDLQDQORHMHQWKHGLVQWLHWKDWWKHGHPRDWLHODUHW DWHKDV
URWRKHWDWHPSDELQWWRUHMUMLQHUQORQDOSHDERELQRLF
growth and mass prosperity – as developed especially in European countries such as Sweden
and the United Kingdom in the twentieth century – seems to be less and less able to guarantee
HDUNOHPSORHQDMOODSDLRHMUEBDDOMKLW\

7KHUHDQMLDRDOLDWLRLQWUHUWKDMEHHQEOHWRPDSDWH
WKHPMOMRNUHQWVLOOEQEWHUULWRLDOOLPLDWLQKHORDOLMGR
KDEHRHWDWHOHEWVBLWLEWLOOWDWHEDMG,DRSRDWLQKLNWDDQHD
LWSUVLQKXUHLQWZOOOHDWKHWDWHWUULWRLQKLVKDSURHUHG
RHWLPHLQKHSDW7KHUHWLDDQHDMDHOLWHSHEDOOLQKHRLDOO\
EHWWHUGHMORHGPRHSURHUQDUWVKHGOGLQRHDQLQWKPHULD

7KLVWKHPDLQHWKHRDQHWKDWSRRLPHSHEDOOULKWZSRWL
SDUWLHDUWLQDWHYWKHWKHLUPHHDQWLROHIDMMWRRLQMLWKH
RHHUQDWLQMUQWKHPRHSURHUQDUWVWDQOG RHHUQDWLQ
ONUQDUHSDUWLQDUO\WKH OHVURHUQDMPHQWKNKLBQHBOOHG
ENDDQOQIPLGGOHDDWKHLKGHUHHPSORHQLRHHUHDWU
WKDQKHQWGHQDWHM[SHULHQHAWQWLRQMUHQWVDELQWWRUDQHH
WKHODUHW DWHKWEN

RNLFGHWKWHUHWVKHGHDLQSDSEWRWLRQMUHQV *per se*, not
DWKHLDELQWRDLQWUHDPSRLWLDQOLWHEWVKHLURQOLQWKHHERLW
rhetoric, the price the lower classes have to pay is the result of elitist class egoism – and not
WUWKDOKHLDQDQHDMDQRDOLMGRSLKWZSRRLFDGGWR
WKLSHUWHVLMDDQWRRWKQDWLRODQ7KHUWVKDQDQMV
MUHQWUHGHEGDWKHSURRQOOLDHQWLRQHOLWHDQWUDQWLRQ
LQHUHW DWLROHOLWHDHSHRHMQRWHLPLUDWLQDUWURHQRHWKHLUUNH
over the domestic electorate.

7KLVWKHMLQVULHXZKDRSDUDWLMOKLGHUHHDDOMKLWVKDWLV
WKH VULHXWUHQQRWKHUQRH:ENDSHROHLQKNVULHXV
react to decreasing government power not by moving to the left, but to the right.

SDUWLHVIXOOYVWLOJLQWRVXFKVWVHPV\$FDQEHVHHQLQFDVHVXFKDVVWKH8.DQG)UDQ parties of the political mainstream will be tempted to take over some elements of the exclusionary rhetoric and policies of the far right as such an integration of far-right positions is seen to be promising for the electoral outcome.

Notes

\$DLODEOHIURPZIQIJURZSHSX
\$DLODEOH IURP ZMRSDUOHKRSRDHMOHFWLRQVHQSRQLWLFDOJURZVHMRSHRIIUHHGRP
and-direct-democracy.
6HZZKRDUOHKRDHX

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©PHLGD*The impact of European integration on political parties* RXWOHGJHIHZRUN
 QGHUVRO% ,PDJLQHG FRPPXQLWLHV HMFWLROV RQ WKH RULJLQ DQG VSUHDG RI QDWLRQDO
 HUUQ
 SSOHEDRS ,UQWDLQKHEKLRWHUQRHQRZ
 EN
 \$HQW*The origins of totalitarianism* DUFRXUWDFH-RYDQRYLFKIHZRUN
 HDXJDPK\$ODLQLOJWKHULVHRIWKH)URQWIDWLRQDOWRHOHFWRUDOSURPLOHQHFHPXOWLDFHWH
 RU FRQWUDGLFWRU\PRGHQV\QVing populism in Europe: Politics and discourse, eds.
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 DKO*Democracy and its critics* DOHQLYHUVLVW\$UHVVIHZBYHQ&7
 XYHUJHU0*Die politischen Parteien* &ORKUELQJHQ
)DOWHU-:*Hitlers Wähler&MFNOQFKHQ*
)UDHQHO(*Deutschland und die westlichen Demokratien*, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart.
 JNQ%RLV KDFWU WLPH DQ SDH RSDUDWLM DQ UHWURHFLM
 DQOVRRLW SDUWLHVQKHFLGLWULHVQ *Right-wing populism in Europe: Politics
 and discourse*HGV5RGDN0.KRVUDYLILN0UDOOORRPVEXU\ROGROSS±
 DYOtN93LQRYi\$ *Populist parties in East-Central Europe*, Masaryk University Press,
 WQ
 .LQU+ :ROGRGHU5HAWLQKHKDUDWHUQWLDQWQKHNMKLWEL
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 QMUW\$HMDSHW
 .MKHSWRPQW[WUHPHULKWVKH-RELBUWLQU\Q*Right-wing
 populism in Europe: Politics and discourse*HGV5RGDN0.KRVUDYLILN0UDOOORRPVEXU\
 /ROGROSS±
 /LMSKDUW\$ HPRFUDFLQSOXUDOVFLHVLHVFRPSDUDWLYHHHSDQUDWUROQW\$UHV
 IHZBYHQ&7
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QLYHUVLW3UHVVIHZBYHQ&7

2MDUDQ&HGHGHQHPFUDWVFDPHLQIURPWKHFROGKRZWKHGHEDWHDERXWDOORZLQJ

WKHQRWRPHGLDDUHQDVKLIWHGEHWZHHQDQGI n Right-wing populism in Europe: Politics

and discourseHGV5RGDN0.KRVUDYLILN0UDOOORRPVEXU\RQGRQSS±

2XGHQDPSVHQQ(SODLQLOJWKHVZLQJWRWKHULJKWKHXWFKGHEDWHRQWKHULVHRIULJKWZLQJ

SRSXOLVP/LQRight-wing populism in Europe: Politics and discourse HGV 5:RGDN

KNDMLNDOOORRPVEXU±

BOLN8 Austria. Out of the shadows of the past 3UDHJHURXOGHU&2

3HOLQND \$ LH XQKHLQJH 0OLDQJ LH UHFKWHQ XQG GLH OLQNHQ ([WUHPLVWHQ JHJHQ (XURS

KODKHQ

5MOENVDOLDSR0LMDQWKHWUDMHWELHW0HDGHU0OMNUONDQ

BEHUWEN in Right-wing populism in Europe. Politics and discourse HGV 5RGDN

KNDMLNDOOORRPVEXU±

DUWEL* Parties and party systems. A framework of analysisQGHG(&3UHVV&ROFKHVWHU

6KXPSWHU-Capitalism, socialism and democracy DUSHUDQGRZ1HZRUN

:RGDN 5QWKLOJ RHV KH DLGHULJDWLRQRI (XURSHLO Right-wing populism in

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SS±

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:RDN.KNDMLNDO%IGV

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discourse, ORRPVEXU\RQGRQ

Race, racism, discourse

David Kaposi and John E. Richardson

Introduction

and contextualising sections, where we introduce the historic and conceptual bases of the subject, the empirical and analytic sections of the chapter will be structured in such a way that we gradually examine levels and details that the reader may not have initially considered. We start with the most obviously prejudicial texts, produced and circulated by European dimension without race being explicitly articulated: a televised interview with the actor and more dilemmatic waters, and in so doing demonstrate the value of close analysis when examining discourse on this topic.

Race and racism

Conventional, lay understandings of racism – as revealed, for example, in dictionary thinking. Such interpretations underlie classroom discussions with our students too, wherein who agrees with and vocalises such beliefs. Systems of white privilege are especially absent from such conventional understandings of racism, given the ways they inevitably highlight

LQZLKFWKH DUHLQVHUWHG DJHS RQDOGDQG5DWWDQVL KDYHPDGH D similar point, arguing that racism ought to be approached from a position that assumes it is

Meanings and beliefs do not become irrelevant, but the coherence and falsity of racist or ethnic terms.

ROG5DWWDM

(SOLEWLOKLELWLRHREDELMVMDQDHGHPHQWKHGLuHUHQLDWLRQ WUDWLPLWLRDEEDOLMGQLQLYGBOOQURKXWDOFKHMUSUDWLBONLQ UDEMLQDLQDLQOQKWEEOHWHPEDOSKUDQEHKDMEDOPDQHWDLQ RIDEF7KHPWKDW UDEFWDNDUHQ JHG VVWKHGHHWKDWLWPDEHPRH appropriate to talk of racism.

AMUQKLD\$ DUNWKDWLWLVPSRWDQ WDEHGH WKDW DOO UDEMDUHSHUSLQGEDQLRQWEDOUHODWLRQHWZHQMHQDWWULEXHWGR a human population, whether biological or cultural, and social outcomes that do, will or KRGHRWKLWGLPHQWKLMMHDWWULEXLRV GLHUHQLDWLRQ SURMWKUKK LK RDO UYDUH PDGH WKHU LuHUHQLDWLRQPWDH\ UNVMDQSSOLHWKHELRRBORRWDODOLWLHQGHUHGLPSEWDQVHRWR GLWLKRRDOUJWKRGKWKWMLQKDWKELWHULDDUHRDWLBOO\ genetically and culturally – arbitraryKXVVKRHVLJHLV not a criterion, but nose size can EHHBOOKHWKHURHRHMDUDULV not a criterion, but whether someone wears a head scarf canEHDQGVRRQRZHYHUVXFKFULWHULDDUHVRFLOO\$ROLWLFDOODQGLVWRUL KLJKOUHOHYDQW VLQFH WKHSHUVHQW WKH VSHFLF EXW HTXDOOWKH KLJKODGDSWDE PXWDEOHHDWXUHVKDWGHWQHVRFLOJURXSVDQGFROVHTXHQWODUHXXVHGWRFRQVW JURXSXVWKURXJKUHMHFWLQJWKHRXWJURXSXWKHP

\$FRUGLQJOUDEFLVPLVPLGLVFRXUVHDQGDSDFWLWFHZKHUHEHWKQFJURXSVDUHLQIHUL QWKLDV S VXFK JURXSVDQEHGLuHUHQWLDWHGLQDQGWKURXJK WKHLU SHUFHLYHG WDFLDOWKDWLVVRPDWLFUHOJLRXVRUFXOWXUDOFKDUDHWHUHVYHGHVQYRNQJ QWKLDQNDQSDFWLHQWQKHSUDWLHQHULRLDLWLRQGLLPLQLWRD\ EHPRHEOHMMUHMHOSEW RKKWKHU GLKROOWUDWHWKL SRQ GNLQKHLKLGGOHFKLOHMRQDQPSRWDQWELWHULRHHWLDQ GLuHUHQWLDWLRQ LQULRLMDQLQ WURYW KDG OHWQPH HOMKHUHLQ RRH WVKHRW S AKH LOOQLQWHG PDQLSW RPLRGEWKH RWLOLDQONKH:LM QHSUHMVHG MEOHGLuHUHQVHWHQ KULWLDQQLPEDMGPRHQWKLQKDSKVDODSSHDUDHVIDEMKDW VDLGDOWKRXJKVNLQFRORXUZDVFROVQLGHUHGXQLPSRUWDQWWRVRPHLQVRPHFRQWH[WW SDWWHUQVDQGUHODWLRQVRIUDFLVWVWUXFWXUDWLRQZHUHDOUHDGFUVWDOOLVLQJ EODFNULFDQVZHUHEHLQJDVVRFLDWHGZLWKH[WHQVLYHQHJDWLYHFKDUDFWHULVW ZLWK YDULRXV EDUEDURXVDQGDQLPDOLVWLF TXDOLWLHV ORUDQOPPOHKLQKLV .KDOGQDUJXHGWKDWEODFNSHRSOHPDUHVXEPVVLYHWRVODYHUHEHFDXVHWKHKDYHOLW LVHVHQQWLDOKXPDQDQGSRVVHVVDWWULEXWHVWKDWDUHTXLWHVLPLODUWRWKRWH FLWHGLQHWKHQFRXUWS

\$XUWKHUORJLFRIDFLVPLVPLQDQGLWLRQWRGLuHUHQWLDWLRQDQGLQIHULRULVDWLR transmissionDFURVWVLPDQGEHWZHHQPHPEHUVRIWKHYLOLHGKXPDQSRXSODWLRQ,WLV VVxFLHQWWDKXPDQSRXSODWLRQLVPDUNHGRXWGHHPHGLQIHULRUDQGLVFULPLQ

WKH LQIHULRU DQG FROFRPLWDOYTXDOLWLHV LPSXWHG WR UHVLGH LQ SRSXODWLRQV D
additionally presumed and argued to be transferred across time – they exist as a birthright,
SDMG URQH HQUDWLW WKH Q[W, QLRQDO UDEFWKLW UDUMLLV
HQWLDOOLQWKDOQRDEFWKLW WKUKKDOLDWLQH QWWDWLQR
WKHDV DHSRQV KLDV QKMGHQWLQDEFQHMUDEOHUHQHGQ
EHSWQOLMGLQSOLEWUDEDOWHUPVNDWKHUMRHHQUDOOXKLSRQDWLR
LMQKGGZWKJHGQDQDQDWLMDUDFWHULWLDQKMHWHGWRHODWLQ
RHULRLDWLRQHIDMR

7KHWHUHQK KLSDUWLQDUDNRDEPLWKDWLWLWUHWULWHGWRLRQDO¶
racism – in other words, it challenges the belief that racism only relates to prejudice and
GLLPLQWLWQHUG ESRQDWLQRKDUH SHEHQSLR SKHQSLF
KDUDFWHULWLUWUMLWWHGDELRRQKHUHG LQVUHLPLWKDWVRHUDEWLV
WGLLPLQWHQKHEDMRQ7KHDNSWLQKDWUDEMLDMDGRKMO
RELRRQK DUDFWHULWLDKDWHQHQWLNRQLSDWGLRUMHGLH
DQGLLPLQWLWQHUGESRQDWLQDUNGDMHOLLNGLUHUHQ HWDMDUODV
WKHHQWKHGGOHHLQKHWKLUWHHQKWRVHHQKHQKLVHWKQEWQDUHOLLR
– and not simply genes, skin colour, and so on – hadEHHQEXLOWLQWRUDFLDOWKHRULHV,Q
(XURSHERWK-HZVDQGOXVOLPVZHUHVXEMHFWWRQJRLQJGLVFULPLQDWLRQEDVHGRQW
of ethnic descent LWZDVH[SHFWHG WKDW WKHZRXOG FRQWLQXH WR VKRZ WKH TXDOLWLH
FKDUDFWHURIWKHLUDQFHVVRUVDQGRXOGLQHYLWDEOUIHYHUWWRWKHLUIRUPHUI
war on various fronts between Christians and Muslims also created a prejudice based on
UHOLLNOOHLDEWKDWGHSHHQGWKHLGHDRWKQEHMQIPSKDMQGGHGMWKHQRW
S7KHSQKLVWLRLWLVWLQOLMGRUDEWSUDWLHDDLQEWK-HZ
and Muslims. Such insights are especially important to take into account in relation to
RHPSRDUGLMMKHUHLQDEWHJLVKHGLUHUHQEHWZHHQWVHY
HUSKDMMLDQOHHGKDWVWVHDKUHQDQPPWDEOHKDUDWU
DQKHQHRHQKRRRUDHOLS

7KLDQHLOOXUDWHGERGHULQKHUHHPHUHQV KHH[WUHPHULKWDSRLLWLBQ
RHLQWHUQRHMWKHMQSDUWLQDUODWU7KHMRRHQ[WUHPH
ULKWLQ&HMQDUWLHNDWKHLWLKDWLROBUWVKH5HSXOLNQLQUPDQ
WKHHD EQLQDOWKH HGHQPRDWWKH JHQURDWLRO WKH HOLLQ
QDDPQVKH WULDQHHGRBUWQ-RELDURHPUW POR
NPHQ EDHWWHUQUDQWKHDQKBRHQSDUW7KHM SDUWLHWDUHD
QDPHQDORHRWKRWLROLW[HRKRLDEDMGRWKRRQDOLWGWULHQ
DQVSRLLWLBQWDEOLKPHQSRQLF5GUHQDOOHOHMLMMWKHLURQ
UDEMLQDQDMSUHMGLQUWOELRRQOQDEWVHUPMLQKHWHUPQR
DEWGLMM7KLRPRDEMLK7DKHLDQOQVDEMHGLPUHQDOLWH ¶
DQ :LHMN BOOYacisme culturelle ¶WUHVHVH WKH LQFRPSDWLEOH GLUHUHQQFH
EHWZHHQHWKQFRUUHOLJLRXVJURXS VWKDWDUHGHWV FULEHGLQFXOWXUDOWHUPVZLV
mentioning race or overtly racial criteria.

Crucially, however, this does not mean that racialised minorities are not the targets of
WKLQDEPHUHOWKDWWKHUHQKHLUDOOHGLRSDWLELOLWVWKHQUH
H[SUMG KQWQDO¶DQ UHOLLNUDWKHU WKDQLRQDO ELWHULD ,QHGWKH
KLWRLH[DPSOHGHLEHG EULHNDEN UHMDO WKDW WKHUH LQLVVQH RQDEW RZ
UDEMLQWQDO UHOLLKHWKQFDQ WDEDO¶KDUDFWHULWLFKDM EHHQMG
LQHUKDQDEOWGLUHUHQLDWHDQH[QSHRQKLVHWKLVHDPDLQDLQ
WKDW ELRRQDO UDEFDQMLPLWLFDQVLMPLFDQWKHU RPHWKQEMG
GLLPLQWLWQHJDDLQSRDLQLDUH BULDWLQRWKH DPH UDEW ORF

GLVFRXUVHYDQLMN YDQLMNHWDO 4XDVWKRu 200LJ (VHGH
:HWKHUHO 3RWWHU 5HLVLJO :RGN LWVGLuXVLRQWKURXJKWKHPDVP HGLD
-IJHU /LQN -L DQL 5LFKDUGVRO 5LFKDUGVRO YDQLMN
:RGN)RUFKWOHU:RGN0DWRXVFKHFNDQGLWVVPDQWLFUJLDQLVDWLRQLQ
SROLWLFDOGLVFRXUVH5LFKDUGVRO&RORPERYDQLMNYDQGHU9DON
7KHDFRPSOLVKPHQWDQGGQHRWLDWLRORISUHMxGLFHGXQSUHMxGLFHGLGHQWLWLHV
GRFXPHQWHG LQ VHYHUDO VWXGLHV FI (G DUGV 5DSOH DV KDYH WKH SURFHVVHV
WKURXJK KLFK WKR VH GHVLJQDWHG DV RWKHUV DUH UHSUHVHQWHG LQ GLVFRXUVH XJRXY
7XvQ 5DSOH 7LOHDJ 9HUNXWHQ :HWKHUHO 3RWWHU
:RGN0DWRXVFKHFN

Extensive research in the critical discourse-analytic tradition has focused on the crucial
URHH[HUWHGGEWKHHOLWHWVKHSUGWLDK HGLuMQOHLWLPDWLW RWKHUWDQ
HUWEPFHRLKRLDDQDEWGLMMUWLPH:GDQMKLV
KDSWHUWVWUGWKHGLMMHOLWHNIDPLQDWWGHDAWSURNG
by European extreme-right political parties; second, an interview broadcast on the US
WHOHLWVWVWQWKLUGWKHRLQD WLMEURGKHHWVXDSHUR
,MDHOLSHUDWLRWHDG WKH DULQD VHSUHMV HGLV KHLUHGLWRD DOV

Case study 1: extremist political discourse

7KHFRUHHRWHLFPHVVDJHRIWKHHWUHPHULJKWDPRDWWWRDEDVHRSSRVLWLROWRRL
DOG IUHTKIQWOVHWWOHG PLQRULWYHWKOLHURPSQIWHVH D OHDÀW DOVR
SURGKHG DV D SRVWHU KLFK KDG DO LPSDFW RO ERWK DO DOWL0XOLP UHIHUHOGF
6ZWJHUODQG DOG RO SURSDJDOG SURGKHG ERWKHU (XRSHQH WUHPHULJKWSDUV
DOVR:RGN ,Q WKH SDVW WZ GHFDGHV WKH 6ZV 3HRSOHV 3DUWKDV HVDWEO
LWVHOIDVROHRIWKHPRVWSRZUI IDUULJKWSDUWLHV LQ:HVWHUQ(XRSH7KH6ZV3
Party advertising is distinctive in the way that it uses graphic illustrations rather than more
ZGHSUHDG DQ WUDGLWLRQ SKWVKHLU SWHUOHDÀWVHQUODOV DLQMU\HZ
words; the core of the message is communicated visually, typically accompanied by a
brief slogan.

On these images, silhouettes of minarets are pictured, superimposed over the national
VWVHUODQDQGLWLDQ VWKWKHUQWLRQLSRLWLBQGLMMH[WUHPLWDQ
WKHUZMWKHNDH DUODFDMHWVW WKHLUHSWFLMQWLQH OOLJ
WKH PHDQSWHQLDO RWKH PLQUHWKMMU LV OLWWOH PEH RSOH[DHZG LQ
MVLQWKWKHMLOHGRDQKHVLRVWRHSUHMV,ODPLQPHWRF
replacement of a building by the faith of the people *using* the building. However, they also
DFWRHSUHMV DPRHSHE SURV SURWKUKKLLQKHMVVKHM
parties, their respective national spaces are gradually being taken over by Muslims.
RELQZWKWKHOLWLFHOHPHVWKHOHDÀWMLWKHUWKHLPSHUDWLMVRSRWKH
DWWQKHVLWLKDWLROBUWOHDÀWLWLQHDUWKDWWKHMUHSWFLMSDUWLHMVWKH
SUHMVODPLQKHLU QWLROSDH DMMHWLQEOHBUJHMUWKH0
PHPEHU SDUOLDPHV KDQPHG DPK WVDW WKHLU DPSDLQGLUHWHG Q DW
MLPEKOGLEKLSLVKHPMEMWDDLQPLQUHWDDPRRSRLWLBQ
DQDUHM,ODPVHGLQVSRWLWLBQGLMMLOKWKKHQZ
PHGLD DQ SKOLSRLKD WUWHG,ODPDQMLPDD WKUHDW RH
5LKDUGVWKH OHDÀW WKHUHRH UHBOO WKH ZGHSUHDG RWLRQEWK
politicians and mainstream news media – of whether Muslims can, or *should*, be integrated
into European society.

7KHSODFHPHQWRIWKHVHIDQWDVRLQDUHWVRYHUWKHBJVXVJHVWVWKHJDUHHLWKHU
 throughWKHJVRUKDYHEHHQLPSRVHGRUQKLBOWKHPKHXVJJHVWHGYLROHQFHRI
 this process is heightened by the ways the minarets evoke spear-tips, or perhaps the cones
 of missiles.⁵LMQKHZGHDLULHWRLQUHWGHLWKHGLGQKDMWRHWKLDUS
 HQHGFWLQKDW WKLKRHDQLWPHDQWHLDO± weaponry – is deliberate.
 ,QHHPQLQUHWLQWKHMHKHXVJHMHUKDMDQPSHULDOLWQDWLQ
 HWS7KLPHDQQLNGXHSOLEWOLQKHOLQWLPDWHULDOLQGHG
 QKHGHDAWKHUHDHUUWOPLOLWDULWLQHLQDUEDQWKHOPHWEUUDN
 DQDUPLMGDSYDUWQGLKMWQDPLQWLPDHLQKHSXDWLW
 BORNNDQ *pars pro toto*RIOXVOLPVLQJHQHUDO2WKHUZLVHWKLVSURFHVVZRQOG
 KDYHEHHQQDPHGFXUNLFDWLRQDQWKHUWKDQWKHPRUHJHQHUDOQVODPLFDWLRQKHUKH
 RIFRQTXHVWDQGFRRQLVDWLRQDQGWKHQJJDWLYHSURVGRWKHWHUPVHPSORHGWRVX
 WKHVWDQGSRLQWDQGWKHUHEWKH WKUHDW WGDWQKH\$RVH WRXVZRUN WRVXEVDQ
 QDWXUDOLVHWKHVWDQFHRIWKHVHSDUWLHVVDGHIHQVLYHUDWKHWKDQDJUHVVLYHI
 DQWLSDWKWRZDUGVD000XVOLPV
 RZHYHU WKH OHDAWVGRQRWVLP\$QVXJJHVW WGDWQVODPLFDWLRQVLDWKUHDWV
 DuHFVXVQOOLQWKHVDPHZDKHSUHVHQFHRIWKHVHFRQGNH\$FWRULDOHOHPHQWR
 OHDAWVZRUNVWRLPSOLFLWQVXJJHVWDPRUHVSHFLEEDWWOHJURXQGWKHERGLHV
 KHYHLOHGFRQFHDOHG0XVOLPZRPDQKDEHFRPHSDUWRIDYLVXDOLFRQRJUDSKRIDQ
 immigrant discourse in general, and anti-Muslim discourse in particular, that has been
 GHMORHGENRHDQDUWLHVKHULKWKKDP7KHOHDAWV\$VWLQHQ
 DQWKHERLH\$HQHEQOQD\$VWHKHUHWKLDQWEHWZHQDQDQ
 \$SODHG\$7KHKDSKHGWKLDURHQW\$KHEHUQR\$WSURDDQD
 D\$PSDLQ\$WKH[WHQW\$KDWLWDU\$K\$HROHM[SOLEWQKDW\$HGHG\$H\$H\$Q
 women, otherwise they will end up looking like this\$LZDQL \$FKDUGVRQ
 \$FKDUGVRQ\$FKDUGVRQ:RGDNEKDWLVZRPHQQERGLHVDUHLQYRNHGLQ
 a *pars pro toto*VQHFRFKH DV WKH VLWH IRU WKLVSXWDWLYH SURFHVVRI FRORQLVDW
 ,VODPLFDWLRQDQGUHFRQTXHVWKLVEDWWOHIRUFRQWURORYHU\$XUZRPHQDQGR
 ZRPHQQERGLHVXWLOLVHVDQGVXEYHUWVDOLEHUDOGLVFRXUVHRIJHQGHUHTXDOL
 ZRPHQQULJKWVDVWKHSXUYLHZRIQDWRQDOLVWPHQDQGREMHFWLHVWVKHYHUZRPH
 FODLPV WR KRQRXU\$DWLRQDOLVW\$KDWLVH[WUHPHULJKWZLQJPHQDUHSRVLW
 SURWHFWRUVRI\$XUZRPHQWKHSDVLYLVHGHPERGLHGQDWRQV\$DFH\$QGHWKQLFPDQ
 ZLWKWKHSRZHUDQGUHVSRQVLELOLWWRUHMHFV,VODP

Case study 2: implicit racism

\$&DVHVW\$GHPRQVWUDWHG\$WKLQOYHLOHGQDFLVPUPDQVSDUWDQGSDFHORI
 DQG:HVWHUQSROLWLFV,OGHHGDW\$KH\$WLP\$HRI\$V\$W\$Q\$W\$K\$V\$F\$K\$D\$S\$W\$H\$U\$R\$Q\$D\$O\$G\$7\$U\$R\$S
 IURQWUQOHU IRU WKH 5HSKOLFDQ QRPLQDWLRQ IRU WKH SUHVLGHQW RI WKH 8QLW
 FRQVLGHULQJDIQOVFDQHQDQROQXOLPSHRSOHHQWHULQJWKHFRQWU\$GuardianDDQ
 WKHDQLVKS\$UOLDPHQWDGRSWHGDODZDSSURYLQJWKHVHL[XUHRIDVQXPVHNNHUV\$V
 PRUHWKDQGuardian0HDQZKLOHRXQJEODFNPHQLQZHUH\$HWLPHV
 PRUHOLNHO\$REHNLOOHGE\$SROLFHRV\$FHUVW\$KDW\$ZKLWH\$PHQRI\$WKH\$VDPH\$DJH\$GHV\$S\$W
 PDNLQJXSRIWKH\$QWLUHSRSXODWLRQ\$ULFDQ\$PHULFDQ\$PDQ\$OHVEHWZHHQ\$WKH\$JHVRIQ\$G
 FRPSULVHGPRUHWKDQRIDOOGH\$W\$K\$Guardian E

Having said that, the fact that even political parties that publish or propagate blatantly
 racist rhetoric are unlikely to describe themselves or their messages as racist, demonstrates
 that racism has also become taboo in modern Western discourse. One outcome of this, of

course, was demonstrated in the previous section, as we examined how racist intentions and
DLPLQDMWRHH[|SUHMGWKUKOLQWLDQMLNORH,QDWBOM
WELQDHEWKDMQWRHLPSOLEWRLQGMUWHQ|UDEP
, DOLMLQ|HUMH|EUN|DUBWRDPHO|D|K|NGKDM
EHHQ|HUMH|HGE|K|W|H|H|U|W|D|L|P|H|Q|U|H|S|E|W|H|U|D|P|5|K|L|Q|D|E|N|K|L|V|H|H|Q|
movie *RoboCop* KHLQWHUYLHZWXUQHGRXWWREHDERXWVRPHWKLOJHOVH

6 KKKKKK!,WHOOZKDWXRZRUNLQIRUODUYHOWKHVXSHUERZOFRPPHUFLO
GLGRXJHWDORWRW|HDFWLRQWRWWDV|XSHUERZOFRPPHU↑↑
4 6 What su↓per bowl commer↓cial.
5
6 ↓↓O:h, you know wha:W,GLG|P|L|W|D|N|,
7 |D|G|H|K|@
6 > ↑↑↑ R@ RX |K|H|D|V|H| _s the people on
7ZWWHU
5 =↑
=,P|Q|D|H|H|)LVKEXUQH.
6 ↓ mPLWDN|
KDW -D|K|L|Q

MMHWKHLQ|HUMH|V|DUW|Z|W|K|K|D|W|L|N|O|O|H|W|D|E|O|L|K|H|G|E|E|N|K participants as
5K|L|Q|D|W|K|H|O|D|P|W|D|H|H|J|K|E|H| Something therefore has
happened.

HWKDWH|D|W|O|L|W|K|L|H|W|K|L|K|D|W|K|D|S|S|H|G|D|V|L|G|W|Z
K|D|E|H|L|W|E|W|R|W|E|O|D|N|F|W|E|K|L|P|P|H|G|L|D|W|H|O|R|H|U|D|S|S|P|Q|G|R|V
W|K|L|V|H|U|P|R|D|P|D|G|H|D|L|W|D|N|K|L|M|H|P|D|L|K|S|R|W|L|Q|K|U|K|W|W|K|H|L|Q|H|U|H|Z
U|H|S|H|D|W|H|G|O|D|S|R|R|M|H|W|U|H|S|H|D|W|H|G|O|D|S|R|R|M|P|D|N|Q|L|W|D|N|D|Q|E|H|L|Q
G|R|E|O|K|K|H|L|P|S|O|L|E|W|O|D|W|H|E|L|W|K|H|H|H|Q|N|D|P|D|W|W|H|U|R
D|E|G|H|Q|D|Q|D|W|E|W|D|P|D|W|H|U|H|U|R|M|Q|R|W|H|H|W|H|D|N|
Q|O|H|H|O|W|K|L|V|L|Q|L|Z|W|K|-D|H|H|H|U|H|W|K|L|Q|H|L|Q|V|D|D|W|K|H
S|H|R|O|H|Z|W|W|H|U|O|O|Z|K|L|P|D|W|L|P|D|G|G|L|W|L|R|O|Q|H|U|W|D|Q|L|Q|
therefore does not identify the source of his outrage. His next interruption, however, clearly
does:

6 ↓ PLWDN|
KDW
6 =:H|G|V|D|O|O|O|N|L|N| .
6 [We may be all:=
=black and fa:PW|H|a:ll G|V|look\$KE=
6 .P|.P|.P|guil[t:y._
6 [Uh:::
6 P|@

6/- RXP Hbus↓ted.
6 .PKOW\

6 Si:ght,
6 H

6 JKDWVWKWf

ibidem

&OHDUOWKHQZKDWKSSHQHGLQ-DFNVRQVXQGHUVWDQGLQJLVPRUHWKQDOPHUHDF
confusion around the identity of two celebrities; he is not hurt as a famous actor and is not
MWDQRLQHKDONKH PDNVHOHVDQ WKH UDH KH KDVLQPPWK
DKHQ)KEXQKH DORNDNWOHDUWKDW WKHMLQMP SOWKDW WDWKDKM
just been confused, but that WEDNWRKDMMEHHEG.QHHGEHPSKDWLBOO\
UHS HDWLQKHODUDUWLHU:llVZHKHLPPHGLDWHOH[SDQWKHSHUHLMGPLWDNDV
DSHUHLMGLQWWKHKRHEODRQWV KLEKLMQUWRWWUDQPHG
from what could possibly be perceived as an egoistic rant to righteous outrage over past and
present mistreatment of black people.

LDQVOKMMUWKLMPSRWDVLLPSOLEWKDHLQDKHWRLEOHW
QWVHQHG WE5KLO UHS HDWHGOLQWVWKLP LWDNPLWKN
specifying what KHFRQVLGHUVKLVPLVWDNHDXOWVREHHDQGWOKHLVIXLOVW
VXFKWKRXJKH[SOLFLWOQJUHHLQJZLWK-DFNVRQWKDWKHLHXELQGLGVRPHWKLQJZU
XELQPD\EHVHHQDVWULQJWR LPSOLFLWO\DFFRPSOLVKWZRDFWVUVWGLVDJUHHLQJZ
-DFNVRQEUHAFWLYHOFKDUDFWHULVLQJKLVRZQDFWLRQDQDQDFFLGHQWDOPLVWDNHDQ
WKHQQRQVSHFLFRQIXVLRO:llwo facesDQGVHFRQGWXUQLQJWKHWDEOHVEUHAFWLYHO\
SUHVHQWLQJWKHHQUDJHG-DFNVRQDVWKHEXOO\
What we see during the interview is the constant repetition of precisely this dynamic of
GLMMWKHUHLM[SOLEWDUHHPHVEHWHQDNQ5KLOKDWRRHWKLDSSHQG
but there is implicit disagreement as to what exactly happened.

6 =My mistake, ↓my:PLWDN,DSORM5HDOOPELPLWDN
↑

[↓ - - e:ry short li:ne for your ↓job=

44 6 [QOD@

45 WKHUHWKIKKDKWSURDECHQREHKDUGWRWDQKHUSHUQ
to sit right here.

47 HWWDONEM5RR

6 ↑↑↑= Oh:: He::ll: no::.

(Ibidem)

-DFNVRQ NHHSV LPSOLQJ WKDW ZKDW KDSSHQHG FRQQRWHV RU HYHQ HQDFWV D KXUWV
VWHUHRW\$H ZKLOH XELQ NHHSV LPSOLFLWO\GHQLOJLW ERWK EUHIHUULQJ WR D QRQVSH
PLVWDNHDQGE\$XVKLQJWKHQLQWHUYLHZWRWKHQHZDQGVXSSRVHGGOPRUHLPSRUWDQWV
-DFNVRQVQRoboCop XELQVFOHDUPHVVDJHKHUHLRQVQW is more important
WKDQPLWDNKHPDGHRKLP EHLQWGREPLQDUEHMQELPLWDNPLQ

DUUDQWIRU -DFNVRQV DJJUHVVLYHO LQWHUUXSWLQJ5XELQFRXQWOHVWVLPVH OHWDO
KLPDVKDSSHOVLQOLQHVSRVLEOHDFWRracism, however, isW-DFNVRQGRHVQRW
RuHuDQH[SOLFLWDOWHUQDWLYHWRXELQVQRQVSHFLFLVWDNHDOG DVVXFKVWDUW
IURPDYFLWLPRIPLVWDNHWRDSHUSHWUDWRURIPRUHRUOHVXQZDUUDQWHGJJUHVV
§JXDEOWKHUHLVRQH[HFSWLRQWRWKLVGQDPLFGXULQJWKHLQWHUYLHZ, QDVDFV
WRSURYHKLVSRLQW-DFNVRQVWDUWVWROLVWVKH9FRPPHUFDOVLQZKLFKEODFDFWRU
KLPIHDWXUHUHSHDWHGODGGLQJWKDWDPQRWWKDWJXDPQRWWKDWJXHLWKHUZDUGV
WKHHQGRIWKLVVHTXHQFHVPRHWKLQJLQWHUHVWLQJKDSSHOV

6 [=weight black guW~~W~~LD~~N~~SW~~W~~L~~Q~~sh down in the seats in a, in a baseball
↓ aOW~~K~~HEOD~~W~~KD~~W~~W~~W~~ silence for 0.3s, as if
recording was stoppedhouse, the water and the li:ghts .hh when his kid tells him
the ho:use is cool.

6 5LKK
6 =↑ _ not that guy either.

5 D" oUD.HQNi:ed Chicken=
=[commercial.

5 KK D:ir enough.

6 W~~W~~KD~~W~~W~~S~~UL~~M~~Q
6 ↓↓

EOD~~K~~R~~R~~W~~K~~D~~W~~W~~D~~E - o:nly=
i:minal. Ibidem

JRURQFHXLQVUKHWRULFDQVWUDWHJFKDQJHVLQOLQHURPDQDSRORJHWFHFWQRQVSH
DOGQRQFRPPLWWDQW~~K~~D~~W~~W~~U~~L~~J~~K~~W~~W~~P~~L~~V~~W~~D~~N~~H~~X~~D~~U~~H~~L~~J~~K~~W~~W~~H~~F~~K~~D~~Q~~J~~H~~V~~W~~R~~D~~P~~R~~U~~H~~D~~F~~W~~L~~
ZDRIUHFDWHJRULVLQJWKHPLVWDNHHPDGHDKHWHHDVLQJODVNV-DFNVRQW~~K~~H~~T~~X~~H~~V~~W~~
NDQGBOLWBOOWKSHSHOHW~~K~~D~~W~~W~~H~~H~~W~~Q~~K~~H~~U~~E~~G~~K~~H~~L~~R~~H~~D~~
act of enlisting exclusively black people for a minute or so.,QWHUHVWLQJOLWLVSUHFLVHODW
WKLVSRLQW~~W~~K~~D~~W-DFNVRQWRREHFRPHVPRUHRYHUWDERXW~~W~~K~~H~~H[DFWVRXUFHRIKLVDQJ
KLVUDQWFRQFOXGHVDW~~W~~K~~H~~SRLQWZKHUHKHDVVHUWVZKRK~~H~~D~~F~~W~~X~~D~~O~~D~~K~~Q~~G~~,P~~W~~K~~H~~
K~~R~~R~~W~~K~~D~~W~~W~~D~~E~~i~~P~~L~~Q~~O~~O~~W~~K~~L~~K~~H~~E~~U~~D~~G~~H~~W~~K~~H~~R~~H[W
of his utterances beyond the studio. His problem becomes not just the incident that has just
KDSSHQGLQKH~~W~~GLEW~~Q~~H~~U~~L~~B~~K~~L~~W~~L~~O~~O~~U~~H~~D~~G~~L~~O~~W~~H~~D~~F~~V~~H~~S~~U~~H~~M~~Q~~L~~Q
consuming black people mostly as criminals.KLVLQFLGHQWDOOLVZKHUHWK~~H~~G~~H~~W~~R~~X~~U~~Q~~L~~V~~K~~H~~V~~
before the participants start to discuss the actual topic the interview was assigned to cover.
JRWKSHSHUHLW~~W~~K~~L~~K~~D~~S~~W~~H~~U~~W~~K~~H~~W~~U~~D~~H~~G~~W~~K~~L~~M~~W~~H~~U~~L~~W~~P~~S~~O~~W~~K~~D~~W~~L~~W~~L~~V~~
W~~L~~O~~O~~S~~R~~E~~O~~H~~W~~E~~H~~U~~D~~E~~W~~Q~~D~~L~~Q~~U~~H~~D~~P~~W~~H~~O~~H~~L~~M~~S~~D~~W~~K~~H~~U~~W~~K~~H~~W~~U~~D~~H~~G~~L~~W~~K~~D~~W~~K~~L~~O~~H
everything in this interview happened in front of our eyes, it still somehow happened in
darkness. KDWLZKLOHDKXUWIXOUDFLVWVWUHRW~~S~~H~~Z~~L~~W~~K~~W~~K~~H~~F~~R~~Q~~R~~W~~D~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~W~~K~~D~~W~~W~~K~~
of black people matters more than their individuality, was RMH~~W~~L~~M~~Q~~H~~acted, and while

both participants immediately recognised this transgression of morality, they could not
LRSRDWHWKLRMHFLMWDWHBduDLUVQKHLUGLMM5DEPZWKHUHEW WLOO
RHKQWKHUHNWKHUHR-DNFI[SOLEWOSHOOVDQWQWKHUHR5KLR
H[SOLEWOWRIGHIUDWKHUWKDQKHDVREDEPWKDWUHGWLWZWKH
there to be touched, to be discussed, to be engaged with, and ultimately to be genuinely
changed.

Case study 3: racism as threat

So far, we have encountered a case where racism was clearly intended *as such*, and one
KHUHDUNEOLWDOHVEVDWLVWDRMWHQLBQPRHDEWUDEDOLMG
PLVHRWLRKLRQWLWVKHSURDEMDQLWEMROOQVHQLRO
nature has led to some distinct developments in the contemporary discourse of racism,
KLKDEHDWHRMGMVDEMDGLOHPPDWLQDWBORH[DPSOHWKLKOO
EHSUHMVHG GUDZQH[H[WUDFVRWLVWLKQUBWLMEURGKHHWVIGLWRLDO
HDHPHQVZWKWKHJWDP:DUHWHVHQVDHODQDPDSE

WHHGRMMURHSUHLPLQUHPDUMUHLQSDHUHDUGLQKHLRQ
BMWQ7KH SUHMMVGHOW ZWK LNVDERWKH SUHMV RRUQ
DQVLMPLWLRKLOHDQVLMPLWLPDEHGHUHGMPQOWRHSHEVDREDE
arguments abound that it is, in fact, *sui generis* DVWKHXQLTXHQDWXUHRILVWXOWLPDWHPDQLIHVVDWLV
WKHRORFDXVWDWVHVWVF:RGDMSXHUSSQDGGWLWRQDVWKH
FRPLQJH[DPSOHVZLOEHDURXWWKHH[LVVHQFHRIDQRVFLDOOAZLVKVVWDWHWKHWDWVHRI

leads to further ambiguities. While criticism is a legitimate and necessary element of politics,
LWLVDWVHKKRDFVZKUHUGWVKHVDWVHVDHOPDSEOWHPUR
DQVLMPLWLEVHQLVHMQHDGWRQVLMPLWLHtHVESSS±
,WLEWKWKHMGLOHPPDMLQWKDWZDMHDGHUWRHHDGWKHBORSSDUDUDSK

7KHJW UHDFWLRPW RPHQDWRVQWKDW WKH DLU DWWDNDZUH
NHMULONVH7KHGHDKNDUOPOHVLQDQDQGLMOLDMHPV
GLSURRWLRWHWVVKHPOOEHUJVDHOLNOOHGEUNVDWWDNDPDDW
expecting retribution on this scale, but we can be sure that it will extract the maximum
SNEOHSUBDDQDDGMVDHURWKHODKWHU,MDHOMQPLHMVKHOLEHUDO:HW
DUHDOUHDGSLQVKHEODPHUHOQLRWVUHPVWLPV

Daily TelegraphHFHPEHU

,QWHUHVWLQJ TelegraphVWSDUDJUDSKRQWKHZDUVWUWVQRWZLWKWKHSUHVHQV
RIWKHFRQVHUYDWLYHQHZVSDSHUVVWDQFHRQWKHPRUDOLWRIWKHZDUVWZLWKWKH
RIDQDOWHUQDWLYHSROLWLFDOPRUDOSRVLWLRQWRZKDWZLOEHEUHYHDOHGDVWKHQ
:KLVWKLVDOWHUQDWLYHSRVLWLRQUHOHYDQW"KLVVLWLPURUWDQWWRFLWHWKRVRHFRP
ZKRVRHWHKHZDUDVGLVSURSRUWLRQDWHQDQGHQHFHVVDULOVDYDJH
\$WKHLURSLQRQVDUHGLVFRXQWHGDPVPHUHVVWUHDVWLRQVWDSHSDUVWKDWLWLVQ
WKHLULQWHOOFWXDOZRUVKWKDWPNDHVVKHPLPSRUWDQWQWKHUWKHVHHPUHOHYD

gut-reactions might be taken as embodiments of political-moral *dispositions*. Who are these
SHROH PW RPHQDWRVVKDUH WKHMSLQVRHPQDHOVNDV
MDHMQGLSURRWLRWHV7KHSDUDUDSKRSHVQPLQKHPDWMDHOV
HQPLHMVKHOLEHUDO:HWVMOODPWVLPVHLPSEWDDQWKKKIDOR
OHDUQKDWWKHMURVWLPDWHDNVLRVWVKHEODPHUHOQLRWV ,WLW

LQIRUPDWLRQ WKHNHW LV DPPXQLWLRQTKDW LV PHWDSKRULFDOOWKH'DWWHPSW D PLC
DFWLYLW'DJDLQW, VUDHO

:KRH[DFWODUHWKWHVSHRSOHS\$GZGRWKHGGRZDWWKH'DUHGRLOJ,"WLVLGLVFXOWWR
REWDLQPRUHLQIRUPDWLRQIURPWKHSDDVVDJH)RUDPRUHSUHLVHGHVFULSWLRQZPIPLJKWQDYH
turn to an earlier editorial from *The Times*KHIROORZLQJSDVVDJHFRQFOXGHVWKHFROVHUYDWLYH
QHZVSDSHUWVWFULWLFDOH[SRVLWLRQRI, VUDHOVXVHRIZKLWHSKRVSURXV

, VUDHOKDVSZRZHUIXODOOLQWKHQLWGHWDWVH
, WVFULWLFVUDHZRQWFRQGHQWKLVDOLDQFHDVD-HZLVKD[LVEOLQGWRKH
UHDOLWLHVLDQDDQGWWRWKHVDLULFHVQHFHVVDU'RUSHDFH
IRRQHFDOEHXQPRYHGEWKHVuHULQJZLWQHVVHGEWKHIRUZHZJLDQVXUJHROZKR
WH[WHGIULHQGVWRWHOOWKHPZH'HZDGLQJLQGHDWKEORRGDQDPSXWHVW'WVK
WRHQGLWLVRWRDEDOGRQ, VUDHO, WLVRGHIHDWDPDV: DVKLQJWRQFRQWHPSOD
RSHQLQJWR, UDQLWVUHOXFDQFHWRFRQGHQ, VUDHOLVQRWLGHRRJLFDQEXW
DOWHUQDWLYHZRXOGEHWRRSHQWONVZLWK'KUDQZKLOHLWVSUR[LQD]DVWLOOW
PXFRI, VUDHOZLWK, UDQLDQEXLOWURFNHW

The Times-DQXDU

KHH[SOLFLWUHIHUHQWRIWKHRWKHU'KHUHLV, VUDHOV'FULWLFV'KLVLVDFDWHJRUVKDW
VWURQJZRUGVDERXW, VUDHOVXVHRISKRW'KR'XV clearly does not belong to. What
HOHDUDEK'WKHMELWL'WKDWWKHLUSUHHUHG'ZRLQ'KHMULDQDQEG
EHW'DEDQ'DHO'DQWKDW WKH'HP'WKH'DHO DOOLDH'DD'BGKHDUWHG
H'ZK'D[L'KH]W'DWWULEW'H'GSHUKDSLQW'ODQLQGLuHUHQ'WH[WRH
SHUWKHREUHOODRQL=L'RWKHM'WK'KL'DHDULW'DHQ'LMPLWL'DV
LWL'RWKHDQL-HZK trope RIDZRUOGZLGHQ'GPDOLFLRXV-HZLVKFRQVSLUDFUHVSQVLEO
IRUWKHVuHULQJRIWKHZRUOG, QWKLWUHPDUNDEOHSUDUT'U'SK'K'F'Q'X'G'Q'
RQ, VUDHOLXVHRIZKLWHSKRVSURXVWKHQ, VUDHOV'FULWLFV'WXUQRXWREHSODLQD
DQWL'PLWHVIRZRQGHUSHUKDSVWKDWWKHFROVHUYDWLYHQHZVSDSHUZRQJRRXWLW
to be counted among them.

7'PDULM'KHS'WL'EDUG HGLWRLDO DUKHQ'VKH, MDHOLD'OHWLQDQ
'EW'K'WL'K'UD'WL'EURGKHHW'RLWUHOHDQ'WRH'HW'W'QOWHUQ'WLM
political-moral perspective to their own – and that alternative appeared to be a complete
QOWHUQ'WLM'ML'Q'K'EM'VW'WK'G'N'WEH'DQ'LMPLWL'KL'PHDQ'WKDW'WKH
newspapers could not, and *did not have to*, engage with the argumentative position of the
WKHU'WKDW'DL'WL'BDQ'W'UG'WKH'RW'DHO

, QHHGDSR'VHG'WHDUOLHULWPDEHWKHDM'WK'DW'WKH'He political nature of
WKH, MDHOLD'OHWLQDQ'Q'W'Q'HM'W'NUM'D'UR'WKHDLUL'Q'LMPLWL'F
RDQL'PL'PSHUSH'WL'W'KHUZMQ'HMUDEOHL'S'KOLGL'NDUULQ
5HQ'G'W'WKH'DPHWLPHWKHD'W'WKDW'W'WKH'Q'WL'K'UD'WL'EURGKHHWV
L'Q'UR'G'D'SHUSH'WL'MEL'WL'BD'W'DHO'Q'WL'Q'W'DEO'S'UNG'WRH'DQ'LMPLWL'F
and, second, that *The Times* LWVHOIH[SOLFLWOGXEEHG, VUDHOV'FULWLFV'DVDQWL'VHPLWL'F
PDNH'XV'HHO'XQHDVZKHQ'DQWL'VHPLWL'V'RU'DQWL'OXVOLPL'V'LV'UKHWRULFDOO'LQYR
SROLWLFDQGHEDWHVIDPHQ'DVDUJXHGED'QXPEHURIDXWKRUV'XQ]O'X'WOHU
through calculation or genuine fear, it clearly closes down political-moral imaginaries by
EUDQL'KHPDQ'LMPLWL'BDQL'PL'K'Q'G'HM'W'KL'QH'WKH'D'WL'Q
SRL'WL'BD'W'OL'N'WKDWEHWH'HQ'DHO'D'OHWL'Q'EW'ZOO'Q'ULEW'HW'WKH'WDEK'HUH
racism does not disappear, only becomes impossible to be touched, discussed, engaged with
and transformed.

SRSXODWHGXUEDQDUHDVDQGWKDWKLVHWSKRVSKRURXVFDQEGHQWLWLRQEHXVHGZWKOLVWVOHS
DUJXDQOQHGWRPDDQDYLRLGDEOHFLYLOLDQDFVDXDWLHVXPDDQ5LJKWV:DWFKDOVRVHH.DSRVL

,QFLGHQWDOOMWKHSDUDJUDSKLVSUHFHGHGGEWKHIROORZQJWKRJKWVWUDHOLVJULHYHDVDOOK
IRUWKHFKLOGUHQFXWGRZLQD]DVPDHOVWURPDQGWKHLUOHGDGHUVNQRXOOOOWKHGDPD
WKLVFROAFWLVGRLOJWRWKHFRXQWUWUHSWEDVCRXHUHLDPDJHVRI3DOHVWLQDQVXUHULOJ
are broadcast more as propaganda than news The Times -DQXDUHPSKDVLRXUV
\$DLQZHLZLWQHVVWKHHPHUJHQFHRIVXVSLFLRXVJXUHVZKRDUHGHQHGORWEDQSRVLWLYHPRWLY
LHEWKHLUJHQXLOHLQWHUHVWLQ3DOHVWLQDQVXuHULOJEXWEWKHLUFOHDUDQGLQH[SOLFDF
WRZDUGVWKKHWDWHRI,VUDHO

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 Cultures of post-war British fascismHGV1&RSVH(EFKDUGVRORXWOHGJH2|ROSS±
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 in Analyzing race talk: Multidisciplinary approaches to the interview HGVYDQGHQHUJ
 (HWKHUHOOWSVHQUUDPEULGHRMULWVHNPEULGHSS±
 MGQ Understanding everyday racism: An interdisciplinary approachDJH1HZEXU\
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 ROGLQJ30XUGRFN&XOWXUHFPPXQLFDWLRQVDQGSROLWLFDOHFRQRPMass media
 and societyHGV-&XUUDQXUHYLWFKS'QROG/RQGROSS±
 Guardian D RQDOG VXP\$Q DOO 0XVOLPV IURP HQWHULQJ QYDLODEOH IURP ZZZ
 WKHXDUGLDQFRPXVQHYZVGHFGRQDOGWUXPSEDQDOOPXVOLPVHQWHULQJXVVDQ
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 Guardian E RXQJEODFNPHQNOOHGE\$ROLFHDWKLJKHVWUDWHLQHDURI GHDWKV
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 Guardian DQLVKSDUOLDPHQWSSURYHVSODQVWRVHLJHDVVHVIURP UHIXJHHVQYDLODEOHIURP
 ZZZWKHXDUGLDQFRPZRUGMDQGDQLVKSDUOLDPHQWSSURYHVSODQVWRVHLJHDVVHVIURP
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/DQJXDJHDQGRFLDOFVHDUFKXLVEXUJ
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&RQYHUVDWLRQDQDOVLVWXGLHVIURPWKHJ\WVLEQGHDSKLEQRKQHQMDPLQVSS±
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EFKDUGVRQ - (HWVKRWRIWKHORWRIHP\OHFWLRQUHSRUWLQJRIOXVLPVLOLWLVK
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WHHGV5RGN-(EFKDUGVRQRXWOHGJH/RQGRQSS±
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The materiality and semiosis of inequality and class struggle and warfare

The case of home-evictions in Spain

David Block

Introduction

Barcelonés after allegedly received an eviction notice for non-payment of her mortgage.

La Vanguardia

Suicides due to inability to pay mortgages, as described here, are fortunately not an everyday occurrence in Spain, although they have been more common in recent years than was the case in the 1990s. The victims of many individuals and families who cannot pay their mortgages or rents and are therefore victims of eviction are pushed to a sense of despair that makes life too hard to bear and ultimately not worth living.

and warfare are made in context, both materially and via *semiosis*, or multimodal meaning around them.

Inequality and class struggle and warfare

5HIHUFHVFHWRLOHTDOLWFDOEHIRG DVIDUEDFN DVWKHIRXWK FHOWW%ZHO3OD
 GLVFXVHGERWKWKHLQHYLWDELOLWDQGGDOQJHURILOHTDOLWQDERRNe9RI
 ZVHWKDWWDWDWHDODDLDQWOHDWWWVDWHWVKHULKDQWKHSRDWHQLWZWK
 HDKWKHU\$DWS DQLR *The Laws* KHZURWHWKDWL@DVWDWH
 ZKLFKLVGHVLRXVRIEHLQJVDYHGIURPWKHJUHDWHVWRIDOOSODJXHVWKHUHVKRXOGH[L
 the citizens neither extreme poverty nor, again, excessive wealth, for both are productive of
 UHDWHYLODQDWHKHHDUOSKLOKRDWRDOLMDQHOOLQIDQHV
 5ND\$WEVHGHD\ LMMVKHRLLRHOLW\ UJWSEOLKHG
 RHWHQVHQKLHVDWHUODWR6ND\$DUWLRQVLRWKHH[LWHHVK
 SHEHVRHOLW\ *physical* LQHTXDOLWZKLFK LV DERXW GLuHUHQFHV EHWZHHQ
 individuals in terms of body, mind and health; and *moral or political* LQHTXDOLWZKLFKLV
 based on convention, is established, accepted and authorised by society, and leads to
 GLuHUHQFHVLDOWKDGSEULQHWWUNUMDOO\$ND\$HMOBHG WKHLGHD
 WKDWH[LWLWUDWLEWLRQHWLWMMDENWVKHQWEDODELOLWLHDSURHQLWLR
 individuals; rather, there are social conditions, human-made certainly, which create,
 WUHQKHQDQ PDLQDLO[LWLSRLWLBO HRLDQ RDO RGHUVDQVO\
 5ND\$RWLWVKHUKLSRURHUWPKDWDU[SEGODWHUODO
 WKHRLLOMRLWLBOHRDQDQDKHNOOSULRHHOLW\

7KHUWPDQRWVHUHQDLSLHRRQVWVLOVKLKHGDGWNVCLV
 LPLDQDQSHROHMPSOHHQWRHOLHMKLPDVKHWUMHURLO
 society. How many crimes, how many wars, how many murders, how many misfortunes
 and horrors, would that man have saved the human species, who pulling up the stakes
 RQOLQWKHGLWKKKGKDMELHG WKLHOOMMHQV WDLWHQVWKL
 LPSWRVUHONLKHVWWDWWDWVKHUKWVKHHDUWKEHOREOOWK
 all, and the earth itself to nobody!

5NDX

RHUHQVQDQKHUERQWKHUGHMORWKHRLRHHOLWDPDRDO
 RUQUKQKDWLWLVQWDEODEWVOLLGLuHUHQFHVHWHHQQLGBOBQ
 BOHFLMVDVULKW DQ EDGZIR 7KHUERQHOLW\LWMOILEDMG R
 GLuHUHQFVWLWQMMVDPDWWHURBLMPLDULWEHWVHQDPRQLGBOUW
 LWLDEWGLuHUHQVWWDWOLPLWVKHOLHSRELOLWLHWKHGLDGDQDHGHLWKHUGLUHM
 concentrating resources among the privileged; or indirectly, via social, psychological
 PHKDQVRLDOLWLODQKHULRLWDQLHULRLWVIRDDGLuHUHQ
 LHHOLWLVWDDUHDQKDUKRLWWRHDSWHGEDVWDDQLDOSUREVLRHW\
 HMQKMKRLKWEHQWURLW7KLUGDQDQOOLHOLWVDDLVVLRQ
 fairness in society, giving underserved, unfair advantages to people on the basis of power,
 UDWKHUWKDQDQDELHEMKVLRUQKDMVDOZVHHQQ
 RHUDWLQMMHLQHQMRRHOLWODDENWW\
 7KHUERQOMVQLVWUHHHQUDOW\$HREHOLWLVUWVKHUHWVDOLEHOLW\
 KLV LVEN EDMOLHDQGHDK KDVQDQLLEGBOVDQ BOHFLMWHODWLM
 H[SMH WOLHWKUHDWHQDQWDO SKRHQKDVGLMDM DPLHRLDQ
 GUKW MOLAQVHGKRDQLWLWVYHHDORRDLFDQRHEWPDQ
 larger human-made disasters, such as war, pollution and the inability to reach and use vital
 natural resources. Second, there is H[LWHQVLDOLHOLWLV which is about systems of

oppression that deny individuals and collectives what are understood today to be basic human rights. Social structures such as patriarchy, slavery, caste systems, racism, religious persecution, homophobia and other forms of social ostracism, or attacks on ways of being, DOOLQVWKLDFWHRFVKLUGWKHUHNFVLEBOLW\ , which refers to the variable access that individuals and collectives have to material and symbolic resources, from property to PFWFVWHRFDWVQKDOHFWFNQUHRMGOHLWLPDQQUHSHVMMH EGLHNSLWDOPHWDSKRV

DDQWKKEKDKpQODQpDQENWVKDMVHG
URUKOWKHODWHWVKHPLGWKHHRLHWKHNDOWKULHR
:HWHUQRHEWKFHULEDDQHOMKHUHRHUDWHGDEGLVBRGLQV.HQMDQ
KDOGHPRDWLINe factof RUFROVFLRXVDQGGXULQJWKLVSULRGLQHTXDOLWZDV
UHGXFHGRZHYHUVLQFHWKHPGLGVWKHUHKDVEHHQDFRQVLGHUDEOHLQFUHDVHLOKHXUER
UHVRXUFHLQHTXDFHMDOOPDWHULDOLQHTXDOLWDPVWKL.V.HQHVLDQFRQVHQVXZDVV
DOOGLVFUHGHWGDOGWKQHhHFVLYHOGVLPDQWOHGWRDJUHDWHIWHQWKLWVXUQDU
DVQHROLEHUDOFRQRPLFSROLFLHVDQGSUDFWLWFHVURVHWSURPLQHQFHDQOEHLLWLO
DFURVVGLuHUHQWJHRJUDSKLFDORFDWLRQVOLURZVNL3HFNKHVHSROLFLHVDQ

practices have generated social and political changes that have brought with them greater GLuHUHQVEHWZHWKH ULK DQ WKH SE DQ WKH NDNDQ GLPLQKLQVKH
WUDGLWLRQPLGGOHDDVQLRLDQPDWHULDOWHUPDUNWKHQKLSR
DMWVKHUHODWLMWDELOLWRPSORHQDQWKHDPVRRHEWDORQWUPR
WKHWDWVQOHLWLPDQKDWDRSDQV.QGGLWLRQWRDNPDPWWHUEMWKL
LEBOLWKLDFHDMGHMQRHUDSLGOLQKHHDUMVWKHQUHQHRLFLV
JW EHDQVRPHUHLQENWW\,QVKHPLGWVKLVWVWLRQLV
KWKKLOHQVLRQDPRVKHSSDWLQVKNNULHVV DuHHWGEWKH
crisis, such as the southern-most states of the EU – there is a growing realisation that the persistence and growth of UHMHLEBOLW\ lead inevitably to a rise in another of 7KHUERQVHRELHWVKLMQWKHUHLDRLDWDLQHDMLQ KWDOLLEBOLW
BODWHUDODDWMHuHWWKDWRHZWKHWHZGHLPSMULKPHQKDLQOOKHDOWK
EWK SKMDO DQ SKRBDQ D GHEHDM LQVKH BOLWIKDO MUMHQ
SKOLEDDELODEOHUHNHROLD

MLRQGHUWVLEBOLWDQKQDOWUDWLQWLRQGRHWKLDEN
it, it is necessary to elaborate some sort of descriptive framework, which informs both researchers and lay people about what it is that they are challenging and trying to overturn. UNQKDMHODERDWHGDW\$RLKWNPMWVUNKLUKV
DQLQLEGNQVDEHNGHUHG WUDWLHG DQ KHQDGNQDQHG DQ GLQGNQDQHG
MVKHUHDUHQHURBQDKHUHNHWKDWLQLEGNOWUBHMLQHWLHNVKH
KDOUHDOLWLHDEGLQKLVKWHQDQHDMDHGDDQWLPDWHOWUDWLHGUN
DQ .PMWVKKPDEHMHQWUDQQLQKHUERQ vital, H[LWHQVadD
resource LQHTXDOLWLHVDUHRXWOLQHGLQDEOH

EXVNDQG.XV OLVWPLJKW EH H[SDQGHG VRPHZKDW WR LQFOXGH RYHUW UHIHUHQFH W
FRQWLQXLQJGHFLWVLQVHFRJQLWLRQRIDQG UHVSHFWIRUGLuHUHQFHQFRQWHPSRUDU
that is, enduring discrimination based on race, ethnicity, gender, nationality, sexual
ELHQDWLQHUHOLLQGLDELOLW\QGLWLRQPRHPDWHULDOGRDLQNDQ
shelter – deserves a separate mention, even if this aspect is perhaps implied in Grusky and
KRLDFHREQHGGKHWKHUUDPHKNQVHUPVNDNDUR
MUKHGDGLWV[KDQVNDNDQMVHQUDWLQHDWHU NDOWKWKHUHLQVWVW
GRW WKDW LW PDUNGLMQRHWVH EGLHX DQ[DPLQWLQVKH
KPDUNWLQDQDQROLEFRDPRHUHQVGLMVKH8

dispossessed of land by the emerging industrial capitalist class to the reformation-era
SRLDWLQDQKHOG EWKHQWKQLKXK KDG WKH RPHuHW ELMWLOWKH
peasant class of access to a livelihood as they were driven towards their historical destiny as
the industrial proletariat.

Moving to more recent times, Harvey sees a new form of accumulation at work –
accumulation by dispossession – in the range of activities and practices carried out by
MUPHQVQDQDOLWLWXLKXKDMWKHQLRUDQUULFDOWKUR
WKHOHMoorwWKHZDOWKLUW WKHUHLWKHSULDWLQDWLQDWLQGDQRHUDWHG
industries and services, which began in earnest some four decades ago, and more recently,
WKHUHLWKHDOHLDWHQGDMMWKLKQKHREHOVWKHSHROHVRULEWH
investors eager to pick up architectural jewels and prime property at knock-down prices.
HrWKHUHDUHDWLEWLHMVKHQDQDMWRKDKKHPHMDNOLQ
which unassuming investors, often of modest incomes, are cheated out of their savings.
LQOODQPVUHOHDDQWVKLQDSWHUWKHUHDUHWKHPDMGHDDQWRWDHDDQ
KMKQKRHHMVLWKDWDKMRHZWKWKHEUHQVRLFLVQKLDMMWKH
executors are banks, aided and abetted by governments serving the interests of capital over
EWLHQWODUHDQOLPHVQVHUHWGHNQGDQDUMH
DOMUQOV

EMQKHGLKQENLQKXKDMPNGURLQEBOLWWDWUWH
and warfare fairly rapidly, there is the key issue of how to operationalise these constructs in
empirical research, or perhaps it would be better to say, how to document how these
phenomena are constituted in, and indeed how they emerge from, the social world of events,
DWLQWDQRPQDWLQVQVQKLMLOKHQ[WMWLR

Exploring the material and the discursive construction of inequality and
class struggle and warfare: Critical Discourse Analysis

,QRUGHUWRH\$ORUH WKHLVVVMXWLGHQWLHG ,GUDRQWKH RNR1RUPDQ)DLUFQ
MUUHHQGHGQYDLUQK MHDORQDMHU HQUDOWR
DLUQKQSSURKLWKHWQR semiosis, or the making of meaning via the use of
MPLVLEHNNVHHKZLWWHQLSWLMOERPNPHQDHHWDDR
understanding how power relationships are symbolically established and reproduced in
HWLPLUQKGHQGLMDV

a complex set of relations including relations of communication between people who
talk, write and in other ways communicate with each other, but also, for example,
GHVLEHUHODWLQHWZHQHWHRPQWLMHMVQUDWLQYDSHU
DUWLQHMWDQPRHDEWUDWQHQKLSOH[GLNMQHQHV
DLUQKS

QKDOOKHMMHODWLQHWZHQLMDQWKHUKRQSOH[EMHFWQKH
physical world, persons, power relations and institutions, which are interconnected elements
LQDODWLQWDLUQKS ,WLQDQWKQLQKDWGLNMDV
GHQGDENDUHDODQVWLQGPVUHMVLDQDOSUDWLHQDQWKH\$OG
and life in general, which means that they are not casual, but always *come from somewhere*.
QGGWLWLQLMNDEWQDOHMDQSKHREHQRQPDQOH[LWLQDQDWLR
LQHGGWKHQPDPVHGQHLVWKHUHWREHPQWLSOHGLNMDUQD
MPHQDOUHDOLWQQRWKHMWRHQVHWHGQLEWVZWKHDKKWKHU7KNWVKH

time of writing, the Spanish central government is engaged in a continuous campaign to convince a progressively demoralised and sceptical public that the economy is going well. **MU WKHLU HuRW DUH EDQO VHWHG EDEGHPL MROQLW DQOD SHROH KRPSOG VUW WKHREDOMUM QEDMGVSH[SHULHRE** both, have developed their own counter-discourses.

QOSRQ DEW GLEMVWKDW WKHWHQ[LW DYOHUDO KLWRLBODUWHDWV KLK PHDQKDW WKH DUH SWHQLDO UHWH RPEDWLRQVKH SUHMV ,Q GLuHUHQ DEWKDKWLQDQ .ULWHB DSWKH WKLHHUDONLQDQ WKHLU UHSHWLMEKHWHUHREDPQLOVHUWH[WEDLWFKLSDUW DLUDK PDNWKHSRQWKDWLWLWHQEOHWQWKDWWKHSUBHURWH[WEULQDUG WVKHSUHMVHOHPHVLQEDWLRQKHSDW7KLDQHDQI[DPSOH DPL[LQHMSHURDOLQRPDOSHHKZWKDGEVHFWKHDGRWLR DBULHWHRDEOHEDOKHVQKHWHOOLQVFWHVKHKRHEV WHOOVHDWGHODENWKHSHURURKQKHPFWKHMRPSOLHGMMU PDWHULDO DQ GLMM UHDOLWLHVURWKH SDW DVKDOO MHEHODOO WWHQ UHHUHQVLEWOHU DQWKH DLVUHNGDVKQHDV\WGLVHGLW DQ LQHUONVRESBLWLBORSRQ

Exploring the material and the discursive construction of inequality, and class struggle and warfare

,QWKLVLGVFXVLRORILOHTDOLWDOGFODVVVDUIDUHWKHUHDUHWBNHSDUWFLSDWLO.)LUVVWKHUH **Popular33 WKHSDQLVKFRQVHUYDWLYHSDUWZKLFKJRYHUQHG 6DLQZLWKDQDEVROXWHPDMRULWURPWR)URPHDUOWKH33EHJDQWRDSSO\ H[WHUPHDXVWHULWPHDVXUHVDFFRUGLQJWRWKHGLFWDWHVRIWKHMURLNDFRPSK (XURSHDQ&HQWUDODQNKH(XURSHDQ&RPPLVVLRQDQGWKH,QWHUQDWLRQDOORQH WHPHDVXUHVVDNHQE3ZKLFKLQFOXGHGDFURVVWKH**BRILQJSDFXWVIRUFLYLO VHUYDQWVDVZHODVFXWEDFNVLQIXQGLQJIRUHVVHQWLDQVHUFLFVHJXQLYHUVDQ HGXFDWLRQKDGEXJQWRSURGXFDVQJLWDPHOLRUDWLRQRIWKHSURIRXQGHFRQRP 6DLQQLPDFURHFRQPLFWHUPVEWKHHQGRIDOWKRXJKWKH33WHQGHGWRH[DJJHUDWH VXFKGHYHORSPHQVWZKLOHWKH**MURLNDFRQWLQXHGWRVCRZDGHJUHHRIVFHSWFLVPA******

even if the Spanish government could claim that at the macro-level the economy was **HPHULQRWKHUHMRODWHWKHPDMRLWVKHSDQKSHROHNUHQ HHOLQKHHuHWDQWKLNOHGEWKPDMMEUSWLQDOWKHPDMRLWKLK LQMG SURLQ SDW DQ SUHMV PHPEHUWKH 3KDG MUMG WPHUH WKH SRDWRQHSYDLUNGHMORPHQURRUGVWKHLEHDMLRH** evictions, a phenomenon that led directly to the formation and rise to media prominence of the second key participating collective in this discussion, the *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca*³⁰**WIRUPIRUWKRVS6HFVHWGEQRUWJDJHV3\$**

KH3LVJUDVVURRWV RUJDQLVDWLRQWKDW FDPSDLJQV RQ EHKDOI RILQGLYLGXDQV IDPLQHVZKREHFDXVHRIXQHPSORPHQWRURWKHUHYHQWVQGWKDWWKHQDUHXQDEOHV mortgage or rent payments and therefore are either threatened with eviction from their homes or are actually evicted. Evictions normally occur with no provision whatsoever of alternative accommodation, and as we observed in the newspaper excerpt with which this chapter began, they can be extremely traumatic experiences for those who are evicted. On **MEMWHWKHROKH[SODQWLWKHDPSDLQWEDQMGDSSHDUQHUKH KHDGLQLLQMQWLDWLRQ**

7H[W3\$ULJLQDQGMXVWLFDWLRQ

7KLVFDPSDLQDVERUQLO6HSHWPEHULQWKHVWUHHW7KHPRWLYHVEHKLOGWKH campaign are simple: they steal our homes and condemn us to continue paying for WKHP:HDUHOHWLQWKHWUHHWZWKWDQDOWHUQWLMNDQSLQK which were rescued, continue to display an antisocial attitude, evicting families and accumulating a huge stock of empty houses disregarding the social function of housing. 7KHUPHQ/SUNHWKDFLWHLWKHUWRWKHPRHUWVLDV KDOUHQSWWLDKDOWWRLWLDLMLU SDPHQZDOSURHW consists of a campaign of occupations and the recovery of the right to housing in UHSRWDHQUDOLHGWDWHKKQPHUHQHQUDWHGDUWLEDOO\DQ LQHWLRQOEFEDQWKHEUPHQ7DGGUHWKLLWVWLEQSUMWKH recovery of empty housing held by banks for the homeless and our main demand is a KDOUHQVDPLOLHVQEGDQZWKWKHLULRH7KHEDOSUMHWVWV MDPOHQVZWKWKHWUDMHVWVKH\$VKHGHHQVKHSSDWLQHWKHLU rights are amputated, disobedience to recover these rights and in this way drive solutions.

\$

,PSRWDQOWKLWH[WUDHDDHUOLQEHHPDUBWLRQHWZHQWKHPSKHUHGBSLWDOLW DDVDFNGE\WKHEUPHQDQWKHUHODWLMOGLMPSKHUHGSRDUDMDVWKH RPHUMKHPDLQWKHLQHUHWVWQWVQVLEHNDQDVFUDUHSUDWLMG EWGHOHQGEWKHEUPHQDQLGHQVLDGQHOWE\WKHSSRDUDMDQWPDNV DHDUWKHLQEHOLWH[LWLDQHPSRDUSDQKRHWLQWKHPR resource LQEHOLWVNEODHFWEDOWKSURHUWDQKQDQ H[LWHQVLDQV\ NEODHFWVRLWLDOSKUDQEKYOLKWEVDMGQNEODHFWVKHDSURULDWH NWNDDODQDODMDV

,WLEWKLQDQWKLWDHWKDWKHSDDQKPEWDHODKDKSDMGLQ DQUHPDLGQOWHUHG WKUK HDUWKHJDDHLPDQDOPW HDUR GHPRDWLQSHDVIWUHPHOELDMGLQKRWKHLQHUHWEDQV OHWKRH buyers and renters with few rights if they could not make mortgage payments or pay their UHQ7KH PW DEMDQDQD UHQW QUNUMDO MWLQVKLQDZWKH impossibility of waiving the remainder of a mortgage, even after home-eviction for default DQWKHSHUPDQVHMVKHKRHWKHOHQLEDDQMPPEWDHGHDDWHUV not only lost their homes, along with all of the money they had paid up to the time of default, EWWKH\UHDQWLOOOHQDOOENWRDLQWKHUHPDLQHUMKHLUPPEWDHDK DSRQVQLPHKQWVGHHPHGWKH\UHDEOHWEVNDSDMGLQ\ ZWKWKHHSRWEVKHPDMRLWVQDUOLDPHQKDKDOOHMDWHGRHWKH PRHHUHLQENOOHUDSHVWKHHDUOLHUODZUHMQLQKHHVWLRQPLOLHV OLYQOENWHGHVWVLEWVKHROLDWLVSDRPEWDHVMQWU KRH HMQBEDQHPDLGQDMDHDUGWKHSUHMQLVWLVQKHODMHPHGWR KDMKDGOLWVOH HuhV DVEDO WDWLWLEVRNGE\WKHSDQKDWLQO\WDWLWLV ,QLWVHQLWVBEROGHW\DG\WLBKKGWGDWVKHUHQVUHHVWLRQ XURWKHSUHMNDU

,QKHPGWEVKLQUDPPDPEHUMKHSMMORHGWKUHHW\$HVVLEWLVUW they held assemblies, during which information was shared about past or impending evictions, and victims were provided with legal, practical and emotional support. Second, they set up and maintained an active web site on which new and updated information was constantly posted on a range of topics, from Spanish law to strategies for dealing with

HYLFWLRQ7KLUGWKHUH DVGLUHFWD FWLROZLFLQFOXGHGDSKVLFDOSUHVHOFH DWHY
with the aim of stopping them, and participation in mass demonstrations. More
action, called *escraches*, which were more focused demonstrations in which groups of
escraches were individuals deemed to have decision-making capacity with regard to the
SDUOLDPHQ, WLSUHEMOWKHMPRHLDHGHHPUDWLKOHGWRSKOLF
GLMMQWZWKWKHBQ

Home-evictions and *escraches* are, without a doubt, material events involving the
escrache protestors and the objects of *escraches* eviction and an *escrache* when these events are framed as acts of semiosis that exemplify
evictees live, while the protestors do everything in their power to prevent this from
evictions, consisting of anything from the pulling of hair and pushing, to the use of batons
eviction stands in contrast to those of the protestors: while the former are only focused on
the removal of evictees, the protestors are engaged in a range of activities, which include
likely to use phone technologies to contact associates or the press and above all to take
semiosis of the two groups in
on their views on a range of issues, from the morality of home-evictions to the role of the

political assets in contrast with the substantial economic and political assets possessed by
providing cultural and social assets to the victims of eviction to counteract the cultural and
about the legality and procedure of home-evictions, and they are well organised, with well-
DWKHDPHWE DUWLHMPHEHUWKHDSRLRHUHUHLQMGHMUWKH

Meanwhile, the *escrache* from the home-eviction, even if

W JURXS VTHKDYLRXU GLuHUV KHUH DV ZI PRYH IURP HYLFWHHV DV WKH IRFDO SRLQW RI WKH
 DFWLYLW WRSROLWLFEDQW, the objects of the activity are seldom seen, except when
 UKLQRWKHLUKRHRH WREEDODUWREGRD WZVWKSUNHWREDDQWKH
 SUHVU WKH PW LQVHUHWLQUDW EHVZHQQMLWLDQDQ *escrache* is the
 EHKDMLWKHSOLHRHUKLOHWKH DUHDWMLQRHHMLWLIHMLHMLWLI
 orders, in an *escrache* WKHDUHUHODWLYHODWDLFDVWKHVWDQGGZDLWDQGFQWDLQ, QGH
 most *escraches*, the police only intervene when the target appears, ostensibly to prevent any
 SREOHSKMDORWDEHVZHQWKHODWVHUWUWKHSUNHWREDDQLOHWKH\$KDV
 always maintained that it neither engages in physical attacks on targets nor uses abusive and
 insulting language towards them, and there has never been any reliable evidence to suggest
 WKHQUUDUGHSYLWHURRDWHGODLPERHPHEHUWKH\$V PW WKHUH
 KDM EHHQWDFVQLK \$GHPUDWREKDM KWHG SKUDM\$ DVin
verguenza 'VKDPHOHVVDWVKHLUWDUJHWVKUHDWVDJDLQVWOLIHDQGKDUVKODQJXDJHG
 to be part of the normal repertoire of those participating in *escraches* DQG WKH\$KDV
 publicly expressed low tolerance for such extremism. More typically, protestors hold
 SODBUGZWKORMD' *No criminalización* ' QRFULPLQDOLVDWLRQLQUHIHUHQFHWRWKH
 ZDWKDWURPRQZDUGVSDUWVRIWKHPHGLDDQGWKH33EHJDQDFDPSDLJQWRIUDPHPDQ\

forms of public protest as illegal.
 D SRLWLBO SDUWZWKWUNMDOLWLDWKH\$GQEHHSWHHGWWDDQ
 LGOEKLOHWKH\$LEMDUWKH\$LUKRRHMLWLIKH\$WKLEO
 and uncaring actions of banks, and the inactivity and insensitivity of the government gained
 WUDWLRQWKHSUHVQDPRWKHZGHUSEKOLEMU SRLWLEDUHUHQLOW
 GLV\$WVWGHHQWKHLUSEWLEKOLEMU KDWLDWKH\$WKHSDM\$KH
 PFWDHODZWKDGEHRH\$HDUWKDWKHEGEHRHULQPLQSDOOLDWLMW\$KH
 ULMEHU RHROHduHWHGEPFWDHGHDEWDQLQELOLWWRDUHUENDDO
 WKHPDGH\$HDUWKDWKHE\$GQEHKDDQKHPW\$UNUMDODSHW\$KH
 ODKHUHEPFWDHGHDEWHUW\$QMWKHLUKRHEW\$DUHWLOOLDEOHWRDRWKH
 remainder of the mortgage.

7KH DUULDO *escraches* FKDQJHGDWVWVXEVWDQWLDQOIRU WKH33)RUPDQ\$HRSOHL
 6DLQPRYLQJSURWVWVRXWVLGHSHRSOHVKRPHVDQGWKHUHIRUHFORVHWRWKHERUGH
 WKHSXEOLFDDQGWKHSULYDWHZVDVTXHVWLRQDEOHWDFWLF3HUKDSVVHHLQJWKLWVKH
 RQDIURQWDODWDFNRQWKH33DQGDWVWHP\$WGWVWKLW\$XEOFLRSLQLRQVXFKWKDWLW
 ZHUHQRORQJHUVHHQDVVDLQWVUDWKHUDVVRPHWKLQJDNLQWRSROLWLFDOWKXJV2Q\$U
 as the number of *escraches* was increasing in the run-up to the parliamentary vote on the
 new mortgage law, Maria Dolores de Cospedal, the General Secretary of the PP, made the
 BORDWHPHQGLQPHHWLSDUWPHPEHUMHS\$WUDQSLWLR
 NQLQ

HKDMLQPHPRFWWHOJWLNOOGKH\$HGK\$QWKH\$UWDLQ
 SHROH\$UH\$RQHGWEHORN\$UWDLQDLWLBOHWKQ\$W\$DORUHOLLK
 URDQWKH\$GLGWKHUHWKH\$DUHDQKDMWRQDWWDM\$KHPEW\$KDWLV
 WKLWVWHP\$W\$R\$DWHWKH\$HWKLL\$KHDLF,\$WKH\$UH\$R
 ELWLEHPRWKL\$LOLQWKL\$KHDLF\$«

5DKLGH

KHGDO\$GVHHLMD\$R\$GHDO\$PHGLD\$DWWHQ\$LDQ\$OHDW\$EHD\$R\$WKHLU
 incendiary content. However, they were not improvised or idiosyncratic; rather, they were
 integral to an organised campaign by the PP to get a particular message across about

RSSRVHGWRD~~DUERYHUW~~KURZQJKRXVLQJHTXDOLWDOEHLWPRPHQWDULO~~6~~XFKVPDOOVFD
 YLFWRULHVDUHHQFRXUDJLQJDQGQRGRXEWKDYHPDGHDELJGLuHUHQFHWRWKHLQGLYLG
 IDPLOLHV LQYROYHG ,Q DGGLWLRQ WKH 6SDQLVK PXQLFLSDO HOHFWLRQVRI OD'EURXJKW
 power left-wing coalitions led by parties with a manifesto promise to stop home-evictions
 L~~Q~~W~~W~~KH~~U~~U~~P~~DUHWEWLHL~~Q~~GL~~Q~~UHO~~R~~KHUH~~S~~D~~R~~D~~R~~W~~K~~H
~~Q~~L~~Q~~HP~~E~~HU~~W~~KH~~S~~~~Q~~Q~~V~~D~~R~~L~~Q~~ 7KLGHMORPH~~Q~~
 SURGH~~W~~H~~K~~RH~~D~~Q UHOLHW~~R~~W~~K~~N~~O~~L~~Y~~Q~~U~~H~~D~~U~~L~~W~~L~~W~~M~~U~~D~~Y
 somewhat pessimistically noted above, the ongoing historical process of the interests of
~~D~~S~~L~~W~~D~~O~~M~~U~~W~~K~~H~~L~~Q~~U~~H~~U~~W~~W~~K~~H~~P~~D~~M~~E~~L~~W~~L~~W~~R~~H~~U~~H~~H~~Q~~W~~L~~P~~H~~M~~D~~P~~H~~G~~D~~W~~K~~H~~S~~H~~U~~H~~Q~~W~~U
 WKHSHUHQ~~U~~D~~U~~L~~H~~Q~~H~~R~~I~~D~~E~~O~~D~~Q~~L~~W~~Z~~O~~O~~M~~H~~O~~W~~D~~N~~P~~R~~H~~W~~K~~D~~Q~~P~~D~~R~~W~~H~~U~~W~~K~~Q~~
 PDWWHU~~W~~R~~M~~D~~Q~~GHU~~H~~

Appendix: Transcription conventions

6ODVKVKRZ~~W~~KHHQGRIDFK~~Q~~NRIWDONQRUPDOOSDFHG
 3D~~X~~HVDUHWLPHGWRWKHQH~~D~~UHV~~V~~W~~H~~FRQGDQGWKHQ~~R~~E~~H~~U~~R~~I~~V~~H~~F~~RQ~~G~~V~~L~~V~~S~~W~~L~~Q~~E~~U~~D~~F
 4~~X~~V~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~P~~D~~U~~N~~L~~Q~~G~~L~~F~~D~~W~~H~~V~~T~~X~~V~~W~~L~~R~~Q~~L~~Q~~W~~R~~Q~~D~~W~~L~~R~~Q
 6T~~U~~H~~E~~U~~D~~F~~N~~H~~W~~V~~D~~U~~H~~X~~H~~G~~I~~R~~U~~F~~R~~P~~P~~H~~Q~~W~~V~~

Underlining indicates the adoption of a second-party voice as a rhetorical device.

Notes

- ⑤ OFLWHGWH~~I~~V~~W~~W~~K~~D~~W~~R~~U~~L~~J~~L~~Q~~D~~O~~O~~D~~S~~S~~H~~D~~U~~H~~G~~L~~Q~~6~~S~~D~~Q~~L~~V~~K~~K~~D~~Y~~E~~H~~H~~Q~~W~~U~~D~~Q~~V~~O~~D~~W~~H~~G~~L~~Q~~W~~R~~C~~
 7KHUHDGHUFDQ~~Q~~G~~W~~K~~H~~R~~U~~L~~J~~L~~Q~~D~~O~~W~~H~~I~~V~~W~~L~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~F~~L~~W~~H~~G~~V~~R~~X~~F~~H~~V
 7KLVFDPSDLJQ~~F~~Q~~P~~L~~Q~~D~~W~~H~~G~~L~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~S~~D~~V~~L~~Q~~J~~R~~I~~D~~Q~~H~~S~~X~~O~~L~~F~~R~~U~~G~~H~~U~~OD~~Z~~Q~~O~~D~~U~~F~~K~~W~~K~~H
*Orgánica de Seguridad Ciudadana*2UJDQLF/DZRI3XEOLF~~H~~F~~X~~U~~L~~W~~N~~Q~~R~~Z~~Q~~W~~R~~P~~D~~Q~~D~~V~~W~~K~~H~~
Mordaza WKHJDJODZLWKWKH VROH VXSSRUWRI WKH 33 KLVODZVHYHUHQ~~O~~L~~P~~L~~W~~V~~W~~K~~H~~U~~L~~J~~K~~W~~V~~
 IUHHGRPRIVSHHF~~K~~L~~Q~~S~~D~~L~~Q~~D~~U~~H~~F~~W~~L~~Q~~J~~Q~~R~~W~~R~~Q~~O~~D~~F~~W~~L~~Y~~E~~W~~L~~D~~N~~A~~X~~W~~K~~D~~V~~o more traditional
 forms of protest.
~~D~~L~~O~~D~~E~~O~~H~~U~~R~~Z~~E~~M~~E~~R~~H~~P~~E~~Q~~H~~[~~K~~W~~P~~O
- 4 Whether real and profound change will come with a new Spanish parliament, after the PP lost a
 WKLU~~G~~R~~W~~M~~D~~W~~D~~Q~~D~~P~~H~~S~~K~~E~~W~~R~~P~~D~~M~~E~~L~~W~~L~~Q~~W~~K~~H~~Q~~W~~L~~R~~O~~H~~O~~H~~W~~L~~W~~H~~P~~E~~H~~U~~D~~Q~~
~~N~~U~~H~~P~~D~~L~~Q~~R~~H~~M~~H~~Q~~W~~W~~K~~H~~W~~L~~P~~H~~L~~W~~L~~Q

References

~~X~~U~~U~~H~~(~~Q~~O~~D~~F~~R~~V~~R~~D~~O~~R~~V~~S~~R~~O~~t~~W~~L~~F~~R~~V~~G~~H~~O~~3~~D~~U~~W~~L~~G~~R~~3~~R~~S~~D~~U~~I~~W~~K~~H~~K~~D~~U~~D~~V~~V~~P~~H~~Q~~W~~R~~I~~P~~H~~P~~E~~H~~U~~V~~R~~I~~W~~K~~H
 3DUWLGR3RS~~D~~U~~I~~Y~~D~~L~~O~~D~~E~~O~~H~~I~~U~~R~~P~~K~~W~~W~~S~~H~~V~~S~~H~~U~~D~~Q~~D~~S~~S~~P~~D~~G~~U~~L~~G~~H~~V~~H~~O~~D~~F~~R~~V~~R~~D~~S~~R~~O~~L~~W~~L~~F~~R~~V~~G~~H
 SRS~~D~~U~~D~~U~~D~~F~~F~~H~~V~~V~~H~~G~~F~~H~~P~~E~~H~~U~~@~~

~~V~~N~~L~~Q~~V~~R~~Q~~7,QHT~~D~~O~~L~~W~~U~~DUYDUG8QLYHU~~V~~L~~W~~S~~U~~H~~V~~V~~&~~D~~P~~E~~U~~L~~G~~J~~H~~O~~S~~

~~V~~N~~K~~W~~L~~O~~Q~~The dialogic imagination: Four essays ~~Q~~L~~Y~~H~~U~~V~~L~~W~~R~~I~~H~~[~~D~~V~~3~~U~~H~~V~~V~~X~~V~~W~~L~~Q~~7~~

~~H~~H~~Y~~R~~U~~K~~H~~E~~D~~W~~W~~O~~H~~I~~R~~U~~S~~D~~L~~Q~~K~~H~~S~~D~~Q~~L~~V~~K~~&~~LYLO:DU± , Phoenix, London.

~~S~~O~~C~~I~~A~~L~~C~~L~~A~~S~~S~~IN~~A~~P~~P~~LIED~~L~~I~~N~~G~~U~~I~~S~~T~~I~~C~~S~~ ~~R~~X~~W~~O~~H~~G~~J~~H/~~R~~O~~G~~R~~Q~~

~~R~~E~~V~~I~~E~~W~~'~~GHQ~~W~~L~~W~~D~~Q~~G~~V~~R~~F~~L~~D~~O~~F~~O~~D~~V~~V~~,V~~V~~X~~H~~V~~D~~U~~L~~V~~L~~Q~~J~~L~~Q~~D~~S~~S~~O~~L~~H~~G~~O~~L~~Q~~J~~X~~L~~V~~W~~L~~A~~V~~U~~I~~D~~W~~H~~D~~U~~F~~K~~¶~~
 Review of Applied LinguisticsYROSS±

~~R~~E~~V~~I~~E~~W~~'~~R~~F~~L~~D~~O~~F~~O~~D~~V~~V~~L~~Q~~ODQJXD~~J~~H~~D~~Q~~G~~LGHQ~~W~~L~~W~~U~~H~~V~~H~~D~~U~~F~~R~~U~~R~~outledge handbook of
 language and identityHG~~B~~U~~H~~H~~F~~H~~R~~X~~W~~O~~H~~G~~J~~H/~~R~~O~~G~~R~~O~~S~~S~~±

~~R~~X~~U~~G~~L~~H~~X~~3Distinction ~~R~~X~~W~~O~~H~~G~~J~~H/~~R~~O~~G~~R~~Q~~

~~R~~X~~U~~G~~L~~H~~X~~3The social structures of the economy , Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

~~R~~O~~L~~W~~L~~H~~:K~~R~~D~~O~~L~~H~~E~~O~~L~~W~~S~~H~~U~~L~~W~~V~~7~~KH~~R~~E~~H~~W~~L~~W~~R~~

~~R~~O~~L~~D~~:H~~E~~O~~L~~W~~D~~Q~~W~~K~~H ~~H~~U~~N~~R

:RGDN50HN00HGVM*Methods for critical discourse analysis*, Sage, London.
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state-like structures originating from the military establishment of terrorist movements as

Discourse Studies, whose objective is to uncover and analyse the establishment and

Analyses of Nazi discourse

the ethical and intellectual embarrassment about the fact that its canonical foundation text,

WKH#UPDOSXEOLFHOODWHO:XOND/RQJHULFK:HKDYHWKXVDGHWDLOHG picture of the socio-historical context on which to base a discourse-historical assessment of LWOHU#PHPHVLOQGLWLVKXUHL#D#H#HDGL#HOS#LWEN#KHUWKDQ his propaganda chief, Goebbels. On the last day of the Congress, in a special meeting for SDUW\$URDDQDOHDGHUVRDEW#KH5HLK#EEHONPHQHGLWOHU#HHKDDQ exemplary feat of clever propaganda:

,IPDN#HDUL#SURDDQDWKDWK#H#K#M#D#E#W#H#O#K#L#V#N#H#O# WKH#P#W#E#H#S#L#M#G#W#K#D#W#K#H#K#W#E#D#E#M#W#B#O#D#O#H#D#M#L#W open-ended, just as the *Führer*GLGLQKLVDPDVWHUOVSHHFKHVWHUGD#HKRSHWKDWK# ODZVFRQFHUQLQJWKH-HZVKDYHRSHQHGWKHFKDQFHIRUDWROHUDEOHUHODWLRQ WKH#H#P#D#Q#D#Q#G#W#K#H-HZLVKSHRSOHDV#D#Q#D#X#J#K#W#H#U#D#W#Y#Z#K#W#L#K#D#O#O works#E#R#X#O#H#D#Y#H#D#O#L#W#O#H#F#K#D#Q#F#H#W#R#W#K#H#P#R#S#H#Q#W#K#H#Q#W#K#H-HZVZLOOVD#H#L#I#Z# V#W#D#U#W#D#W#U#R#F#L#W#S#U#R#S#D#J#D#Q#D#I#U#R#P#R#X#W#V#L#G#H#L#W#O#J#H#W#Z#R#U#V#H#W#O#H#W#N#H#S#T#X#L#H#W# H#D#O#D#R#W#H#U#D#O#O#D#K#W#H#U#D#S#S#O#D#M#E#N#D#O#O#W#K#H-H#U#H#Q#R#O#R#Q# away.

REEHOV

WKHLU#U#H#D#W#L#N#K#H#D#L#H#D#L#Q#K#W#D#E#W#K#H#O#D#E#H#L#Q#H#Q#H#G#D#D# ED#E#W#K#H#G#H#W#U#L#H#Z#K#O#L#H#L#E#U#P#D#E#E#H#O#G#M#W#K#H#L#U#K#D#U#H#G#L#Q#G#H#U knowledge to give them a master-class, as it were, in misleading the wider German and L#V#H#U#Q#W#L#R#O#S#K#O#L#E#Q#L#H#Z#K#S#H#R#O#H#B#O#L#R#P#S#D#W#K#L#M#D#M#K#H#D#L party and the wider populace were thus given to know that antisemitic practices would be R#R#G#D#O#R#W#K#H#G#E#H#O#H#L#W#L#P#L#M#G#L#W#K#L#Q#K#H#W#H#U#P#W#K#H#H#O#D#Z#K#H#Q committed German and international public were discouraged from showing any solidarity or sympathy with the victims, and at the same time reassured that all measures taken would E#H#O#H#D#O#7#K#H-HZK#M#L#P#U#H#N#S#W#L#Q#K#H#G#D#U#E#W#K#H#W#K#H#U#S#U#H#M#R#Q#L#M#Q LOOK#R#U#K#R#H#W#L#O#L#W#E#G#E#H#W#D#W#H#R#W#K#H#P#W#E#D#N#H#U#P#H#D#M#H#V Gestapo U#H#S#R#W#G#L#D#U#L#H#V#Q#U#H#W#D#E#U#E#G#H#Q#W#L#W#O#H#U#D#Q#R#E#E#H#O#W#U#D#W#H#I #N#G#W#K#H#S#D#U#W#W#H#D#O#N#Q#L-HZK#D#W#L#W#M#O#W#Q#L#E#W#H#G#W#K#H#Z#G#H#U#H#U#P#D#Q#Q L#V#H#U#Q#W#L#R#O#S#K#O#L#S#H#U#H#L#M#G#W#K#H#K#U#H#U#S#U#R#D#P#D#W#L#Q#V#H#W#R#L#O#P#D#Q#S#U#K#O R#H#L#Q#W#U#R#W#S#U#R#D#D#Q#D#E#W#W#D#W#H#W#H#U#E#D#D#L#Q#W#K#H-HZ#R#H#Z#K#U#E#V inside and outside Germany were isolated and individuals fooled into postponing immigration D#Q#W#R#O#U#W#H#W#M#K#H#Q#U#K#D#O#H#P#S#H#U#H#U#N#-I#N#O 7#K#H#Q#W#U#N#G#L#M#L#Q#G#H#U#W#K#D#W#L#D#U#G#H#Q#S#D#U#W#P#H#P#E#H#U#U#H#S#U#R#L#M#G#I the chance for future repression and power-gain beyond the momentary measures, without having to fear criticism or sanction.

7#K#L#M#N#L#U#D#W#R#L#D#O#S#U#D#W#L#H#R#D#O#O#L#H#R#G#D#O#L#H#W#L#W#R#G#H#U#W#K#U#K vague and metaphorical statements was not restricted to prominent public pronouncements, but extended right to the centre of the totalitarian regime and its internal, backstage G#L#M#V#K#H#S#U#W#E#W#K#H#B#O#O#H#G#D#Q#H#R#U#H#E#R#D#O#U#R logistical details of the Holocaust, which included its top administrators, who among themselves, spoke openly and drastically about the mass-murder methods to be L#P#S#O#H#P#H#Q#H#G#D#W#K#H#P#L#W#H#W#D#N#U#D#Q#S#R#L#P#S#O#H#P#H#Q#H#U#S#R#L#K#P#D#Q#L#P#M#O#I W#H#W#L#H#G#L#Q#L#W#U#L#D#O#L#Q#H#U#O#H#P#G#H#O#L#E#H#U#D#W#H#O#U#H#G#D#W#H#G#L#D#D#W#K#D#W#D#H#U#S#O#D#L#Q W#D#O#N#Q#M#D#U#E#I#S#U#H#M#U#H#U#S#O#D#H#G#E#D#E#W#U#D#W#R#H#O#D#E#H#H#U#D#Q# M#H#D#O#N#P#D#Q#

IRU H[DPSOH ÀGJLOLQ WHUURUVWDWHV VXFK DV WKH WODPLF 6WDWH DQG 4DHGD EXM
uncover emergent proto-totalitarian discourse tendencies in countries whose publics
consider themselves democratic and therefore immune to them, for example, trends to
establish globalised neo-liberalism as the only rational form of social order, or the erosion
of minority rights through scapegoating. Whether it is immigrants, socially deprived,
M[BOOGHLDWYR GLDEOHGURKXDRPW WKDW DOOLWMOWRWLPDWLM
SHROHDYDUDLWHRW EDOMORGLQGDHURHLREOQUHLLOWV
EDUPDLQDLQHKDQFEDLVQVWVWLDOLWDULDQAU WUWKHDO
practices of exclusion.

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 #IEDX#HUODJ#UOLO*
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 .#H#U#H#U#D#M#H#W#H#G#L#H#H#W#K#H#N#U#P#L#K#W#H#H#K#L#P#H#
 #H#G#V#L#P#H#H#L#K#W#H# #H#U#H#O#M#D#K#U#H#K#H#W#H#=#H#L#W#H#S#L#K#W#H#
 .#N#Z#N#O#H#G#V *LH-#H#Q#H#H#K#H#L#P#H#L#P#H#H#L#K#W#H#*
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 Society*YROQRSS±
 /QWHULV & *KHVSULW#R#I#V#H#O#H#V#V#Q#H#V#V#L#Q#0#D#R#L#V#W# &#K#L#Q#D#R#F#L#D#O#L#V#P#H#G#L#F#L#Q#H#D#Q#G#W#K#H#Q#H#Z#P*
 #O#U#D#M#D#F#L#O#O#D#M#V#N#
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LPDHULQWOHUWMein Kampf, DWWHUQVRI3UHMXBQDSS±

OXVROu\$KDWFDQ&ULWLFDO0HWDSKRUDQDOVLVDGGWRWKHXQGHUVWDQGLQJRIUDFLVWLGHRORJ]
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3RVFK & WRSIQHU0 .LHQSRLQWQHU0 HUPDQSRVWZDU GLVFRXUVHRIWKHH[WUHPHDQ
SRSXOLVWULJKWQVLOQJIDVFLVWGLVFRXUVH(XURSHDQIDVFLVPLQWIDQSRQWVH[W
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 :RGDN5 \KH GLVFRXUVHKLWVRULFDODSSUM\DF\K\Q of Critical Discourse Analysis.
 ,QWURGXFLOJTXDOLWDWLY\H\H\W\K\K\O\H\H\U\JH/RQGRQSS±
 :RGDN\SSUH\VLRLQRIWKHIDJLSDVWFRG\HGODQJXDJHVDQ\GGLVFRXUVHVRIVLOH\Q\FHSSOLQJ
 WKHLVFRXUVH\LVWRULFDODSSURDFK\WRSRVWZDUDQWL\H\PLW\W\H\Q\N\W\B\U\Q in
 WKH\SHRI([WUHP\HG:\WHLQPHW]2[IRUGQ\LYHU\VLW\3UH\VV2[IRUGSS±
 :RGDN\HG Critical Discourse Analysis , 4 vols., Sage, London.
 :B\DN.LUK\B Totalitäre Sprache = Langue de bois = Language of dictatorship,
 3DVVDJHQ9HUODJ9LHQQD
 :RGDN\RZDN33HOLNDQ-\XEHUGH&LOOLD\LV\W\W\H\Q5 'Wir sind alle unschuldige
 Täter'. Diskurshistorische Studien zum Nachkriegsantisemitismus, \KUNDPS)UDQIXUW
 :XOI - \XV GHP /H[LNRQ GHU O\UGHU RQGHUEHKDQGOXQJ XQG YHUZDQGW\H :UWHU LQ
 nationalsozialistischen DokumentenORKQ\W\HUVORK
 äL\HND\id somebody say totalitarianism? 9HUVR/RQGRQ

Discursive underpinnings of war and terrorism

Adam Hodges

Introduction

War and terrorism are two forms of political violence that are salient to current debates and future challenges faced both by scholars and the wider public. Whether agreeing with von

QDMZW]@KDW DU L VPSOWKH Q LWL S RLWLE SUHHUULO

QOW\$ MWLQ KDW S RLWLK DEHRH WKH Q LWL Q UE\

WKHUPHDQWL Q HDUWKDW WKH R OHWLMH[HUEMBQWU QHRSKURHOHPHQ

S RLWLKLOWE S ± VOO W W H Q EDW HG ZWK Y B H Q B H NU

discourse is central to enabling that violence and formulating responses to it. War as a form

R D Q M G U K E H K D M E U H O L H W Q V K H E D Q D W L R Q E S D E W I G L M M W R

P R L O L H R H G L U H W U H N H H Q O H L W L P L H D W L Q H N S 7 H U U R L M D V

D R S W E O B W H R U H O L H X Q K H G L M M S U D W L H W K D W G H Q D Q O D E H O W K H D W R D Q

D W L R R M G R K D U D F W H U L M E P R H H R H [D P S O H D W H U U R L M E

L M H R M U L O O D D U D U H R E L P H Q W K H D W R M Q M G L Q K D W Y R H R R

H [D P S O H D W H U U R L W R E U H H G R K W H U R E E L P L Q O R E D W L M W Y K D S H V

Q H U W D Q L Q Q U D L Q H S R K H U H R H D E H W W H U Q H U W D Q L Q K H G L M M

processes that undergird political violence can inform projects that seek to rescue politics

U R Y D H E S H Q W D Q H Q H L Q P R H S U R E W L M S R L W L E D M G Q K D W W K H U

H O H P H Q W K H E D W R H U D W L R L O W R

7 K H D Q M Y U R G H G L Q K L K D S W H U W D U W E Z W K W K H Z G H O U H R M G S U H P L M D P R

discourse scholars that language does not simply mirror a pre-existing world, but rather, actively constructs that world. Discourse shapes meanings and constrains understandings.

: L W K W K L M L Q . D L P W R D N M M U D O S R Q V E M G L M M D U D Q W H U U R L M Q K H M

P D L Q W L W K D W R O K U W G L M M Q U M W K H R Q P D W L M H W K L B O S U L E S O H W K D W

O H L W L P L M H U W D L Q P R H H D D H S W D E O H R R Q H S W D E O H 7 K H M D W K L N Q

L Q V Q Q H G H Q W L W H U U R L F W K D W E U N D W H Z W K L Q Q E H W Y H Q D G H P L F

communities and the wider public. Second, from an academic perspective, terrorism can be

viewed as a form of political communication that uses violence to communicate a message,

even though popular conceptualisations may diverge from this understanding out of political

H [S H G L H Q K L U G L M Q K H G H Q W L R O L M W U R L Q W H U U R L F L W L V P S R W D Q W R

underscore that terrorism is itself a social construct that relies upon the discursive processes
 WKDWLMLWPHDQDNHYPSEWDQMMQWHUURLFGHV
 QH[LWNLWGHNWKHGHQWLQGSUDWLHWKDWMMHWRLMLWNSWBOLMQ
 RPRRHQDWHUURLFGUDXQPLOLDUGRDLQ[SHULHQRKDLGHQDV
 DENELPHDU DQ LGHQRDO PPHQWWRWUW QSHUWDQLDQ KDSH
 WUDLQHSNNWKMWLPLWLSRLWLBOQBHHLQGLQKHPDOOWRUPV
 that rallies a nation to war, utilise political narratives that construct understandings of the
 KOGDUUDWLMH[HODWRDQMSHUHSWLQGGUDZPNORWLVKDSH
 experience; and narrative represents a potent tool in the political domain to shape images of
 RRRLWLBOUHDOLWLQOOHQUDOWKQUUDWLMMLWKHMUMKHPQLQUWKDW
 QSHULUGDOORPRRLWLBOQBHHLQKLGMLKRDQWLQVREGUDZ
 from the need to organize and categorize the world around us, but during times of war this
 SURRHRHM[DHUDWHGWWRUBNLQGLMLWLQLEWKGHGDGONRHY
 GHDSHPLWLSURMDUHQUDOWRPLQKLMQKUMV
 URSSRWLQEHMORWKHMSRQVWKHULQKHMVLWKDWBOR

Legitimacy and political violence

VDIRUPRIEUDQDLHGSMSRVHIOJURXDFWLROGLUHFVHGDJDLOVWDQRWKHUIJURXKOYROYL
 WKHDFWDBORUSRWHQWLDODSSOLFDWLRQROHOKWDOIRUFHJHUIJXRS S WKH
 PRGHUQYLHRIIDUSURWRWLSLFDQORQFHSWDBOLVHVLWDVDUPHGFROAFWEHWHZHQWKH
 IRUFHVRIQDWLRQVWDWHVLOWHUVVDWHHDURUEHWHZHQIDFWLRQVZWKLODVWDWHL
 DU7KHFHQWUDOLWRIWKHODWLROVVDWHZWKLOWKLVPRGHUQORQFHSWLRORIDUDU
 SROLWLFDORUGHULQJRIWKHRUOGDIWHUWKH3HDFHRI:HVWSKDOLDLQKLFKUHFJRQLV
 VRYHUHLQWRIWHUULWRULDQVVDWHVQWKRKWKH:HVWSKDOLDQVWHPGLGORW
 attempted to regulate it as a contest between sovereign states and abolish the type of
 LGHQRDOOQULMQUDQKLODWLQ[SHULHQRGMLQKHD5RDQSLUH
 .RLS QWVKWKH:HWSKDOLDQGHUQPHUHQWLVKHWKWDWHV
 PRQKHOHLWLPDWHMRHQ:HEHU@

Legitimacy in the realm of warfare depends greatly upon a discursive process that
 SFWLRRRRLWLBOQBHHLQDHLWLPDWHMUMKHEPMDOOHLWLPDWHV
 EHMU D VQHMQGLMVOHLWLPLDWLQDQVWVKLQ
 UDPHEHPSWHGRPVKHOHLWLPDWLQKHEHEDMDWHGZWKPEHUQ
 DUDUHUHWSKHPDWM SKLQKLBQUDPHEN:DU7KHRMOH\
 VHQDQWKLBOGULQWQKDWUHDKHEWELWV OHRHURQWLQ
 ZWK QULEXLEWKLWVHHQKHQW\WKHQRDQ SKLQKHU 7KRDQV
 KQWVKHPEDOMWLPLDQDURLQWEHGLMGDQ

GHEDWHGEVHPSEDU\$SKLQKHUODOHU *inter alia*-XVW:DUKHRU\
 SURYLGHVDUREXVWVFDuROGXSRQZKLFK VWDWHVFRQVWUXFWWKHULJKWWRHQWHULQ
 bellum WKHDFWLRQVWDNHQGXULQJZDUMXQQWVHORUHHPHQVWHQVWHUHGLOWRDIWHU
 ZDU MXV SRVW EHOXP KH WHQHWV RI -XVW :DU KHRU\DUH QRW PHUHO\LPSRUWDQW IR

understanding the way modern wars are legitimised, but also for understanding the way
 WKHURPRRLWLBOQBHHLQDWHUURLFDUHNSWBOLMGOWKKRHO
 DFWLQHUW\$LBOOHLWLPDWHGHOHLWLPDWHVWKLQPDWLMUDPHENWKH
 WRHQLGLMMSURMGRVQHULQUDQHHWKDWDQMVH[LWV
 EHWVHQKHDWLQRPDWLMDWHRLHMQWQODWV KHUEGWHRLMDQ
 justifying political violence is very much a political act open to varying degrees of
 contestation.

7KLV SHUVSHFWLYH RQ WHUURULVP ZGHOXKHOG DPROJ VFKRODUV SODFHV D IRFXV RO
EKDUDFWHULVWLFV RI WKH DFWLWVHOI DFNVRO S 1DPHO WHUURULVP LOYROYHV DQ
LQGLUHFVWUDWHJXHUHERQH HQWLW WKHGLUHFWYLFWLPLVGHOLEHUDWHOWDUJHW
WRSUHVXUHDQRWKHUHQWLW WKHZGHUSXEOLFRUJRYHUOPHOWERGLHV, QWKLVDWHU
LVGHQHGVDDIRUPRIYLROHQWFRHUFLRQLQWHQGHGWRSURSDJDWHIHDUDQGLQWLPLGDV
WKHLPPHGLDWHVHFHQHRIWKHYLROHQFHRDFKLHYHSROLWLFDODLPV7KHSROLWLFDOPRV
WKHDFWVGLVWLQJXLVKWHUURULVPIURPRWKHUIRUPVRIYLROHQFHJYLROHQFH XVHGWR
FULPHIRUPROHWDU DLQVXFKDVGXULQJDQDUPHGEDQNUREEHUQDGGWLWRQWKHIDFW
WHUURULVPLQVWUXPHQWDOLJHVLWVYLFWLPLVHSDUDWHVLIURPWKH XVHRIYLROHQFH
VHHNV WRGLUHFVWGHJUDGH DQ RSSRQHQW DELOLWWRJKW -DFNVRO S VHHDOVR
6FKPLG S FRUGLQJ WRWKLV SHUVSHFWLYH WHUURULVP FRXOG EH DGRSWHG DV D
VWUDWHJEDQW SHRI RUDQLVLDLWLRQ -XVW DVLWFDQEH XVHGEORQVWDWHDFWRUVLW
HTXDOOEHXVHGEVWDWHV DV D VWUDWHJEDQLVLDLQVW HQHPLHV GXULQJ D URS HDFHWLPH
TXDVKGRPHVWLFGLVHQQ

HWJLYHQWKHFRQWHVWHGQDWXUHRIDWIRUPVRIYLROHQHFRQVWLWXWHOHJLWLPD
IRUFHODEHOOLQJDFWVVDWHUURULVPRIWHQKLOJHVRQKRWKDWTXHVWLRQRIOHJLWLPDFLV
RQH DWRUHVROYHWKHTXHVWLRQLVWKURXJKWKHXVHRIDFWRUEDVHGGHQWLWRQVWKDW
KRFDUULHVRXWWKHYLROHQFH7KHODEHOOLQJRIFHUWDLQDFWVVDWHUURULVPWKHUIRU
WRKRLVDURUGHGSROLWLFDOOHJLWLPDFDQWRXJKVXFKDQDSSURDFKWHQGVRREHIDYRXU
SROLWLFDOVQGVHFXULWRVFLDOVDV -DFNVROSSRLQVVRXWJWLVRWXQFRPPQRWR
VHHUHVHDFKHUVDGRSWDQDFWRUEDVHGGHQWLWRQLQWKHOLWHUDWXUH DUHVXOW
:HVWHUQVWDWHVFDQEHUDWLJGEWKHDXWKRLWDWLYHSURQRXQFHPHQWVRIDFDGHP
SDUWLFXODUWKH86HSDUWPHQWRI6WDWHVGHQWLWRQLFKDSSHUVDLQ7LWOHRIWKH8C
6WDWHV &RGH 6HFWLRQ IG JKH WHUP WHUURULVP-PHQV SUHPPHGLWDWHG SROLWLFDO

motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or
EDQHWLQDHOVMOOLQHQHGWRHQDQGLHHSUWPHQVNDWH
MHDORIGHUDOMHDMWLDWLQWLRQ, QLVXHWKWLH
HUHDVWHUURLFDUHQGWRQWLRQURKLEWRIDGHWDWHV
URRGHUDWLQMUWHUURLFDQWKHUESUHMUMWKHWDWHVRRQKH
OHLWLPDWHMRHQ:HEHU@

7KLGHQWLQOPMLQVHLQVHLQO7KHHSLUHWRRKH:KLWHM7DM
FRHUURLMLQDUGHWHGKHXNDQVWHPSSWVGHQ
WHUURLMVKHDMGWRHSLWKGHQWLQWHUURLFWKDWEGEHMG
throughout the government. We produced about six, and each and every case, they were
rejected, because careful reading would indicate that our own country had been involved in
RHWKNDWLKWLHNRDQGHPLSHUSHVWLMDFREDMGGHQWLQ
prove problematic in that they exclude repressive forms of political violence carried out by
governments against their own populations as well as violent actions carried out by state
PLOWDULHMDLQVOLDQDUHWKXUQWLQDUHQRDUV
KNGEHLKQXLENQDQDQDQVWHPSSWVWDWHVGHQWHUURLMLQWKDW
RQHQODEMKNQDWKHFVKHLUDHQGRREHLQGHUHGWHUURLMLQ
conceptions of terrorism ultimately rest upon the outcomes of political debates that call into
HWLQKHDNSWLQKDWQHULUGREDOODWLJGGHQWLQ

Conceptualisations of terrorism

WRQGHSQLFLWGHQWLWRQVWKHFHQWUDO IUDPHRUNVWKDWKDYHFRPPROEHHQLO
public discourse to make sense of terrorist acts are the war frame, the crime frame, or a

FRPELODWLRQRIWKHWRV/DNRuZLWHVJKHFULPHIUDPHHQWDLOVODZRXUWV
 ODKUVWULDOV VHQWHQFLOJ DSSHDOV DOG VR RO\$WHUQDWLYHOWKH DU IUDPH WDO
 HQHPLHVFDWVVOHVFDVXDOWLHVDOGKROHQDWLRQVUDWKHUWKDQMXVWLOGLYLGXDO
 JURXSV EHLQJXQGHU DWWDFN RGJHV S ,PSRUWDQWOWKHDLQKLFKDFWVRI
 terrorism are conceptualised holds implications for how governments respond. Whereas a
 violent crime is dealt with through the criminal justice system, an act of war is dealt with on
 WKHEDWWOHHOGVWKHEHMGHGHVHRH:KSRWLRQGWKHBSHWKHHMMQV
 EWKLOQKHU DPHEIDU WKHUHGLQDUVHUURGLMMHuHHLMO\
 erased the criminal justice perspective from consideration in favour of a highly militarised
 UHSWVKDWOHGWMUUDHDOZUMQDQWDDQ,UDTKHDS SURKMMZV
 without its critics; public discourse sometimes featured explicit debate over how best to
 make sense of, and respond to, terrorism, as can be seen in the following excerpt from
 B/HMGHVM\$DWHRWKHDSGUHWHGLGHV WKH
 LWDOLEMGEVHSUHMVHOHPHVKDWLNWKHELPHDQDUUDPHV

They view terrorism more as a crime, a problem to be solved mainly with law enforcement and indictments. The guilty were indicted, and tried, and convicted, and sent to prison. We view terrorism as a crime to serve our enemies with legal papers on the United States, and war is what they got.

JRWKHSHUSHVLMRVHUURLWVKHPOMWKHRSWNBOLDWLRVHUURLFDZU
 UDWKHUWKDQMLPHPHUHMooZWKWKHSRLWLBOPLWDLWLRKHLQWKHDWPLG
 SSRHWHUURLWVDWKHUWKDQHLQKHPMOMDELPLQOMH UDoo\
 SUHHUWRHVKHPMOMVDUULRWHU DOO WEHMHZGDDEPLPLQO,WEH
 MMUOORHPHGDODEUHDNUDWLWVNOKPLMEXWRHMHZGD
 DUULR,WRHMHQDKHURKOLNKPLWVWVUWLDUULREUDM
 actions for a shared cause. Likewise, given the widely accepted pejorative connotations of
 WHUURLMQUHUURLWVQHPSEDUGLMMWKMHQHGLOBLWLBOBHF
 WHKHXKMODEHOMQKWKDUULRPHOZWKFLPLQVWRHEUDQHG
 DVHUURLW,WRHWULSSHGWKHSRLWLBOOHLWLPDQURGHGUHDONGLHUDQDUULRV
 Within the framework of war, terrorism implies involvement in the excesses of war – that
 is, the types of actions routinely condemned by the tenets of MMHOORQELHGLQKH
 DNSHNDWLQCHHNRQLKHUHRHWEHDWHUURLWLWEHGHQHG
 UHRWLRQDKHURDUULRDQWEHWULSSHGRRLWLBOOHLWLPDQKLDHMQ
 though governments such as the US government may militarise their response to terrorism
 and deal with it primarily outside the criminal justice model, the discourse emphasises that
 WKHHQPRVWHUURLWVDWKHUWKDQGLHUV
 HWDDQSHUHVWH[LWEHWHZHQHUURLMQUWKHUHRHLDHMGHVMU
 WHUURDUUDWLKHHPSKDMWVKDWWKLMQKQBUHSH
 WKDWLKWDDLQDQPPKDWUHSUHMVQDGHRRBOPNPHVNDUDDLQ
 WHUURLVDDUDDLQVWHUURLWOHDGHURVWHUURLWUWHUURLMNPVH
 DQGHQKDWUHSUHMVNDUQRWLRQOLWRGHHRHS,Q
 WKLDVHUURLMLRSWNBOLMGQVWKUKWKHDUUDPHEWLWLGHGDDQ

LGHRORJRU PRYHPHQW 7KDWLV WHUURULVP FRPHV WREH VHHQ DV WKH HOGV UDWKHU WK
PHDQV 7KH VVUDWHJRRUSKVLQWRDFUHHG 7KLV GLVFXUVLYH PRYH REVFXUHV WKH SHUVSH
GLVFXVVHGH DUOLHUWKDWGHQHV WHUURULVPD VDWUDWHJRWKXQGHUOLQJSROLWLFDO
works to erase those motivations along with the socio-historical origins of the acts in favour
KHZDKHPDSYHHYOQVQVKLMWSWKHELQURSERWLRQKHDUQUUDWLM
EHWZHRDQHYOKLKKHOSMVLDDUDDLWDGHKRDQMGHP\

OWKK KHZQWHUURLF DV DQ GHORRMOO UR WKH SHUSHWLM R
politicians seeking to rally a nation to war, it fails to fully grasp the complexities of
WHUURLFDY RP SRLWLDO LRHH SLOO\SS QHWRHUO\
SHUWZ WHUURLD WUDWHW DEHHG 7HUURLWVDEDEZGHSHWURR
RDDQWLURKWDHVDQ EHOLHVHUURLFLV D LQH DDOOKHUHQ
SKRHQLDOEHQVLDQHDNHVDEODWKKLWZUHFMUDV
-DS SRQW DMSULMCEHURHMDUKHUVQSNLWVQ
DGGWLWVRRLWLDOOH DGHUNQMLWREDOQDMDSHWGKHSWBLDWLQ
WHUURLFDY WWDOLMLGHRKLPHUHO\UHLRHWKH KHZKDW WGHDO ZWK
terrorism demands war as the only viable strategy, foreclosing other understandings and
DSSURKHWWKHSUROHPHNLWSEWLRQKHDURHUURFDW\$HBUWKDW
DVML S GHELEHYDHDVYHKLQ DOO HQPLH WUDGLWLRQ NQ WR
WHQZWKRWKLRPHPHWDSKVDOWKDCPSLULDOYKHORDORHND
ZUDDLW DQEWUDW HQPLH WHUURR WHUURLPLKWH MLODU WRWKD\
KPLWVWHVWLQSDUWLDQNEHQDGHHQMWHOOKLSEWLRQDZU
DDLW DQDQWH HQP\WKDW PV Q QEH GHHDWHG EX DQKLODWHG KDQOHU
,QDQWKHDURHUURGRVHSUHMVDHQDQDUQV

exhorts, a war that disrupts traditional conceptions of war, as evidenced from various
DVLNRLHEDQOHDOWUDWHLHMDWGHZWKWKHSHVWRWRWKHM
RDOOHG H[WUDRGLQU\UHQWLWLRH NUDHQVNHG DEGMWRWKH
GHMQLWLSULQUDVYHQPREDDWQVWRWKH DGRWLRVREWH SHU WKH
HXKHLPLWDEHOMHQDGLQHUURWLRPHWKBY

OWLPDWHOWRHRMWHUURLFDQGLMMLUNLREZKWKHMVLDPWLQ
of war discussed in the next section – is to recognise that our understandings of the world
are very much dependent upon the way language operates in the service of interested
SEWLRQUMERLWLBOUHDOLWYKHQWMLRQDERDWHWKHDQDQ
serves to bring about the reality of war.

Narrative constructions of war

Central to political discourse as it relates to war is the need to legitimise the use of force and
PRELOLMUXSERWEDDPSDLRQHH7RKOGRDROQHDGHUWV
outline a history and construct an image of events and actors in the world that brings the
JRWKHLQWDELOLWVMDUUDWLMMLDSULPHPDVQUGWKMHQWU
DOOHARDQHHS[SHULHQDQPHPRKRDQDSSHQDLQLQKHRP
QUUDWLMWRLHMMPWKVHDQGRDQGRDQNU
S:LWKWKLVLQQLQDQHQGHV *mythopoesis* as one of four
major legitimisation strategies.

7KHSURQUUDWLMMLUNLQKHUWDQLWKHOGRHMRWKH
RPHRQUUDWLMMDMHOVMDSDKDWLQUUDWLMU
MHQMPSOPLUURLHMVDM[WHUQOUHUUHQVMDQSRQW
WKLMDWKDWHMQUHMKVWHGHQVORRDOOSULRWWKHQUUDWLMWKDWUHQ

WKHPKROGVHYHQIRUJEWLROQDOQDUUDWLYHV7KLVLHZVKHOSHGDORQJEWKHODQJXDJHLGH
RIUHIHUIHQWLDOLVP6LOYHUUVVHLOQLFKPDLQWDLOVWKDWKWHUROHRIODQJXDJHLVVLPS
FRQYHLQIRUPDWLROSDUHVXOWWHYHQWVDUHSRVLWLRQHGVDVUHH[LVLWLOQLQIRUPDWLROV
1DUUDWLYHEHFRPHVWKHWRRWRGRWKHUHSRUWLQJRVWHQVLEOMHSUHVHQWLQJWKHHV
DWUDQVSDUHQWPDQQOHUHWVGLVFRXUVHVFKRODUVZGHONVHFRJQLVHQDUUDWLYHGRHM
UHAFWDSUHH[LVLWLOJRUOGEXWGLVFXUVLYHOFRQVWUXFWVWKDWRUOGZHKWKHUWKHJ
RUOGRIOLWHUDWXUHURWKHUHDORUOGRIHYHUGDLQWHUDFWLRO,QWKLWHQVHDVXP
S H[SODLQVHYHQWV DUH QRW WKH H[WHUQDO UDZPDWHULDOV RXW RI KLFK QDUUDWLY
FRQVWUXFWHGEXWUDWKHUWKHUHYHUHV(YHQWVDUHDEVWUDFWLROVIURPQDUUDWLYH
RIVLJQLFDWLRQLQODUUDWLYHWKDWJLYHFRKHUHQFHWRHYHQWVLRXUXQGHUVDQO

words, through the use of narrative, we give meaning to the people, places and events that
MURKPLQUNDRWGHQREIDUHLQODWLVWKHPDWULEXWLO
PWLWLVWKHURQSUQGLH[SODQWLWKHGOGLQKZOLM,PSRWDQO
this narrative process provides an important means for constructing social reality in line
ZWKRRDQKHUURVHKHOG

,WKHPOOWBUPWKHWLWFKDW RHUDWHWRDQVWKH SKOLQV RDU LQ
GHPRDEHWKHMVLPWLDUQMPERLHGLQGUDPDWLQUDWLMURKCLKQ
WQQURHQLM[WUDFVHGDPSEHOO-DPLHSPLOVKGUDPDWLF
WDUWLSPVWKHQUDWLMKDWDEBQDOHWWHUPDSUHESLWDWLMQV
7KLMQ UHSUHMVDEUHDKURWKHBRDOH[SHVDWLQMGDQLHVVU
,WKHPOOWBUPUDWLMVHKHDUMGEBUHMGHQWKLEUHDKRUHSRWR
KDWLMQULDEOGHMLEHGDQVMDZUHMV KDWLQVHOLEHUDWHQVQV
RLQRDQVQVWKVZUQRHES7KHSUHESLWDWLMQV

forms the *casus belli*IRUWKHLPHQGLQJFRQAFWVHWWLQJXSDPLQWLUUHVSRQVHDVQHFHV
DQGLQHYLWDEOHYHQILLWLVVDLGVREHUHJUHWVDEOH)XUWKHUPRUHLWSRVLWLRQVWKH
DJJUHVVURZKRVWUWHGWKHFROAFWDQGWKHUHSRVLWLRQVWKHQDUUDWRUWVGLGHVVL
VHOIGHIQFHQVKDUHGFQXOSDELQWIRUEULQJLQJDERXVWKHFROAFWLVGHQDOWZLWKWU
ideological process of *erasure*ZKHUHEVDFWVWKDW DUH LQFRQVLVHQWZLWKWKH LGHRORJL
VFKHPHHLWKHUJR XQQRWLFHGRU JHW H[SODLQHG DZDQYUHQH DO S KDWLV
UHJDUGOHVVRIZKHWKHUWKHQDUUDWRUWUROHLQWKHFROAFWLVGHQVLYHRURuHQVLYH
WKHQDUUDWLRQZRUNVRSRVLWLRQLWWULFWODVGHQVLYHRGJHVSKHFQVWUXFWLRO
RWKHEDOOWRDUPVQDUUDWLYHLQWKLVPDQQHUZRUNVWRMXVWLQXEVHTXHQWPLQWLUU
with the tenets of MNGEHOONGHSS±

MHQHUHQUDWLMVGHSLWDWHPSRDOWUDQVLRQVWDRWDLUWRQKHU
KSDWKVWKLWUDQVLRQDLOVHQLDMULHRDWHMVDWKH
EDLVWKHQUDWLMQUUDWLMVQOEHWKHRLHQDWHG R H[DPSOH QLUH
H[DPLQWKHQUDWLMVWKHVKHLQWLRQMKLWGRHQVCLKMUMWR
OHLWLPHQDORDOXUHPDQDPLQWLUU\$KULUHS7KHH[LHQ

for the future-orientated narrative is the need to convince a US public expectant of a lasting
SWRG:DUSHDFRQVHGHQVHGUDQVWKUHDWQDQVRLUHS
VLEWVQVSRVLLQHDMGPLQWLUU[SHQLWKHV
and postures.

WDEOMKHNQVWKLQVROHGRQUUDWLMMPWRHSHDWWKHPMOMMUDQ
NUDDLQVQVLUHUHQUDWLMVVRDQ,VKHU RGVVRDQ
GHMLEHWKHUHLQHUWDLQHUHHRUHDEULWLVQKHUDBLQVWKLQV
WHUPHQHRLHQVDPHQVVRQVLRQKGHOLQV
RKHDPVVRDQHQVLDG VKH KHUPHQVWLVWDMf making sense of
KRDQDSSHQVUSVRRSUHDEULWVHGHEULEDPHQVWKH

YRQ&ODXVHZW]& On war3ULQFHWRQ@LYHUVLW3UHVV3ULQFHWRQ1-
:DOJHU0 -XVWDQGXQMXVWZDUVPRUDODUJXPHQWZLWKKLVWRULFDOLOOXVWUDWLRQV@VL
IHZRUN
:DOJHU0 Arguing about warDOH@LYHUVLW3UHVVIHZ@YHQ&7
:HEHU0The vocation lectures @FNHWW3XEOLVKLQJ,QGLDQDSROLV,1
:RGDN 5@VWRU@LQ WKH PDNLQJ@KH PDNLQJ RI KLVWRU@KH #UPDQ :HKUPDFKW@LQ
FROOHFWLYHDQGLQGLYLGXDOPHPRUL@HVL@XVW@L@S@#

Index

0 Indignados *PRYHPHQW*±
2UZHO0

\$VDNHKROGHU(QJDJHPHQWWDQGDUG

EEDV0DKPXG

EHUFURPELH,GD

DFDGHPLDVFKRODVWLFIDOODF±

Academic Discourse *RXUGLHX*

*DND*DELOLW±

±

*DND*DWLRLGLVMMQ

PRWDHGHDOXWRKHPHV

SULPLWLMSULDWLWLDWH

*RGD*MWV

actio *GHOLYHU*\

DFWLRQVFKHPDV

DFWLRQVRFDOWKHRURI

DFWLYHSDVLYHGLFKRWRPRIDJHLQJ

see also aging

DWRQWENKHE\

SEKHEEH:

*SEWLUUQGNWLR*RPDP

*DGMU*ULDOLMPPR

*DGMU*ULDOPV

*DGMUWLMRPLWVUDH*SWLRQ

ENRQLMM

OHLWLPDWLRQPREDOHBOEWLRQ

URHPRHODWKRLWUDGLWLWUHMQ

*MRQ*HUV

DuHW

±

*DHLQ*WLMSDMGLKWR\

DUHDWLQRKHQDWLWUDWHI

*END*DULHEHWZHRQRG

*BOH*WLMDWLQHHPDUBWLRQ

*URGH*PHQLD±

*GH*LSWLRLKWRLHV

*GLMR*DWHHQV

topos of

*QR*DUH *topos*RI@DWXUDO

preferences, *topos*RISKVLFDO

*LGHQ*WLFDWLWRQDQGVRPDWLVDWLRQ±

*SROL*WLFDOUHVSRQVLELOLWIRUSROLWLVRI

*SURE*OHPDWLVDWLRQEHODWLRQDO

*LGHQ*WLFDWLWRQEHVSHFWDQGGJJQLW\

responsibility, *topos*RI@JHQF\

*DJJUH*JDWLRQ

*DJJUH*VVLYHTXHVWLRQLQJ

*DJU*HHPHQWverstandnissee

Habermas

*KU*UHSHUDDQ

*SWN*QDLUL

*SHW*HWDUH

*DO*HDWEPDWLUDGLalso *SWK*XVVHU

*SHY*LV

*DO*JRULWKPVDXVVXUHDQDQDQ/DFDQLDQ

*DOL*HQWLRsee also Lacan

*SOLD*ERHHHPEDWY

*DOOL*WHUDWLRQ

*SWK*MUREDMXHUWUMKH

GLuHUHQREDPEPEPE

*LGH*ORBDWDWHDSSDUDWY

*LGH*ORFHSUHMWDWHDSSDUDWY

*SW*DWHWKH±

BHULFDQLVP
 BpU\HDQ
 6\$VWUDOLDQRQSURVWSURJUDPPH
 DQDORJRRUDOHYDOXDWLRQV-
 DQDOWLFRVRSRZU)RXFDXOW-
 DQDSKRUD-
 \$&BULFDQ1DWLRQDO&RQJUHVV
 DQFKRUDJHSODQH-
 QFLHQWUHHFHQFLHQWUHHNVUKHWRULF
 LQsee also rhetoric
 RHVSRH±
 QUHRO\
 DVDFN± see also Laclau
 VRLQWLRW
 V'KURR'KHH'HPSEDU\
 anti-austerity protests 544-5
 anti-globalisation 544
 DQWLPGLM±
 DQWMLPLWLF see also
 IDVFLVPIDJLVPUDFLVP
 \$&2:RUOGZLGH
 DSSHDOWRSLWDODDF\
 DSSODXVH±
 DSSURSULDWLRQFRQFHSWRIZKLODGHOSKLDVWUDOLDQSDUOLDPHQWalso
 VFKRROGLVWULFW±
 \$XLQDVKRPDV
 \$DELFOQJXDJH±
 \$DESULQJ
 DUFKDRORJ)RXFDXOGLDQSHUVSHFWLYH
 Archaeology of Knowledge, The)RXFDXOW
 ±
 \$FKHU0DUJDUHW±
 \$HQGWBQQDKSROLWLFDOSRZHU±
 argumentatio DUJXPHQWDWLRQsee also
 argumentation and argumentation analysis
 DURHQDWLRQPHPRDWM
 SHHKHGHWLWPHQ
 RHKRGHUMQPDOORE
 ORBOWUN'KHDDQM
 DURHQDWLRQOMQDPLQ
 HWDQKSHHKEELWLBOLM
 QOMQ±
 GLNMDQOMQEPDO
 WLRQPEWUMKDO
 PHDQPDWLMDSSUBKHV
 SDWWHUHQHMQ see also
 political discourse
 DURHQDWLRQHPDV
 DURHQDWLWUUDWHLHV
 DURHQMPWLMOHQHDOODEK
 LQWLR LQYHQWLRQ
 VFKHPDVVHPDQWLFVRIWUXFWXUHV
 RIWZRVLGHVRI

argumentum ad misericordiam DSSHDOWRSLW\
 \$LVWRWOHBUJXPHQWV
 PDQDVSROLWLFDODQLPDOH'KHWRULF
 DUPVUDFH
 DUWLFXODF\
 DUWLFXODWLRQFRQFHSWRIDFODX±
 DUWLWVLFZULWLOJ
 DUWVRIGLVWULEXWLRQ)RXFDXOW±
 \$DGDODO
 \$LDJOREDOLVDWLRQDQG
 Assessment Report \$&&
 DVQXPUHIXJHHOHJLVODWLRQ
 DVQXPVHHNHUV.RVRYHUV@DUUDWLYHV

 Atlanta Constitution, The
 Atlanta Journal, The
 DXGLHQFHVSDUOLDPHQWU\
 \$JXVWLQHRILSSR
 DXVWHULWPHWDSKRU
 DXVWHULW\$ROLFLHVDVFURVV(XURSHLQEHFHFH
 LQ6DLQLQWKHLWGH.LQJGRP
 ±
 \$VWUDOLDQSDUOLDPHQWalso
 SDUOLDPHQV
 \$ULDRPHPRDWM'HHKHV
 \$ULDQDUOLDPHQ see alsoSDUOLDPHQW
 DXWKHQWLFSHUVRQDOLWLHV±
 DXWKHQWLFW±
 DXWKRULVHGLQWHUUXSWLRQV
 DXWKRULWQHJLWLPDWLRQDXWKRULWRI
 FRQIRUPLWDXWKRULWRIWUDGLWLRQ
 FRPPHQGDWLRQOHJLWLPDWLRQ±
 LPSHUVRQDODXWKRULW@HJLWLPDWLRQE\
 FXVWRPERUDOHYDOXDWLRQ
 OHJLWLPDWLRQSHUVRQDODXWKRULW±
 DXWRQRPFLYLFROOHFWLYHLOGLYLGXDO
 SHUVRQDOSULYDWH

 EDFNVWDJHRISROLWLFV
 ±
 DFRQ)UDQFLV
 DUWKHVRQDQG±
 DUWOHWW-RVLDK9FKDUDFWHU
 VSHHFKHVsee alsoFWLRQDOLVDWLRQ
 DUWROLODWWKHZ
 EDVHVSDFH
 EDVHVXSHUVWUXFWXUHQWKKXVHU@DPVFL
 ODU[±
 DVWLOOHVWRUPLQJRI-XO\
 HDXYRLU6PRQGH
 HFNHQHQ

~~W~~JULÜVJHVFLFKM *also*
 conceptual history
 EHOHWLWLP ~~PH~~PHQ
 EHOR ~~DE~~DELDQHEUHD ~~DD~~HV
 ,MDHOLSRLWOD ~~R~~HQDQ
 EWLH ~~HL~~SSRLWLK
~~MD~~PLQOWHU±
 MUHU-RQ
 MUHUBIWHUN ~~DK~~RQDY
 MUO ~~MO~~MR
 MUQ ~~ED~~QHR
 billboards: discourse-historical approach to
 W ~~EL~~LKHDWKHUOD ~~Q~~DUW±
 DMQH ~~RL~~WLBD ~~DF~~WLQV
 PØWL ~~P~~SDOWH|W ~~W~~KH ~~H~~WUR
 RKH ~~W~~KH5DGL ~~DB~~DUW\
 BHKLD ~~K~~ *see also*
 Ukrainian parliamentary election campaign

EL ~~OR~~BOUDE ~~F~~V
 EL ~~RL~~LWL ~~F~~
 EL ~~RU~~
 @DLUK
 @DLU7 ~~PH~~HGHOPH ~~V~~
 ±
 EODPHD ~~K~~GDH±
 EODPHDPH ~~RS~~SWR
 @D ~~QU~~HDV
 @R ~~D~~UF
 EONGOH ~~D~~UQ
 EON ~~OK~~DOSUM *see also* press
 conference
 EOR
 EOROLEHO *see also* antisemitism
 @HN ~~U~~DLK
 W ~~W~~KLX
 @WD ~~N~~K
 ERQ
 Borgen ~~V~~HULHV±
 FRPSDULVRQZLWK *West Wing, The*

Boston Transcript
 R ~~X~~UGLHX3LHUUH ~~F~~WLRQVRFLDOWKHRU ~~R~~IFDOOWRDUVP
 FDSLWDO ~~E~~ODVVUDFLVP
 GLVFRXUVHD ~~Q~~DOVLVHPRWLRQVGLVUH ~~J~~DLQPHURQDYLGRQFRPSHWLWLRQ
 IRUIDWDLVP ~~H~~OGV ~~H~~OGV
 RIVWUXJJOH ~~H~~DPHVKDELWXDWLRQ
 KDELWXV±
 KHJHPRQLQWHUDFWLRQLVWDSURDFKHV
 PDUNHWV ~~V~~LUHFRJQLWLRQ±
 SROLWLFDOGLVFRXUVH ~~V~~FKRODVWLFIDOO ~~S~~DUOLDPHQV
 V ~~L~~JQL ~~H~~UDQGVLJQL ~~H~~GVRFLDO
 WKHRU ~~V~~RIWIRUPVRIGRPLQDWLRQ

VWUDWHJQRWLRQRIVXEPDUNHWV
 VPEROLFSRZHU ~~V~~PEROLFSURV
 VPEROLFYLROHQFH *see also* dominant
 classes
 EUDLQH ~~W~~GHULKW ~~W~~GH
 W ~~D~~QW:LOO\
 EUHDWKL ~~H~~MPME
 W ~~L~~WDL ~~Q~~ United Kingdom
 W ~~L~~WLK ~~D~~WLRQ ~~DB~~DUW±
 EURGKHHWV
 W ~~W~~KHU-R ~~W~~KDQ
 W ~~R~~GR
 EHOHWL ~~R~~UGV
 @ ~~D~~Q
 M ~~K~~DUGW ~~S~~PLQ
 M ~~D~~GPLQWUDWLR
 M ~~H~~RH:ELPH
 D ~~Q~~DUODPHSUH ~~H~~UHV
 M ~~W~~L ~~R~~ ~~D~~WLR ~~R~~GH ~~N~~WDWLR
 :DUR ~~H~~UUR *see: DURQ ~~H~~UURU*
 EXVLQHVVRUSRUDWHPHHLQJV
 X ~~W~~OHU-XGLWK
 EVWDQGHUV

 FDFNOH±
 & ~~R~~QYHUVDWLRQ ~~Q~~DOVLV ~~V~~FWLRQV
 @ ~~Q~~DOWL ~~F~~ODLPV ~~DS~~SODXVH
 @ ~~R~~RLQ ~~J~~EROHF ~~W~~LRQVGLUHFV
 LQWHUDFWLRQDOHQFRXQWHUV ~~H~~[HPSODU\
 VWXGLHV ~~E~~GHQWLWFRQVWUXFWLRQ
 LQWHUDFWLRQVWXGRIMRXU ~~Q~~DOLVWLF ~~D~~QG
 LQIRWDLQPHQWLQWHUYLHZV ~~Q~~DQJDXJH
 SUDFWLFWPHHHLQJV ~~H~~WKRGROR\
 @ ~~H~~ZVFRQIHUHQFHV±
 SDUWLFSDWRUGHPRFUDFPHHLQJV
 SROLWLFDOVSHHFKHV ~~S~~UDFWLFWH
 TXDQWLWDWLYHH|WHQVLRQV ~~T~~XHVWLRQ ~~D~~Q
 DQVZHUVH ~~V~~LRQVUDGLRSKRQH ~~L~~QV ~~K~~RZV
 V ~~H~~TXHQFHVRIDFWLRQWDVNVDQG
 QRUPVWXUQWDNLQJV ~~V~~HPV
 & ~~D~~OGLFRWW ~~H~~OHQ
 FDOODQGUHVSROVHVRQJVWUXFWXUH
 & ~~D~~PEULGJH ~~K~~RROR
 ERPSHWLWLRQ ~~R~~QWKHGHEWFULVLV
 JOREDODFHPHWDSKRUORNLQJ
 IRUZDUGVSHHFKODJQD & DUWDVSHHG
 UH ~~H~~UHQFHVRQWD ~~I~~DWLRQ
 & ~~D~~PHURQLDQ ~~3~~DUOLDPH ~~H~~QW ~~S~~o
 S ~~D~~UOLDPH ~~H~~QV
 @ ~~P~~SDL ~~Q~~ ~~R~~LW ~~DB~~±
 @ ~~P~~SDL ~~Q~~ ~~V~~HU ~~H~~X

&DPSEHOOFHUIJH
 FDQGLGDWHPHWDSKRUV
 FDQGLGDWHSROLWLFDOOLNHDELOLWSHUVRODOLQUENLULHULF
 LGHQWLWRISHUVRODOLPSUHVLRQ
 PDQDJHPHQWVEVLWHVSHUVRODOLVEVLWHVSWWUWVNDOLWDSURKHMHR
 SROLWLFDOVHOIFXHVWLRQ
 HYDVLRLQLQLQWHUHLVZVHOISUHVHVHQWDLWVWMLLWLFK
 &DOJXLOKHPPHUIJH
 FDSLWDOXUGLHXVLDOQPHWDSKRU-
 FDSLWDOAKW-
 FDSLWDOJOREDO
 FDSLWDOJVP-
 &3(
 FXOWXUDOSROLWLFDOHFRQRPDSSURDFK
 LQWUHQDWRQDO
 FDUERQVLQNLQJ
 FDUHDFWLYHSDVVLHGFLKRWRP\
 DJUHJDWRQDUJXPHQWDWLRQVWUDWHKULWLDQW±
 GLFKRWRPLHVORYLQJFDUH *topos* KHUR
 QWSDOSUHHUHV *toposRI* EWLHOPHOK
 SROLWLFDOUHSRQVLELOLWIRUUHODWIRUWVNDOPHGLDDQ,±
 LGHQWLFDWLRQ#HVSQVLELOLWsee
also ageing
caricatura
 FDULFDWXUHVGHQLWLRQRULJLQVRI
 DVWRROIRUFDUWRRLVWsee *also*
 SRLWLBOBULDWKHV
 DUOQHUK
 DUUDEDEDOHBUUDEWLR
 DUWHU-LPP\
 DUWRQHQLWLRKWKHHQKHQK\
 KLWLRQSDSHU
 QWHHQKHQKXKRWKHURRH
 M\WHHQKHQKXVQLHWK
 HQWVWQVWVHQ±
see also political cartooning
 DUWRWVULBWKHDWRB
 DUWRQHQLWLRGLWLRDO
 single-panel 455
 DUWRWVULBWKHO
 DWHEPDDHPHQ
 KLWLBOLMMQOV
 ±
 RSDULWVK
 DURKHDWLRQOV
 LQHJUDWLRQHQDWLRQHHLWQ
 SRLWLBOBULBWLBO
 GLMMDSRLWLBOODQHHDQ
 WLR
 KLWLBOLMMV&LHV
 DSSURKHEWKLQ
 MULMKLKVH DQGLHVDQ
 WKHRELWLBO7KHRLRHR
 GLMMKLWLRBODSSURK
 RDESDOLQUENLULHULF
 LQHQLWLRQLF
 SWWUWVNDOLWDSURKHMHR
 HHe *also* CL-CDS
 WMLLWLFK
 HOHEULWWDOMKQVHULH±
 WUDOKRHDSDUOLDPHQV *see also*
 SDUOLDPHQV
 KDFRUPH±
 KDLRKHQHV *see also* Laclau
 KDLUSHURHHWLQ *see also* meeting
 KLGHWHUDYG
 KLOWRQ
 KLQLOOHDOMUWLPHODENDEM
 KLWUHWHWV
 KULWLDQW±
 KHUR
 EWLHOPHOK
 WVDOPHGLDDQ,±
 EWLHQLSDWR
 DuHWLMHPWLRQGLPHQ
 GHPRDQDKDELWX
 DQVHUDWLRQDRSOLKPHQ
 QDQDQEHORQ
 QWLQOLWQELKWDQGWLHV
 DWDX
 EWLHQRWLRHPRWLR
 EHWLWLF
 EHWLR
 EMEHQLW\
 EMFLH
 EYOLDWLR
 EYULKWV
 EYOMUDVLPSPDUWLDOLWNR
 ODQH
 QDGLPHQDPLR *see*
also class struggle; social class
 class antagonism 4
 QDSYUWLHQLV
 QDQDEF
 QDWUHQHQDQUDUH±
 RGLHQHWLRQRHHHWLR
 LQDLQ
 RHLQRHHHWLR *see also*
 LQQLW\
 QDMOPKF
 classical myths and sagas 577
 RWMLEWLRKLWLBQ
 LMMV&LHMQMK
 RSWBOLDWLRQLMMELWLBQ

- OHWDSKRUCDOVLVGLuHUHQFHVZWK
 VRFLRFJQLWLHYHDSSURDFKHVLFVFRXUVH
 6SDFH7KHRULMPDJHVFVKHPDDQDOVLV
 PHQWDSURFHVVVHV
 PXOWLPRGDODSSURDFKHVSRLQWRIYLHZ
 VSHFLFDWLRQV-
 SROLWLFDOSURWHVWVWVHFLSURFDO
 FRQVWUXFWLRQVUHJXODUWUDQVLWLHY
 FRQVWUXFWLRQV
 &OHDO&ORWKHV&DPSDLQ
 &OHJ1LFN
 &OLuRUG-DPHV
 &OLPDWHFWLRQ&DPSV
 FOLPDWHFKDQJHFRQVWUXFWLRQRI
 VFLHQWLFJNQDZHGJHFRQWUROVULFKHU
 FRXQWULHVRSSRVLWLRQWRFUXFLDOUROHRE
 VFLHQFHDQGVFLHQWLVVWGHQLDO-
 LVFRXUVHFWWRULFDOSURDFK\$
 GLVFXUVLYHRXWORRNLPDFWRQ
 VPDOOLVODQGVWDWHVLLVXHVRSQWR
 UHVHDFKPHGLDDWWHQWLRQ
 OXOWLPRGDOLVFRXUVHDOVLV
 VFHSWLFVFLHQFHDQGSROLWLFVRI-
 WHFKQLFDQDWXUHRIUHSRUWDJHWHFKQ
 managerialism and alternative discourses
 ±
 QLPDWH-WLHMPHQ
 QLVROODUQLQ
 QHHHPDWLRLQWLQ
 HPLQSSUDWLHMLQWL
 GRDLQLWLWOHDVNLG
 :LWKKH:HW
 QLVROODPLQMW±
 QWKKHHPDSDLP
 QSWWODWDSKE7KHE\
 QHEN
 QHUKKXK±
 QLQWHRLHV
 QUER
 QWLMUDPPDU
 Cognitive Linguistic Critical Discourse Studies
 see CL-CDS
 QWMLLQWL
 QD&D
 QOHWLMDFLQRF
 collective autonomy 45
 QOHWMLGHLW\
 QOHWLMsRLWLDBQMHV
 collective self-determination 45
 collective solidarity 45
 QOHWLMNUHLV±
 QOHWLMZOOQPDWLQ
 QOHWLMDWLRQ
 QORWHY
 QOKDOODQH
 QRDOLF±
 QRDOWHUULWRLHV
 RLEN
 RLFUWIRPHDQ
 GHQWLQLLWDOEPDHV
 QSDSHUQHSDFQ
 WHUHWSHNRHKQ
 RLWULSQZDSHU
 RPHPDWLQMPQWLPRDO
 MPLWLFURHQHQ± *see also*
 political commemoration
 RPHPDWLQEDQ
 RPHPDWLMSHHKHDSRRHQ
 DUHQDWLRQ *argumentatio*
 GHOLEHUDWLYHSXUSRVHVRIHSLGHLFWLF
 SXUSRVHVRIIDLOLQJQDOSDUW
peroratio LQWURGFWLRQ HIRUGLXP
 QDUUDWLQJ *ratio* SXUSRVHRIURU
 VRPHWKLQJ *probatio* DJDLQVWRPHWKLQJ
refutatio
 FRPPHQGDWLROHJLWLPDWLRQ *see also*
 Regitimation
 RPLWNUHQVRLQ
 RPHPE\
 RPDWLQHWDOQDEHUPDV
 -UHQVEDOSKOLF
 MUEDO *see also* government
 communication
 communicative action and discourse ethics,
 model of 4; *see* Habermas
 RPDWLMsK
 communicative rationality, democracy and
 DUHHPHQ *Einverständnis*
 FRPPXQLFDWLQ *Verständigung*
 LQWHOOLJLELQW *Verständlichkeit*
 UHVVRQ *Verstand*
 XQGHUVWDQGLQJ *Verstehen see also*
 Habermas
 RPDWLMUHDM
 RPHQKLSLQ
 SDUOLDPHQ
 RPDWLHDFLHEDPHN
 RPDWHMR
 RSDMLQWHDHLF *see also* aging
 RSHWLWLQMGPHUR
 QPDOLWLQ
 RSHWLWLQHWDSKEV
 competitiveness 544
 RSHWLWLM5DHPHWDSKRY
 QH[WNOLQPDWLQMG

&DPHURQRQLQWHUQDWLRQDOSHUIRUPD
 (GOLOLEDQGRQFRPSHWLQJQDWLRQV-
 JOREDOUDFHÖHDJXH
 WDEOHVPHWDSKRUNHUGVUDFH
 UDWUDFH-
 FRPSXWDWLRQDOOLQJXLVWV-
 FRPSXWHUDLGHGWH[WXDODQDOVLV
 FRQFHSWVEDLVFRXQWHUFRQFHSWV
 GHPRFUDWLVDWLROGLWULEXWLRQDO
 LQVHUWLRQLQWRLGHRORJLHVSROLWFLVD
 VXSUDFRQFHSWWHPSRUDOLVDWLRQRI
 WRWDOLVLRUGVUDQG
 FRQFHSWXDOKLVWRUFWLRODQGFROWH[W
 EDLVFRQFHSWVDQGSROLWLV
 distinction between semantics and pragmatics
 ÖDÖHÖLWLVÖQ
 ÖDÖRÖDÖSSÖURÖK
 SUDPDWLVÖHHUÖHÖ±
 UHHUÖHÖLDOLWUHSUHMÖDÖWLVÖQ
 ÖDOKLVÖFDÖQ see also
 HJULüVJHVFKLFKWH
 FRQFHSWXDOLVDWLRQÖHYHÖVRIPHÖWDO
 UHSUHVHÖQÖDWLVÖQ
 FRQFHSWXDOPDSSLÖQJV
 FRQFHSWXDOPHWDSKRUV
 DUHDVRIFRQWHVWHLGHRORJLFDORXWÖRÖD
 FRXQWLVFRQWDLÖQHULPPLJUDWLRQLVÖRÖG
 ÖLÖIHUÖHÖFHVRILÖQWHUÖQDWLVÖQDO
 ÖDÖFLDÖFULVLPVPRWLYDWLRQVRIWÖDWH
 DVFRQWDLÖQH
 &RQFHSWXDÖÖHWDSKRUKHRU&07&07
 &RQFHSWXDÖÖHWDSKRUKHRU\
 FRQFLVHÖQDUUDWLVÖHÖnarrative
 ÖGÖDÖQ see corpus analysis
 ÖHÖWLVÖQ
 ÖHÖMÖQ
 ÖWVKHR\
 ÖPLWÖHLWLPDWLVÖQ see also legitimation
 ÖWLVMDWLVÖRF
 ÖMÖMÖPHGLDWLVÖMÖG
 ÖWLVÖQ
 ÖWHÖDÖQÖV see corpus analysis
 ÖWLVWLVÖQÖDÖZHÖPRÖDÖQÖ±
 ÖHÖWÖDÖQÖMÖUWLVWLVÖLWLVÖQ
 DSSURÖKÖGHÖDÖLÖWVKWH[WVY
 GHMORPHÖVRDÖQHÖWLVÖHUHV
 SÖSMÖRHÖDGLÖPHWÖHÖQKHÖLÖHV
 WHKÖMÖR
 ÖH[WPHDÖQÖ
 ÖUDHSWLVÖGÖMUWLVÖMÖQ
 ÖUDWUKHWLVÖÖGÖHÖMÖH
 ÖVLVÖKHÖWVKHRÖH
 ±
 ÖDÖWLVÖQÖLÖDÖWLVÖQ
 ÖUDWLVÖQÖMÖÖe&\$
 &RQYHUVDWLVÖQÖDÖVLV
 FRRFFXUUHÖQÖFDÖQÖDÖVLÖÖe corpus analysis
 ÖHÖDÖHÖPLV
 ÖSRDÖÖsee also corpus analysis
 ÖSRDÖWLVÖDÖRÖLDÖWLVÖQ see also
 ÖSRDÖWHÖRÖDÖSHÖVÖQÖEÖLÖWV\
 ÖSMÖQÖMÖDÖWLVÖDÖWUDWHÖ
 ÖSRÖKÖHÖWÖRHÖQÖWÖK
 ÖGDÖDÖRÖSMÖLÖWLVÖQ
 ÖUDWLVÖRÖSMÖLÖWLVÖQ
 ÖUDWLVÖQÖH[LÖRHÖWLVÖMSÖX
 EDMÖGDÖSSÖURÖKHÖMÖMÖULÖMÖQ
 DSSÖURÖKHÖMÖLÖMÖMÖWÖL\
 LÖQHÖWLVÖRÖSHÖPDÖQ
 ÖGLOHPPDÖWLVÖRÖSX
 UHMÖDUÖKÖMÖQSÖURÖGÖKHÖR
 ÖPSÖLÖWLVÖKHÖRÖSMÖQÖWLVÖDÖQ
 ÖHÖLÖWLVÖDÖWHÖRÖLÖHV
 PHWVKÖSHÖULÖÖLÖMÖGLÖVÖDEÖSX
 RSDÖULÖKÖLÖKÖKHÖHÖQ
 SRÖDÖULÖWÖHÖKÖMÖHÖWLVÖQ
 DSSÖURÖKHÖMÖHÖH[WÖRÖHÖWLVÖQ
 ÖHÖMÖMGDÖSSÖURÖKHÖMÖHÖMÖG
 ÖSSÖURÖKHÖMÖQÖLÖWLVÖDÖGLÖMÖM
 ÖMÖLÖWLVÖQÖDÖDÖQ
 ÖUDWLVÖQÖH[LÖDÖKRÖH
 ÖULÖQÖR
 CosmopolitanPDJD[LÖQ
 FRVPRÖSÖLÖWDÖQ
 FRVPRÖSÖLÖWDÖQLVÖDWLVÖRÖQÖQ
 &RVSHGÖDÖDÖULÖDRÖRUHVHÖG
 &RXÖQÖFLÖRI(XÖURSH
 &3(FXÖWXÖUDÖSÖRÖLÖWLVÖDÖHÖFRÖQÖPÖDÖSSÖURÖDFK
 IHDWXUHVRI±
 &ULPHD±
 FULPHIUDPHRIWHUURULVP
 FULVLVFRQFHSWRI
 FULVLVFRÖMÖXÖQÖFWXUHV
 FULVLVGLVFRXUVHVWÖXGLÖQÖ±
 FULVLVMRXUÖQDÖLVWV
 FULVLVÖDEHÖV
 FULVLVÖDÖUUDWLVÖHÖalso narrative
 ÖLÖWÖKÖHÖPÖQ
 ÖLÖWLVÖDÖLÖMÖWÖLÖHÖ see CDS
 ÖLÖWLVÖDÖLÖMÖWÖLÖHV
 ÖLÖWLVÖDÖH[SÖDÖQÖWLVÖQ
 ÖLÖWLVÖDÖHÖWDSKÖRÖDÖMÖV
 ÖLÖWLVÖDÖRÖR see also)RXFDXÖW
 &ULWLVÖDÖRÖFLDÖQÖDÖVLV
 &ULWLVÖDÖKÖHRU)±

FULWLTXH

-

PHDQLQJRI

SURVSHFWLYHUHWURVSHFWLYH

VRFLRGLDJQRVWFLWH[WLPPLQDQW

&URFHVHQHGHWWWR

Cromwell, Oliver 454

EKH see religion

EKMDRH

EKWDOLKWKristallnacht) VWDWHSRJURP

seeDQWLHPLWLVPIJLVP

&RUSRUDWHRFLDOFVRSQVLELOLW\

FRGHUXVKFRQMXQFWXUHERUSRUDWLRQVRSXOLVPDQGEHFLSURFLW\

EURDGHQLQJRIGHYHORSHPHQWRIQRUP DQGEHJXODWLRQDQGE

EDVHGVFKHPHVVDQGDUGVQHROLEHUDVHOIGHWHUPLQDWLRQDQGEVRFLO

UHLQYHQWLRQVLFQFHWKHVHLVN

PDQDJPHQWDQGVRFLODULVNV±

VWDNHKROGHUODQJXDJHVDQGSUDFWLHVSDWLVWVDVJH

VWDNHKROGHUWKHRU\DOODUW

:DOODUWLVDWLRQDQGe also

stakeholders

EKWDOBSLWDO± see alsoEKUGLHX

FXOWXUDOJOREDOLVDWLRQ

FXOWXUDOSROLWLFDOHFRQVPE

EKWDOBSLWLBQHRDSSURK

EKRHUWLDWLRQ

EKROHLWLPDWLRQ± see also

legitimation

EKHUUHGVLEKLOGKR

SULBOV

DKO5RHUW

Daily Telegraph±

Danish politics see Borgen VVHULHVIERUJ

UJLWWHFKDUDFWHU

DUZLQ&KDUOHV

Dasein EHLQJWKHUH see also Habermas

GDWDKRWWR

Daumier, Honoré 454

DWBKPHW

DREHUDWLRQ\

debates in parliament see parliamentary debates

GHEMRNDQPHHWLRQ± see

meetings

GHODPDWLRQ

De doctrina Christiana EKXVWLQHRIESSR

GHIHQVLYHOHDUQLQJ±

GHOHJLWLPDWLRQ

GHOHJLWLPDVLVDWLRQ

GHOLEHUDWLRQGHQLWLRQGHPRFUDFDQGLFKRWRPLHV± see also aging

EKHWRULFDODUJXPHQWDWLRQ

GHOLEHUDWLYHGHPRFUDF\

GHOLEHUDWLYHJHQUH

GHOLEHUDWLYHVSHHFK

GHPHQWLD±

GHPRFUDF±

DJRQLVWLFPRGHORIFLWLJHQVKLSDQGE±

FRPPXQLFDWLYHUDWLRQDOLWDQGE±

FRQVWLWXWLRQDODDQGEHFLW

GHOLEHUDWLRQDQGEHQXLQH

JRYHUQPHQWFRPPXQLFDWLRQDQGEHUDVV

URRWVKSHUGHPRFUDFPPDMRULW\

UXOHDQGPLQRULWULJKWVPRYHPHQWV

FRSXOLVPDQGEHFLSURFLW\

DQGEHJXODWLRQDQGE

VHOIGHWHUPLQDWLRQDQGEVRFLO

LQWHUDFWLRQVRYHUHLJQWDQGEVWDWH

DQGLZLOIRUPDWLRQDQGE±

EKSDWLVWVDVJH

GHPRFUDWLRFLDUFK\

GHPRFUDWLFSSROLWLVFGHVFULSWLRQLQWKHDWULFD

WHUPV

GHPRFUDWLVDWLRQ

GHPRJUDSKLF±

GHPRJUDSKLFWLPHRPE±

GHPRQVWUDWLYHVSHHFK

GHQLDQGLVFXUVLYHJRYHUQPHQW

RvFKROGHUVLQVWLWXWLRQDQDOOHYHO

SHUVRQDO

GHILURREHUW

GHQRWDWLRQ

De Oratore &LFHUR

GHSROLWLFVLVDWLRQGHQLWLRQ

see also discursive depoliticisation

HUULGD-DKV

GHMUHQ

GHWHUPLQWHPDUNW

DeutschlandliedQDWLRQDODQWKHP

GHYLDQWFDVH see also&\$

HYROYHGVVHPEOLHVFW

EKVFRXUVHEVWRULFDQSSURDFK

EKSSOLFDWLRQWR

FOLPDWHFKDQJHDXPHQWDWLRQDQGE

EKVSHFVWRILQ&&ULWLFDO

LVFRXUVHVKXGLHVH[SODQDWRURSZHURI

LGHRRJQDQDQJXDJHDPHGLXP

RISRZHUQRUPDWLYHSROLWLFDO

FRPPHPRUDWLRQVWXGRISDUW\

SURJUDPVDQGELOOERDUGV

GLDOHFWLWV

Die deutsche Ideologie ODU[DQGEQJHOV

GLuHUHQWLDOPXOWLQJXDOLVP±

HPDQFLSDWRURJQLWLYHLQWHUHVW
 HPRWLRQVGLVUHDJUGIRUNQRDZHGJHRI
 LOPHORGLHV-
 HPRWLYHODQJDXJH
 HPSDWKVHPLRWLWFVRI-
 HPSLULFDUHVHVDUFK-
 (032):(5
 HPSWVLIQLLHUV-
 (QJHOV)ULHGULFK-
 (QJOLVKDVD/LQJXD)UDQFD(/)-
 547
 QLKDDQWUHQWLRQOODQH(/
 547
 HQLKWHPHQ
 KRHDQUOLDPHQ
 HSLGHLWLHQ
 HSLGHLWLPFRHRLWLBOGLMM
 HSLGHLWLVHKK
 HSLWHPOR
 HKDOHQ
 UDMVGHULX
 UGQHS7DLS
 UV-R±
 HFDKHGLUHFDWLRQ
 HWKQKGLPLPLQWLRQDLQ
 LHULRLMG
 HWKQDSKOLPLWDLWRDLWLBO
 LVLWVLRQLWLBOSSRMV
 SRLWLWVWUHOOLVDLQ
 SURMVLPOLV see also
 Hungarian parliament building; Hungary
 HWKQSHV
 HWKR
 HWKQVUWLRQ
 KRHDQVWLOHMORDQWLRQ
 PWWLOLQOWUWVHSLF
 HQHVHODWLRQRHPEHUWDWHV
 SLEHMUHLQHEWELLV
 HSKHPLV
 KRDLGDSHWLRQ
 KRHDQPLQ
 KRHDQ
 KRHDQUOLDPHQ± see(3(XURSHDQ
 3DUOLDPHQW
 (XURSHDQSDUOLDPHQWV
 (XURSHDQQLRQ)(see(XURSHDQQLRQ
 European Union Language and Multilingualism
 RLQ
 KRHEUHHGRDQLUHVHPRDF
 KRHWLWVQUHHGRQ
 KRHWVHWDSCR±
 HMVSDH

HMVSDWLRQ
 HMVQKWKPV
 H[LWHQLDOLHOLW±
 H[LWHQLDOLV
 H[EGLELQUGVLRQ
 H[SHULHQLDODWLRQOLDWLRQ
 H[SHULPHQDWLRQGLDQLRQ
 H[SHUWVWKLWOHLWLPDWLRQ
 H[WHUQOMUHLQ\
 H[WUHPHULKW see also far right;
 fascism; populism; populist
 H[WUHPHULKWSDWLWBOSSDUWLHV
 H[WUHPHULKWSDUWLHV
 €MpUEWRDSDWLWDGHLHUDEyQ
 DHENQHWHWHPDODQVHW
 PPHQVGLKDDQGLDQ
 SRLWLEDHESRLWLEDQ
 DEOLDWVWPHHWLRQ
 DVEDQMV
 DFWLWVUWLRQ
 DLUQKPDQ
 GHQWLRQLMMPLV
 DOODEHV argumentum ad
 GHQLWLRQIRUPDODQGLQIRUPDQ
 VWUDZPDQ
 IDOODFLRXVDUJXPHQWV±
 IDOVHFRQVFLRXVQHV
 family see ageing; care
 DVDFWLRQ
 DUULKWQVGLGHPEDWLRWHQHGHV
 DQVLPGLMMQVLMPLWLV
 QSWQOKLWRVDUWLHV
 DQPHQVUDWZWK
 OHWVQDLWGLWLVLRHWVHQ
 SDUWLHM[QVQKHWKHUQ
 UDLQVDOERLOLMQ
 DDLQVWKHPDENRLOLMQ
 DDLQVWKHPEDQRE
 EQKHHWKHUODQSEWLRQ
 SRLWLBOHOLWHVBOHVUW\
 WQVUWHQKLRHX
 DQWKHPQUUDWMLQVHUQ
 KRHsee also extreme right; fascism;
 DLVUDEFULKWVQVWLVWUWLHV
 DEQVQDOWVQVW
 HQKLRH see also(1D)VLP
 neo-fascism
 DWQKWKPV
 DWDOLV±
 DWKHUODQBUWV±
 DQVU:LOOLDP
 HEVHKHQ

JHQGHUUROHVLOSUDUOLDPHQW-
 JHQHDORJ)RXFDXOGLDQSHUVSHFWLYH
 HQHUDO,QTXLUHU7KH
 JQHULFUHDOLVP
 JHORFLGH-

JHQUHVFKDUDFWHULVDWLRQRI
 FRPPHPRUDWLYHVSHHFKHVGHQLWLRO
 GHOLEHUDWLYHHSLGHLFWLF(8
 (XURSHDQ8QLRO)DFHERRN
 IRUHQVLFKHWURJHQHLWRILQWHUDFWL
 MXGLFLDOSUDUOLDPHQWDUGLVFRXUVH
 SROLFDQDQDOLVRISROLWLFDO
 FRPPXQLFDWLRQSUHVVFROIHUHQFHV
 VRFLDOPHGLDWKHRULHV
 :LOG:HVWQPV *see also*

commemorative speeches

Gentle breath %QLQ

JHQXAFWLRQ

genuine democracy 55

HRLDV

HSKL

HUQIv

HUPDSUDUOLDPHV

HUPDQDWRHU

HUPDQLPDWVKDHFUHSEWDH

DWLRORDOLFDWLRORDOLW

DUWRLKWSRLWLBO

DUWRQ

Gesellschaft

HWW,PDJHQN

EOODUG-XOLD

EOODUDPHV

FRGHOOLOJ

EXOLDQLXGROSK

JOREDQFDSLWDO

OREDQJOLVK

JOREDQDQFLDQFULVLV

OREDQSR

JOREDOLVDWLRQFRQFHSWRI±

HFRQRPFKSHUJOREDOLVHUV

DVDNHZRUG/DQJXDJHDQG

OREDOLVDWLRQFLDO-XVWLFHORYHPPHQW

/O@DQJXDJHRI±

linguistic repertoires in globalised contexts

HOLEHUDOSURGLR

SRWLMDWLMODHUKHWELF

MSWLMDWHDQ

WUDQPDWLRQOLWENQ

GHWLR

ORDOLDWLRQDHLuHUHQVLDQ

PWLOLQOLMROGODHV

:N

ORDOLV

ORDOLWLHY

ORDOMWLHPHWHQ±0

ORDOSODQ

ORDOUDHPPHWDSKR±

ORDOUHODWLR

ORDO5HSFWLRQWLDWLM

ORDOZUPLQ

ORDQBUWKDEG±

±

HEHOWMSK

HWKDQ

RPDQMQ

RGWDQDUG±

RHDUWKER

Google ngrams

Gorgias 3ODWR

JRYHUQDQFHGHFHQWUDOLVHGGHOHJDWHG

JRYHUQPHQWDOGHSROLWFLVDWLRQ

JRYHUQPHQWDOLW±

JRYHUQPHQWFRPPXQLFDWLRQDFWLYLWLHV

DFRPPRGLWFRPPXQLFDWLRQDQG

FRPPXQLFDWRUVERPSURPLVHG

impartiality of non-elected administrators

HSWOLMBO

DSHWMPSORHMDPSOHV

DNDWLRQRQRQ

GHPEDEHHGRRQPDWLR

ODWLRDHLR

KRHDHDUHWPPSDLR

LWURHQDOODQHMLQUD

MUPHQDOWULNDDQHULDO

GLMPPDQLDQWLV

PDQSDWLRQHGLDWHGQDQDQ

EODPHDEGDHDSRLEWURHQ

WUDWHLMDRQHMQ

ODQHWR[HUWSEKUMQDQH

WRQDREU±KLWHKDOODWH

WR±*see also*RvFHKROGHUV

government

UDPPDU±

UDPEQRHULDQDQ

EGLPHRLHMQLDOLV

KHHPRLWLBO

EOHQHOHFWOWELHR

PLQHDGLDQHUSUHWDWLRQKLOREDO

PHWKBUHGHWLRQDM

WUDWLRQDQHMMUDQDU

PDWHULDOLV±

UDSKHPHV

graphic novels 455

grass roots democracy 55

gratefulness, *topos*RI±

U/D\RKQ±

*UHHFH DQWL DXVWHULWKHPRHPRQWV DSSDUDWXVHV %
 LPDFW RI DXVWHULW\ SROLFLHVDPVFLDQ QRWLRQ RI ±
 *UHHN SDUOLDPHQW /DFODX SUDFWLFHV
 JUHHQ HFRQRP\ KHJHPRQ\ /DFODX FKDLQ RI HTX
 JUHHQ SSSHU HPSW\ VLJQLHUHV ± ±
 JURXSV GHPDUFDWLRQ RI RI GLUHUHQFH ORJLF RI HTX
 Guardian, The ± SROLWLFDO VSDFHV
 *XDWHPDODQ SURWHVW PRYHPRQW DYLQ DQG /HIWZLFK \$QGUH
 *XLOKDXPRX -DFTXHV KHUODOGLF PXVLF ±
 *XV]WRV 3pWHU ± ± hermeneutic images 457
 KHUPHQHXWLFV
 +DEHUPDV -•UJHQ FLMLJQDQV DQG
 GHPRFUDF\ ± FRPPXQLFV WLVWVXV RI ±
 UDWLRQDOLW\ DQG GHPRFUDFARS ± *OREDO 1DLMD \$IUR
 FRPPXQLFDWLYH UH DVRQ +LUVFRQVWUWVWHLQDOO
 ODZ DQG GHPRFUDF\ ± KLWVWUWVDO ± ORQJ WHUP SHU
 7KHRU\ ± GHOLEHUDWLSeals DQGHOPRFUDFV AHLQKDUW
 ± HYHU\GD\ SUDFWLFHWRULFDO EORF FRQFHSW RI ±
 SDUOLDPHQW SROLWLKDOWGHODUFRQVWUWV ±
 UHFLSURFLW\ DQG GHPRFUDFWRULFDO PDWHULDOLVP
 UHJXODWLRQ DQG GHPRFUDFWRU\ RI WKHOSUHQVQW
 DQG WKH VHFODU VHOLVWV \$BRODWLXWV DQGDWLRQ RI
 GHPRFUDF\ ± VRYHUHLJQWV DQGHOPRFUDF see also 1D]L
 GHPRFUDF\ ± WKH VWLWFRXQGH 1D]LVP
 democracy 47, 54; will-formation and +REEHV 7KRPDV
 GHPRFUDF\ ± ± +RJDWK :LOOLDP ±
 KDELWXDWLRQ Holkham Bible Picture Book #57
 KDELWXV ± +RORFDXVW see also
 FLWL]HQVKLS DV anti-Semitism
 VXEMHFWLYLWLHV DQG 3DORQV & ORZQ RHOMQRJG\
 see also %RXUGLHX +RO\ ,QTXLVLVLRQ
 +DOO 6WXDUW KRPH HYLFWLRQV
 +DORQH 7DUMD SKVLFDQ FRQIURQWDWLRQ YL
 +DPDV +RPH 2vFH 8. ±
 KDQGVKDNH V\PEROLVP RI KRUL]RQV RI H[see also
 Hansard .RVHOOFN 5HLQKDUW
 +DQVDUG 'HEDWHV Horkheimer, OD[±
 +DUGLQJ :DUUHQ +RUWK\ 0LNOyV
 Harper's Weekly +RXVH RI &RPPRQV 8. GRPLQD
 +DUULV 6DP PDVFXOLQH FXOWXUH LQWHUY
 +DUWYLF %LVKRS UHSUHVHQWDWLRQ RI ZRPHQ
 Harvard Kennedy School of Government KXPdq DJHQF\ GHQLDO RI
 KXPdq PRELQW\
 +DUYH\ 'DYLQ ± KXPdq UHDO LW\ GLYLVLRQ EHWZ
 KDWH VSHHFK WKH UHDO
 KHDGOLQH SXQFKOLQHV KXPURXV QDUUDWLYHV
 KHDG VFDUYHV ,VODPLF KXPXU YLVXDO
 KHDWK KXPXU VWULSV
 +HEUHZ ODQJXDJH ± +XQJDUHQ 3DUOLDPHQW EXLOGLQ
 +HJO *HRUJ :LOKHOP)ULHGRLV WLVWVXWLRQ FRQVWUXFWL
 +DOO GHEDWHV KDWH VSH
 KHJHPRQLF PDVFXOLQLW\ PDMRULWLHV 1DWLRQDO \$
 hegemonic multilingualism 547 2ýFLDO -RXUQDO RI WKH +RXV

Representatives SROLWLFV RI MPRU\ WHSDLQJ
 ± UR\DO MHZHOV ± LPD\W\WFKRPD DQDO\VLV ± SRL
 +XQJDULDQ SROLWLFV ± 6WDQGLQJ ± UGH\V
 VWHQRJUDSKHUV ± imTags, UnCom 5157 EOLF
 LPDJLQDU\ /DFDQ ±
 +XQJDULDQ 6RFLDOLVW 3DUM\PLW\B\WLRQ WKHRU\ RI
 +XQJDULDQ 6RFLDOLVW :RUN\PIV\3DGW\SHULHQFHUV ±
 +XQJDU\ &RQVWLWXWLRQDO PFLXUVWLRQHS\DUWPHQR KRPH R
 RI)LOH 5HJLVWU\ +RO\ 8URZHQW\ FDPSDLJQ ± WRSLF L
 LQYDVLQR E\ *HUPD\SDU\OL\PHQ\VDU\ GHEDWHV
 OHJLVODWLYH ELOOV ± LPD\W\WFKRPD DQDO\VLV
 SROLWLFDO GHFLVLRQ LPD\W\WFKRPD DQDO\VLV
 SROLWLFDO H[WUHP\LP LPSHUVRQDO DXWKRUS\ OHJLVODWLYH
 KXQWLQJ legitimization
 +XQWLQJWRQ 6DPXHO ± LPSOLFLW UDFLVP ±
 +XVHLQ 6DGGDP LPSROLWHQHVV LQ SDUOLDPHQW
 +XWKE\ ,DQ ± LQDG\YHUHQW UDFLVP ±
 +\SHUEDVH VRIZDUH LQFLSLHQW OHJLVODWLYH RQ ±
 K\SHUJOREDOLVHUV ,KQ\RSJHQ\G\G\H\Z\UOG
 ODQJXDJHV ± LQGHSHQGHQFH 6FRWODQG ±
 K\SHUOLQNV LQGH[LFDOLW\ GLUHFV
 K\SHU GHPRFUDF\ ,QGL FURVV FXWWLQJ FOHDYDJHV
 LQGLJHQRXV JURXSV
 ,&7V ,QWHUQHW FRPPXQLFDWLRQ LQGH[LFDOLW\
 2EDPD HOHFWLRQ FDPSDLJQ QGLUHF\WLRQ WHFKQLTXH RI
 SURFHVVHV JHRJUD\SDU\OL\PHQ\VDU\HQFHV LQ
 XVH RI PRELOLVQJ VWUXUJXODLVP
 1RUWK 6RXWK (XURSHDQ G\W\G\H\self-determination 45 XQLW\
 VWUXFWXUHV SROLWLFDO G\W\G\H\RYHUHLJQW\
 SURWHVWHUV VKDULQJ LQHR\PD\WVRQ ± FLYLF H[LVW
 LGHQWLW\ FRPSOH[LW\ RI ± FRQVWLX\SDU\OL\PHQ\VDU\ JOREDQ ;QD
 FRQVWUXFWLRQ FRQYH\UDWLRQ DQDO\VLV D PRUDO FRQF
 FURVV FXWWLQJ LGHQWLWLRQ\UDQ\SDU\OL\PHQ\VDU\ SK\VLFDQ
 SHUIRUPDQFHV RI SHUVRQ\SHU\ UHVRXUFH
 SROLWLFDO LGHQWLW\ DV SHUVRQ\SHU\ LQ 6SDLQ W\SRQ
 SROLWLFDO VHOI ± VRF\DO\HWV6RF\DO\WDO see
 Constructionist paradigm 47 see also also class struggle and warfare
 framing; positioning LQIHULRULVDWLRQ
 LGHQWLW\ IRUPDWLRQ LQIRUPDO ORJLF ±
 LGHQWLW\ SHUIRUPDQFH LQIRWDLQPHQW ±
 LGHQWLW\ SROLWLFV ± LQ JURXSV GLFKF
 LGHRORJLFDO OHDUQLQJ GLVFXUVLYH VWUDWHJLHV
 LGHRORJLFDO PHWDSKRUV JRYHUQ\PHQ\UDF\K\H\HWLQJV
 ± VROLDULW\ XV YHUVXV W
 LGHRORJLFDO VTXDUH FRQFHSW RIZDU DQG WHUURULVP
 LGHRORJLFDO VWDWH DSSDUDWXV ,6\$
 Ideologiekritik see also Marx LQQR\DWLRQ K\SRWKHVLV
 LGHRORJ\ LGHRORJLHV ,QSDU\OL\PHQ\VDU\ RQ ±
 GLVFRXUVH KLVWRULFDQ Institution\course 74 DQG
 LQGLUHFV LQGH[LFDOLW\ LQVWUXFWLRQ\G\IPHHWLQJV
 FRQFHSWV LQWR Institutio oratoria 4XLQWLOLDQ ±
 LGHRVFDSHV LQVWUXPHQWDO UDWLRQDOLVDWLRQ
 ,OOLFK ,YDQ see legitimization

LQWHOOFWFXDOV *UDPVFLTWRSSRVGLWLRQ±WRRWJDSGLFWLRQDO 3
 ± WUDGLWLRQDO also Invisible Men, The
 LQWHOOFWLRQDO\ ,VUDHOL 'HIHQVH)RUFHV ,')
 LQWHQVLI\LQJ GHYLFHV LVVXH VSHFL;F FRUSRUD
 LQWHUDFWLRQDO VRFLROLQJ\WLDLQGLFVS D,OLDPHQW ±
 see also framing; positioning ,WDO\ FDULFDWXUH RULJLQV RI
 LQWHUDFWLRQLVW DSSURDFK\QHR IDVFLVP ±
 LQWHUDFWLRQLVW IDOODF\
 LQWHUDFWLRQ VWXG\ RI -DFNVRQ 6DPXHO / ±
 LQWHUDFWLYH JHQUH -DFTXHPHW 0
 LQWHUGLVFLSOLQDULW\ -IJHU 6LHJIULHG
 LQWHUGLVFRXUVH ± -DSDQ JOREDOLVDWLRQ DQG
 LQWHUGLVFXUVLYLW\ -HGLLVP
 ,QWHUIDLWK &HQWUH RQ &R-UDLQDWHUHQHVSRLQDOLSELOLW\
 -HZLVK SHRSOH see DQWLWHPLWLVV
 LQWHUQDO VRYHUHLJQW\ discourse
 LQWHUQDWLRQDO FDSLWDOLEPELN 3DUW\
 ,QWHUQDWLRQDO /DERXU 5L-RKQWRQDQ% RULV ±
 international meetings 475 -RKQVWRQH %DUEDUD
 ,QWHUQDWLRQDO 5HODWLRQRQHV 2ZHQ
 ,QWHUQHW MRXLVVDQFH ODQJXDJH D
 ,QWHUQHW FRPPXQLSDVWZVOMWRRODOL&PV DJJUHVVLYH TXHVWL
 ,QWHUQHW FRPPXQLFDWLRQ\HVVRIORXUQDOLVP ± SURFHVV
 ,QWHU 3DUOLDPHQWDU\ 8QLRSDKDVHV UROO RI
 LQWHUSHOODWLRQV MRXUQDOLVW FRQWUROOHG SUHV
 LQWHUUXSWLRQV ± MRXUQDOLVWLF DQG LQIRWDLQPHQ
 LQWHUVXEMHFWLYLW\ FRPPXQLFDOLVWV DJJUHVVLYH QHV R
 HYHU\GD\ H[SHULHQFHV DIWWULEXWHV RI FULVLV
 intertextual chains 545 LQWHUURJDWLRQV E\ ± SRVW
 LQWHUWH[WXDO GLVFRXUVH SDDVVERQIHUHQFHV ±
 LQWHUWH[WXDOLW\ ± DQG DQVZHU VHVVLRQV ± VHOI
 see also press conferences
 LQWHUYHQWLRQV SROLWLF\XG DHERF WH
 LQWHUYLHZV FHOHEULW\ WDDQJHRQV MRXUQDOLVWLF
 DQG LQIRWDLQPHQW ± MXGLFLDO JHQUH
 LQWUD FRUSXV FRPSDULVRQXVWLFH
 LQWUD JRYHUQPHQWDO VWULSWLWLFH JOREDOLVVP ±
 LQWURGXRGXQP RI FRPPHPXUWDDVH7KHRU\
 VSHHFKHV
 LQWURGXFWRU\ VSHHFKHV .DQW ,PPDQXHO
 inventio LQYHQWLRQ .DQWRURZLF] (UQVW
 LQYHQWURU\ PHDVXUHPHQWV.DUKXQ NDQVD
 Invisible Men, The \$EXG .HUU\ -RKQ
 \$UDELF DQG +HEUHZ ODQJXNDVZRUQ DQDFODLVP
 WR FLWL]HQVKLS ± /RXLHQSRLOSRQHWLWLFDDQIUHG
 DV\OXP ± .LWFKKHU /RUG
 ,3&& ,QWHUJRYHUQPHQWDO.SDDVHOFD&DLPDWH
 &KDQJH .OHPSHUHU 9LFWRU
 LURQ\ ± .OLPDIRUXP
 ,VLQ (QJLQ NQRZOHGJH SRZHU DQG UHFRQV
 ,VRFUDWHV ± NQRZOHGJH FRQVWLWXWLYH LQWHU
 ,VUDHO EHORQJLQJ JD\NDQZOHGJHDFKWBHQH
 *D]D :DU ± SURJUH.RKQVH+HOPEROLF

OHJLWLPLVDWLRQ	0DFJLOFKULVW)HOLFLWDV
/HLWHV see WaksDQ	0DFKLDYHOOL 1LFFROZ
/HLW-	0DGLVRQLDQ 'HPRFUDF\
/HPNLQ 5DSKDHO	0DJQD &DUWD
/HQLQLVP	0DLQJXHQHDX 'RPLQLTXH
/H 3HQ 0DULQH	0DLU (GGLH ±
OHVELDQ FLWL]HQV LQ ,VU	0DMRULWQ JUDXSWWLQH
UKHWRULF RI YLVLELQW\	PDMRULW\ UXOH
/pYL 6WUDXVV &ODXGH	ODMRU -RKQ ±
OH[HPH	PDQDJHPHQW RI PHHWLQJV ± PH
OH[LFDO VHPDQWLF WHFKQL	WLVVQ WDNLQJ V\WHP WXUQ V
OH[LFRPHWULFV ±	FRDQDQVWVQRQQ\VWHP
VRIWZDUH ±	PDQ DV SROLWLFDO DQLPDO ±
/H[LFR VRIWZDUH	PDQLHVWRV %ULWLVK SROLWL
OLEHUDO GHPRFUDF\	PDQLSXODWLRQ
/LEHUDWLRQ 'D\ ,WDO\	\$SULO JRYHUQPHQW
OLIHVV\OH LGHQWLWLHV	FRPPXQLFDWLRQ DV ±
OLJKWQHVV KHDYLQHVV LQ	OLKQKQV 6RXWR
OLNHDELQW\ ±	PDQXDO ODERXU
/LQFROQ %UXFH ±	0DTXLOD 6ROLGDULW\ 1HWZRUN
OLQJXD IUDQFD PHHWLQJV	PDUQLCHPHVXUHPHQWV
OLQJXDVFDSH	PDUNGRZQ PHDVXUHPHQWV
linguistica spaziale VSDWLDO	OLQJXVUV RI SHUVRQDO GHL[LV
OLQJXLVWLF FDSLWDO	PDUNHW JOREDOLVPV
OLQJXLVWLF GLVFRXUVH DQ	PDUNHWLVDWLRQ
OLQJXLVWLF KDELWXXV	PDUNHWV %RXUGLHXVLDQ PHWDSK
OLQJXLVWLF PRGDQW\	
OLQJXLVWLF UHSUWRLUHVDQ	WLDQXV &DSHOOD
OLQJXLVWLF UHSUHVHQWDQ	WLDQLQ &UDLJ
OLQJXLVWLF UKHWRULFDO	DDQQLVEV &'6 &ULWLFDO 'LVFRXUVH
OLQJXLVWLFV FSDFLWLHV	±FRDQDQVWVQRQQ\KRWRU\ HFRQR
DQG see also language	HVVHQWLDOLVP
OLQJXLVWLF WULDQJOH	±0DU[LVP /HQLQLVP
/LVERQ 7UHDW\	0DU[.DUO ± &'\$ &ULWLFDO 'LV
/OR\G *HRUJH 'DYLQ	\$QDO\LV LGHRORJLHV OD
ORJLF IDOODFLHV	SUDWLFDO FRQVFLRXVQHVV
ORJLF RI GLUHUVQH	HFRQR\ ± SULPLWLYH DFFXPX
ORJLF RI HTXLYDOHQFH	±PDVFXOLQH FXOWXUH RI SROLWLFV
ORJLFV IUDPHZRUN ±	PDVFXOLQH JHQGHU QRUPV
ORJLFV RI GHQLDO ±	%PDVFLRQXKLDWLRQ
± FDSLWDO ÀLJKW	±PDVFRPSDUDVRQV
ZLWK SROLWLFDO FRQÀLFW	HOVHZKHUH ±
ORJLFV RI IDQWDV\	PDVV PHGLDWLRQ
ORJ OLNHOLKRRG //	PDVWHU QDUUDWLYHV ±
logos UDWLRQDO DSSHDO	PDWHULDOLVP DOHDWRU\ KLVW
ORXG VRIW VRXQGV	PDWHULDOLVP
/RXLV ;,9	0DXGH JUDQFLV
loving care, topos RI ±	0F&ULPOLVN - 1' ±
O\QFKLQJV	HYDOXDQWELRQWFKHQZVSDVHUO 7
DUWLFOHV *HRUJLD	0&'\$ ±0XQDQVPRQDO &ULWLFDO 'LVFR
ERG\ RQ GLVSOD\ ±	-RQDQVWVQRQQ\ZHQ DSSOLFDFWLRQ WR
6WDPSV 3HWHU	± DSSOLFDFWLRQ WR VRXQG
±	0F'RXJDO :DOWHU +XJK

PRELOLW\ KXPdq PXVLFDO VLJQL; HUV
 PRGHUQLVDWLRQ ORVHUV 0XWXDO ,QIRUPDWLRQ 0, VFRUH
 PRGHUQLW\ PXWXDO XQGHUVWDQGLQJ
 PRGHUQ VXEMHFWV ± P\WK see also ;FWLRQDOLVDWLRQ
 ORGRRG 7DULT ±
 modus inveniendi 1DLMD \$IUR +LS +RS
 modus proferendi 1DNLJXGGH +DUULHW
 ORQWHVDQR ORQWHVVRUL 1DFRQLQD ±
 PRUDO HYDOXDWLRQ OHJLWQDQDQYH ± DQDQWLVDFWLRQ ± G
 ± DQDORJ\ ± see DOXDWL[RQ/ ± SROLWLFDO LGHQWLW
 legitimation ZLGHQHG VFRSH RI ±
 PRUDO LQHTXDOLW\ QDUUDWLYH FRPPHPRUDWLYH VSH
 PRUDOLW\
 PRUDO YDOXH V QDUUDWLYH ULJKWV
 ORUH 7KRPDV QDUUDWLYH V DV\OXP VHHNHUV
 PRUSKRORJ\ FRQFLVH GH;QLWLRQV RI
 PRUWJDJH GHIDXOWV GLUHUVHF IURP VWRULHV LQ
 PRWLIV RI SROLWLFDOQV ± HYHU\GD\
 ORXuH & KD see also discourse SUDFWLFHV DQG JHQUHV ;FWL
 theory, Laclau; hegemony, Laclau VHULHV RI SROLWLFV JUDQG
 movable type printing 457 PDVWHU ± DV PHWK
 OR]HU <DULY RU HSLVWHPRORJ\ RI SHUVRQ
 03V 0HPEHUV RI 3DUOLDPHQW DV SROLWLFDO VHQVH PDNLQJ
 DGGUHVVVHV DQG DXGLHQFBQGHPEHUVSRVLWQDQLQJ DQG
 FR SHUIRUPDQFH DV GLUHFWLSDQWLFSDQXWK FRPPLVV
 GLVFRXUVH RI SDUOLDPHQW\
 TXHVWLRQV ± SDUOLDPHQWV ± HFKHV
 ± SROLWLFDO OLQH RIVWLQWKRPHSXEOLF H\H
 UHVSQRVLELOLWLHV RQDWLRQDO DQWKHP WKH DV GLV
 multicultural politics 47 ± PHORGLHV ± QDWLRQDOL
 PXOWLGLVFLSOLQDULW\ ± RULJLQV DQG GHSOR\PHQW
 PXOWLQJXDOLVP SLOWKHUHQWVQRUWHU QRWHV
 ± TXDOLWLHV RI ±
 PXOWLQJXDOPHHWLQJV 1DWLRQDO \$VVHPEO\ :DOHV G
 0XOWLPRGD &ULWLFDO 'LVFRXUVH \$QDO\VLV
 0&'\$ see 0&'\$ 0XOWLPRGDQDWLRQDOLGHQWLWLHV \$XVW
 'LVFRXUVH \$QDO\VLV 1DWLRQDO ,QVWLWXWH RI 0XVLF
 PXOWLPRGDOLW\ ± DGYHUVLWLRQDOLV
 OHJLWLPDWLRQ DQG PHDQLERPPOLQV)UHFK *HU
 VWXGLHV VRXQG TXDOLWLHV RI ±
 PXOWL SDUW\ GLDORJXH V QDWLRQDOLW\ FLWLJHQVKLS DQG
 PXOWL VHPLRWLFLW\ QDWLRQDO SRSXODU
 0XUSK .DUHQ 1DWLRQDO see RFDLQV
 PXVLF FHUWDLQW\ DQG FRPPHPRUDWLRQDOLV 3DUW\
 FODVVLFDQ DV FRPPHPRUDWLYHMRDFWHLQJW\ GHIHQ
 KXQWLQJ FRQIRUPLW\ QDWLFRWLXUHSRZHUFRPSHWL
 RI JHQGHU UHSUHVHQWLVHQRWLQHV RI
 KHUDOGFL IXQFWLRQ RI QDWLRQJXDVHVM ± ZDU DQG
 OHJLWLPDWLRQ DQG O\ULFWFRQDWLRQDO
 DQWKHPV ± PHORGLHV 1\$72 PRWV \$WODQWLF 7UHDW\ 2U
 YDOXH V ± RSHUD UQDWKPUOQVDWLRQ
 WUDGLWLRQ ZHG see J QDWLFRQDOLHP
 also national anthem, the; sound QDWXUDO ODQJXDJH

1DWXUDO /DQJXDJH 3URFHVVHQDO \$R/LQWV
 1DWXUDO /DQJXDJH 3URFHVVHQDO \$R/LQWV GLVFXUVLYH VWUDWHJL
 natural preferences RI non-sensory diegetic images 457
 1D]L GLVFRXUVH FDPRXÀDJRQHYUPLDROFRPPXQLFDWLRQ
 FHQVRUVKLS FODLP WRQBH ZDOLQDWLHQ K\SRWKHVLV
 ± &07 &RQFHSWXDO 0HVDSPDWLYKWU\
 DSSURDFK FRQFHSWXDOQRPPS\LDGYHU\VDULDOLVP QHXV
 FRXQWHU GLVFRXUVH SROLFLHV DQG ODZV
 inhumanity 6WHUQEJUJHU HW DRUZD\ SROLWFLDQV\ XVH RI 7ZL
 GLVFRXUVH KLVWRULFDO DSSURFRN'+\$ ±
 GLVFRXUVH UXOHV Sprachregulierung ZHJLDQ &RQVWLWXWLRQ 'D\
 HXSKHPLVPV ± JHQRFLGD/O LDWXUDLQDWLHQ JXDJH 3URFHVVLC
 VLJQDOOLQJ RI *HVWDSR GRVFRQDWDWLRQ
 LQVLGHU LQIRUPDWLRQXUPEHUJ\ODZV ±
 SDUDVLMWingua Tertii Imperii 1\ERUJ %LUJLWWH 79 FKDUDFWHU
 .OHPSHUHU PHGMIn FRQWURSRJFWLRQDOLVDWLRQ
 Kampf +LWOHU 1XUPEHUJ ODZV
 ± SDUDVLWH DQQLKLODWRQ V\EDENR GHEDWH
 SURSJDQGD +\$XODLQ\&SKLQWRQ ±
 FRWURO RI VSHHFKHVRMDHFWV\XG\ ±
 WDERRV REMHW/DH/QW D
 1D]LVP ± 2 &DQGD 2& ± GRWWHG Q
 JHQRFLG be also +LWOHU \$GRSUWFK PHORG\ UK\WKP
 QHJDWLYH LQWHUURJDWLYH\FFXS\ 0RYHPHQW
 QHJDWLYH SROLWHQHVV LQ 2SURFHVVHQDO \$R/LQWV 1RYHPEHU
 QHJDWLYH VHPDQWLF SURVROGFHKROGHUV JRYHUQPHQW
 QHR IDVFLVP ± DUJXPHQDWLRQ VFKHPHV GH
 QHROLEUDO JOREDOLVDWLRQ\RU V\URG &RZHQ QUDPLQJ
 QHROLEUDO PRGHO ± LQWHQVLI\LQJ DQG PLWLJDWLRQJ G
 QHROLEUDO YDOXHV ODQJXDJH RI OHJLWLPDWLRQ
 QHROLQJXLVWLFV DFWLRQV ± QDPLQJ DQG DWWL
 1HWDQ\DKX %HQMDPLQ ± SHUVSHFWLYH WDNLQJ VRFLDQ
 1HWKHUODQGV &DWKROLFV 3URFHVVHQDO \$R/LQWV SROWWVLRQ ZD
 LGHQWLW\ IDU ULJKW SRGLDQFRPPHPRUDWLRQV
 QHXURVFLHQFH Ru WKH UHFRUG SUHV FRQIHUHQF
 QHXWUDOLVP QRUP RI 2OEUFKVV 7\WHFD /XFLH
 1HZ \$WKHLVV 2ORIVRQ 0DXG ±
 1HZ &DSLWDOLVP 2QH LQ 1LQH JURXS
 QHZ HWKLFDOOLVP ± RQH VLGHG VFKHPDV
 1HZ /DERXU RSHQ ERRN DFRXQWLQJ
 QHZ PHGLD RSSRUWXQLW\ VWUXFWXUHV VRFLDQ
 1HZ 5KHWRULF
 QHZV FRQIHUHQFHV ± RSSRVLWLRQDO GLVFRXUVH
 QHZV LQWHUYLHZV ± RUDO PLQL\WHULDO VWDWHPHQWV
 QHZVSDSHU FRPLFV ± RUDO SDUOLDPHQWU\ TXHVWLRQV
 QHZVSDSHU FRPLF VWULSV RUDWRUV IXQFWLRQV RI L
 QHZVSDSHU SROLWLFDO FDUWV &RQDWRQ RI see also Newspeak
 Newspeak RUDWRU\
 QHZV SURGXFWLRQ ± 2UGD] 9DOHUD
 1LHW]VFKH)ULHGULFK RUGHU RI GLVFRXUVH)RXFDXOW
 1LJHULD RUGHU RI WKH WKLQJV %RXUGLHX
 1L[RQ 5LFKDUG RUGHU RI WKLQJV)RXFDXOW
 1R &KLOG /HIW %HKLQG \$FWURUDQ LFQWHOOFWXDOV *UDPV

2UZHO0 *HRUJH SDUOLDPHQWDU\ GHPRFUDF\ VWDE
 2VERUQH *HRUJH WH\WV ±
 RXW JURXS FRSWOLXPHQWDU\ LQVWLWXWLRQV
 VWUDWHJLHV GLFKRWRPLHV GHEDWH SDUOLDPHQWV
 GLVFXUVLYH VWUDWHJLHV RI WKH RSHFXWLYH SOHQDU\ F
 RvFHKROGHUV SROLWLFDOXVWURQDQDUWIPYLVVWHUV
 UDFLVP VHJUHDWLRQVDB ZRUNLQJ SDUOLDP
 GLVFULPLQDWLRQ XV SBUOXDPHQWGLVPHVXGLHFRXUVH
 SDUOLDPHQWDU\ SDUHQWKLFDQV
 RYHUKHDUHUV SDUOLDPHQWDU\ TXHVWLRQV ±
 RYHUWLPH LOOHJDO SDUOLDPHQWDU\ VSHHFKHV ±
 RYHUW LPSROLWHQHVV LQ SDUOLDPHQW V DGGUHVVHHV
 2ZHQV -DUHG FRYHUW LPSROLWHQHVV LQ
 2[IRUG (QJOLVK 'LFWLRQDU\ LQ' (XURSHDQ YDULDWLRQ LQ
 RI *HUPDQ LQWHUUXSWLRQ
 SDJDQLVP UHLQYHQWLRQ DQG UHDFWLYDWLRQ
 3DKRU %RUXW 86 &RQJUHVV :HVWPLQVWH
 3\$+ 3ODWIRUP IRU WKRVH \$UHFWHG E\
 ORUWJDJHV ± DVVHPE SDUWLQJ GOHFLDO DQG V\QWDFWLF
 DFWRQ KRPH HYLFWL SDUWLFLSDWRQ
 YLROHQFH ZHEVLWH ± Q
 3DOHVWLQH ± JD\ DQG SBUWLFLSDWLRQVDPHZRUNV ±
 WUDGLWLRQDO VIPER SDUWSSRSYDWRQ GFRFRWDFH PHHWL
 see also Invisible Men, The SDUWLVDQ TXHVWLRQV
 3DOLQ 6DUDK SDUWLVDQV
 3DOPH 2ORI SDU\ SURJUDPPHV FRPSRXQG QR
 SDQQLQJ)DWKHUODQG 3DUW\ ± DVJ
 3DQRSWLFQR SROLWLFDO DFWRQ ± PHWDSJ
 SDUDGLDVWROH VSHFLDOLVHG YRFDEXODU\ SH
 SDUDGLJPDWLF ORJLFDQ KLHSDUWLFLSDO RI WKH 3HWUR 3RU
 SDUDOOHOLVPV ± SURYHUEV ± RI WKH 5DG
 SDUDOOHO ODQJXDJH RI 2OHK /LDVKNR ± VWXGLHG
 SDUDVLWH DQQLKLODWLRQ VSHQDUXRVH KLWV RseLfd DSSURD
 SDUD VRFLDO LQWHUDFWLRQ Ukrainian parliamentary election campaign
 SDUHQW FKLOG UHODWLRQV KLS
 SDUOLDPHQWDU\ GHEDWHV SDWKRQJUHVVHHV DQG
 DXGLHQFHV DGYHUVDSUWVHUQV BURJHDWRQLQJ
 IHDWXUH DXGLHQFH RSDXCHWHIG VSHHFK
 EDUUDFNLQJ FR RSHUDWVWKHJHVLFKHO
 GHOLEHUDWLRQ LQ SDUOLDPHQW(GZDGGVFRXUVH
 JHQUH DQG LWV VXEJHQUH HUHOPDQLFRXUVH RI
 03V JHQGHU UROHV SHULQWDFRFXVLGRQWLW\ ± SRC
 &RPPRQV KXPRXU DQG ±URQ\
 ± NH\ UHVHDFK WRSLFWRUPDQFH RI SROLWLFV
 PLQLVWHULDO VWDWHPHQW SHULRGLDWLFLSDQW UROHV
 ± SDUWLVDQ SODQWH SHXRVWLRQV
 SROLWHQHVV DQG LPSROLWHQHVVSDUWLFLSDO DXWPHULW\ OHJLWLPDV
 0LQLVWHU V 4XHVWLRQV SHHWRRQDQ DXWRQRPI
 4XHVWLRQ 7LPH 47 ± SHUVRQDQGLHWDWRUVKLSV
 6FRWWLVK 3DUOLDPHQW SHVSRNDQH VSHUHQFH QDUUDWLY
 VW\OH RI WKH DWUH VFKDWRQDQ LGHQWLW\
 XQSDUOLDPHQWDU\ ODQJX SHUVRQDQLWFRQV
 1DWLRQDO \$VVHPEO\ SHUVRQDOLVDWLRQ RI SROLWLFV

SHUVRQDOLVHG SROLWLFV SROLV SXEOLF DuDLUV
 SHUVRQDO SURQRXQV SROLWHQHVV LQ SDUOLDPHQW
 SHUVSHFWLYDWLRQe VUDWUHQHWFDO DFWLRQ V SDUW\ S
 SHUVXDVLQR see also rhetoric ELOOERDUGV DV JHQUHV RI ±
 SHUVXDVLVH UROH RI OHJLV SROLWLFDO DQLPDO PDQ DV ±
 3HWUR 3RURVKHQNR %ORF political apparatus 45
 3KLOLSRQ &KDUOHV SROLWLFDO DV\OXP ±
 SKLORORJ\ political candidatessee candidates, political
 SKLORVRSK\ SROLWLFDO FDULFDWXUH V VL[WH
 SKLORVRSK\ RI VFLHQFH HLJKWHHQWK FHQWXU\ ± QLQH
 SKLORVRSK\ RI WKH VEMHFW ±± WZHQWLHWK FHQWXU\ ±
 SKRQRORJ\ FHQWXU\ ±
 SKRURV ± political cartooning 454
 SK\VLFDQ LGHQWL¿FDWLRQ SROLWLFDO FDUWRRQ VDWLUH
 SK\VLFDQ LQHTXDOLW\ political commemoration: argumentation
 SLFWXUH VWRULHV SDWWHUQV ± FRPPHPRUDWLYH
 3LHWHUVH 1HGUYHHQ ± FRPPRQ PPHRU\ GLV
 SLWFK PHORG\ ± KLWVWULFDQ IRFXV RQ ± IXQG
 SODLQ PHDQLQJ UXOH FKDUDFWHULVWLFV RI ± JRRG
 SODQWHG TXHVWLRQV SUDFWLFH KLWVWULFDQ SROLV
 Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipotesee LQGLYLGXDQ NQRZOHGJH RI W
 3\$+ 3ODWIRUP IRU WKRVRH \$LWVWULFDQ IXQFWLRQ SROLV
 0RUWJDJHV VHFODULVDWLRQ VHPWRWLFV
 SODWIRUPV SDUW\ PDQLIHVVPHRU\ VRFLDOO\ GLV
 3ODWR IXQFWLRQ WULSDUWLWH TXHV
 SOHELVLWDULDQ WHFKQTXHV DQG LQVWUXPHQWV
 SOHQDU\ FKDPEHUV SROLWLFDO FRPPXQLFDWLRQ JHQ
 SOHQDU\ KDOOV PHVVDJH GLVFRXUVH FHQWUHG DS
 3/2 3DOHVWLQLDQ /LEHUDWLRQeption and delay doctrine 5; source-
 SORWV ± ± FHQWUHG DSSURDFKHV WR
 GLVWLQFWLRQ IURP VWRUISHVWLFDO FRPPXQLWLHV
 SRLQW RI YLHZ VSHFL¿FDWLRQ SROLWLFDO FXOWXUH
 ± SROLWLFDO GHEDWHV ±
 SROHPLFDQ GLPHQVLRQ RI SROLWLFDO GHDFHWHWLRQ
 policiesssee policy making SROLWLFDO GLVFRXUVH ± %RXUG
 policy appropriationsee appropriation, concept of HSLGHLFWLF PRGH IUDPLQJ
 of SHUIRUPDQFH DQG ± OLPLWV D
 SROLF\ FRQYHUJHQFH ± OLQ WR DUJXPHQDWLRQ
 SROLF\ GRFXPHQW ± GLPHQVLRQe also argumentation
 analysis
 SROLF\ LPSOHPHQWDWLRQ 3RORWLFDO XSFRXUVH \$QDO\VLV
 WRS GRZQ YLHZ SROLWLFDO GLVHQFKDQWPHQW
 SROLF\ LQVWUXPHQWV JRY SROLVWLFDO GLVHQJDJHPHQW ±
 SROLF\ PDNLQJ ± DQ SROLVWLF SORWLFDO ±
 JHQUHV LQ LQVWLWXWLRQ SROLWLFDO UHWHQV
 ODQJXDJH RI SROLFLHV D SROLWLFDO KHQRORJ\ see also Laclau,
 SROLF\ JHQUHV LQ WKH SROLWLFDO SROLWLFW\ ± SRVL
 WH[WV ± SXEOLF SROLWLFDO TXDOLW\ ±
 TXHVWLRQV SROLWLFDO LQVWLWXWLRQV SU
 SROLF\ PHDQLQJ ± see also ethnography
 SROLF\ WH[WV ± SROLVWLFDO WKHXHV
 JHQHVLV RI ± political language: authentic personalities
 3ROLVK SDUOLDPHQW ± &ULWLFDO 'LVFRXUVH \$QDO

DQG SHUVRQDOLVDWLRQ PGB RLSSXEDJFDWLRQNRQJ 7Z
 see also mediatisation XVH RI , & 7V ZHEVLWHV XV
 SROLWLFDO OHDÀHWV ± ± see also candidates, political;
 SROLWLFDO ORJLFV GHSROLWLFVLDWLRQ ¿ FWLRQDOL
 SROLWLFDOO\ FRQWUROOHGS SROHWVFLRQIMURQRHV¿ FWLRQ
 SROLWLFDO PHHWLQJV SROLWLFWRWDLQPHQW
 political organisations, communication within SROLWLFV EDVLF FRQFHSWV DQG
 ± FR RSHUDWLRQ FRQWUDGLFWRU
 political parties: internet communication, use of GH¿QLWLRQ RI ± GLVWLQFWLRQ
 ZHEVLWHV ± HWKQRJUDSKLF VWXGLHV PD
 political performance: interactional FXOWXUH RI QDUUDWLYHV DQ
 VRFLROLQJXLVWLFV ± SROLWLFDO GHVFRXURGHV DQ S HUVRQ
 LGHQWLW\ SHUIRUPDQFH WLSROLWLFDO FRXWGHQWLWHG WR HF
 DV SHUIRUPDQFH see also framing; XQGHUVWDQGLQJ see RI ZRUGV
 positioning also ¿ FWLRQDOLVDWLRQ RI SROLWL
 SROLWLFDO SHUVRQDOLW\ politics; mediatisation
 SROLWLFDO SRZHU ± Politics \$ULVWRWOH ±
 SROLWLFDO SURFHVVHV SROLWLFV EHRQG ZRUGV
 SROLWLFDO SURWHVVV ± SROLWLFV RI DJHLQJ
 SROLWLFDO UKHRULF SROLWLFV RI EHORQLQJ
 SROLWLFDO UKHRULFDQ D SROLWLFV RI VWRU\WHOOLQJ ±
 SROLWLFDO ULJKWV SROLWLFV RI ZRUGV ±
 SROLWLFDO VHOI WKH ± 3ROLWROLQJXLVWLFV
 SROLWLFDO VLQFHULW\ PHGROWEIGHW ± DO
 SROLWLFDO VSHHFHV SRO\HPFORVLQJ
 VWDWHPHQW DV HYHQWRQJL VSKUPHV
 FRQIHUHQFH SRS TXL] TXHVWLRQV
 political spin 5 SRSXODU WKH ±
 SROLWLFDO VXEMHFWLYLW\ SRSXODXP FRPSOH[LW\ RI LGHQ
 SROLWLFDO WKH ± FRQWHPSRUDU\ GHIHQFH
 SROLWLFDO WKHRORJ\ ± VRYHUHLQW\ (XURSHDQ 3DUO
 SROLWLFDO YLROHQFH MXVWHLQFDWLRQW IRU LQ IRUPHU F
 OHJLWLPDF\ DQG ± PHDQQRSH ± µKQWQLW\ SROLWLFV
 YHUVXV µWKH see also terrorism; UROH RI UHSUHVHQWLQJ WKH PDM
 war 3DUW\ WKHRUHWLFDO H[SODQ
 SROLWLFDO :HE FRPPXQLFDWLRQ FLWL]HQ see also far right; extreme
 FLWL]HQ FRPPXQLFDWLRQ right)DFHERRN
 JHQUH WKHRUHWLF FRSSXVWV ± SROLWLFDOQV
 ,QWHUQHGXULQJ SRSXODOLVDWLRQDQGLVJLWV LJKW ZLQJ S
 SROLWLFDO WR FLWL]HQ SRSXODOLVDWLRQULQRTXLVP
 VRFLDO PHGLD SODWIRUP Poroshenko, Feb 44V HU
 ± ZHEVLWHV RI SROLWLFDOXHSVSHULDOQV
 SROLWLFDOQV ± SRVLWLRQDO IDPLO\
 politicians: claim to public representativeness SRVLWLRQLQJ FDVH VWXG\ -RQ
 GLVFRXUVHV RI ± ¿U)DVHFRPH QDUUDWLYHV DQG
 XVH RI KRQHV\ DQG VHOI LQVSHOHVLDQ LGHQWLW\
 PHGLDWHG SHUVRQD PLSHUIRORJQH VHFRRG OHYHO
 QDUUDWLYHV DQG ± SHWKRQOLVYHO
 VWRULHV SRSXOLVW positioning FRQIHUHQFHV
 SULDWH OLYHV TXSRWLWLRQDQDFIQVZHU
 VHVLRQV VRFLDO PHGLDQGY:HEPSROLWHQHVV LQ SDUC
 UHYLHZ ± VWUDWHJLHSRDOQLVHHFRQTXHVMRV LQ SDUOLD
 DWUDFW SXEOLF DWWHQWV ± Communism 1047 RI WHOHYLVXDO

SRVWGLVFLSOLQDULW\ SURIHVVLRQDOLVP
 SRVWHUV SUR¿OH RULHQWDWLRQ
 SRVW LQWHUYLHZV 3UR /LIH DFWLYLVWV
 SRVW QRUPDO VFLHQFH SURQRXQV EORFN RI ¿UVW SHU
 SRVW VWUXFWXUDOLVW DSSURDFKHQDO ±
 3RXMDGLVP SURSDJDQGD V\PEROV
 SRZHU DQDO\WLFV RI)RXFSDUW\ LQHTXDOLW\ DQG
 FRPPXQLFDWLYH GLVFLSORSDWLRKáros PRPHQW
 JRYHUQPHQWDOLW\ ± DGRVSRZOW\HH UHWUSev SHFWLYH F
)RXFDXOW ODQJXDJH DV 'H\$GLXP RI
 OHJLWLPDWH PLFURSK\VLFRWRJRUDRROLWLFDO
 ± SRVLWLRQLQJ VRYUWHLFQLYH (GJH PLOLWDU\ RSHU
 power relations 75; historical transformations of SURYHUEV ±
 SURJLPDWLRQ
 33 3DUWLGR 3RSXODU 35 SXEOLFNURHQDWKLRQV
 3\$+ ± FDPSDLJQ DESXMXBRFRDVFKHOLQLW\ SVHXGR IHPD
 ± FRUUXSWLRQ VFDQDORVDQDO\LVV see also /DFDQ -D
 OLQNV WR)UDQFR UHJLPHSXEPFLFDWLYHQDZQ DWWUDFWLQJ
 UHIHUHQFH WR +LWOHSXDEOLDFKRFPH WKHRUWLF DVVXP
 SUDFWLFDO UH DVRQLQJ SXEOLF FRPPXQLFDWLRQ
 SUDFWLFHV OHJLWLPDWLRQ SXEOLF GLVFRHQLQHV
 3UDJPD GLDOHFWLFV SXEOLF UHSUHVHQWDWLYHQHV
 SUDJPDWLFV ± SXEOLF VSHDNLQJ
 SUDJPDWLF WH[W OLQJXLVWV SXEOLFHFKSKTHV
 SUHGLFDWLRQVFRXUVH VWUPDW HJLHV '+\$
 SUHV FRQIHUHQFHV ± Punch ERXQGDULHXQFK 3HQFLOOLQJ
 EHWZHHQ SROLWLFDOV DGRVSRXUHQDOFHWDSKRUV
 FRPPXQLFDWLYH VWUDWHJLXWLQ 9GLSGLRPLDF\ ±
 IURQVVDJH DFWLYLW\$XMOH VROXHWQBBDQG
 VXE JHQUH ± KLVWRULDDGXWFKRISPHQRP 3DUW\
 ± MRLQW MRXUQDOLVW FRQWUROOHG
 PDQDJLQJ VFDQGDQOV ± TQBBZVLSYLRQXFKWLRQ
 DQG ± SROLWLFDOO\FRQDQWRDOPDWLRQ Q ±
 SROLWLFDO VSHHFKHV TXPDQLWVWUWYHQZDUUDWLYH DQDO
 TXHVWLRQ DQG DQVZHU VHXVHFRQV (QJLHVKODU
 DQG FRQ¿GHQWLDO LQTGZHGHQLJUDWLRQ
 WHOHYLVHG LQTXKHVQRWHDGQGDQVZMU VHVVRQV
 ± 86 SUHVLGHQWLDO TXHVWLRQLQJ DQVZHUHQJ VWUDWHJ
 SUHV RvFHUV (3 (XURSHDQ 3DUOLDPHQW
 SULGH SDUDGH -RKDQQHVEXSDUOLDPHQWU\ SUDFWLFHV RI
 3ULPH OLQLVWHU\V 4XHVWLRQVODDWHG TXHVWLRQV SRS TXI
 SULPLWLYH DFFXPXODWLRQ OLQLVWHU\V 4XHVWLRQV 304V
 Prince, The ODFKLDYHOOL SURJUHVVLYH TXHVWLRQ DQG
 SULYDWH DXWRQRP\
 SULYDVLVDWLRQ ± 4XHVWLRQ 7LPH 47 ±
 35 PDQDJHUV PDQDJLQJ VFDQDOLVLDQ ±
 probatio TXRWLQJ
 SUREOHPDWLVDWLRQ ± 4XUDQ 7KH
 SUREOHP VROYLQJ LQ PHHWLQW 6L\LG
 3URGLFXV
 SURGXFWLRQ QHROLEHUDO5DEREDZLSDWDRQ RI ±
 VRFLDO UHODWLRQV RXUGLHDXH DUPV HQWULHV LQ WH
 relations of production JOREDO ± VSDFH

UDFLDO VWHUHRW\SHV UHODWLRQDO LGHQWL¿FDWLRQ ±
 UDFLDO VWHUHRW\SLQJ ±UHODWLRQV RI SURGXFWLRQ
 UDFLVP ELRORJLFDO EODFNVSIFULLFOQV
 GLuHUHQWLDWLRQ HVVUHQFDWLRQVULFEXWLRQDWHJ\
 GXULQJ WKH +LJK 0LGGOH\$HED\ PHWDSORLW
 FDVH VWXG\ ± LQIHUHQULVLDQWLRQ DQ DQDO\WLFDO FRQ
 ,VUDHOL 3DOHVWLQLDQ FRQFHLFRPLQDVFXOWXGH FLYLOLVH
 ± OD\ XQGHUVWDQGLQJFRQIRQLDOLVP DQG ± LQ)U
 UDFH DQG GLVFRXUVH ± +DSDULPVK, QDXLVLDQWLRQ
 6ZLVV 3HRSOHV 3DUW\ PDLPHDQW\ DQG PLQLPDOLVW PR
 DV WKUHDW ± WUDQVPLQLVLDQ JURXSQDWRQ VW
 see also antisemitism; far right SROLWLFDO WKHRORJ\ DQG ±
 5DGLFDO 3DUW\ RI 2OHK /LDVFRFHS±WXDOLVDWLRQV RI ± U
 UDGLR SKRQH LQ VKRZV ± VHSDUDWLRQ IURP WKH VWDWH
 5DPXV 3HWUXV ± .LQJGRP ± LQ WKH 8QLWHG 6W
 5DQFLUH -DFTXHV see also secularism
 5DQ ;HUR[± UHOLJLRXV GUHV
 5DVPXVHVQ \$QGHUV)RJK religious globalisms 544
 UDVSLQHV LQ VRXQG PXVLPHOLJLRXV ODQJXDJH
 UDWLRQ DossDSSHDO UHPHPEUDQFH GD\V
 UDWLRQDO GLVSXWH 5HQDLVVDQFH UKHWRULF
 UDWLRQDOLVDWLRQ OHJLWLPDULVLDQWLDVLDQXPHQWDO
 WKHRUH Wele Feditio± UHSUHVVLYH VWDWH DSSDUDWXV 5
 UDW UDFH PHWDSKRU UHVLVWDQFH
 5HDJDQ 5RQDOG UHVLVWDQFH ¿JKWHUV
 reality see human reality 5HVROXWLRQ IRU D 1DWLRQDO /DQ
 UHDO WKH /DFDQ 3WRJUDPPH IRU ± 5/3
 UHDVRQLQJ SDWWHUQV RI UHVXUFH LQTXDOLW\
 UHDVRQLQJ SUDFWLFDO UHVSHFW IRU WKH HOGHUO\
 UHDVRQ Verstand UHVSQVLELOLW\ LHV
 reception-centred approaches to political 574; topos RI
 communication 5 5HWDLO /LQN V\ VWHP ±
 UHFLSURFDO FRQVWUXFWLRQHWWDLO QHR OLEHUDO JOREDOLVD
 UHFLSURFLW\ GHPRFUDF\ DQHWURDFWLYLW\
 UHFRQWH[WXDOLVDWLRQ UHWXUQ PHDVXUHPHQWV
 UHGHVFULSWLRQ UHWZHHW Wele QHE
 UHGFWLRQLVP VRFLRODULYHDFE HFKR LQ VRXQG PXVLV
 UHIHUHQFH ± UHYROXWLRQDU\ SDUWLVDQV
 UHIHUHQWLDOLVP UHYROXWLRQ FRQFHSW RI
 UHIHUHQWLDOLW\ UKHWRULF ± LQ \$QFLHQW *U
 UHÀHFWLYH VWDNHKROGHUV LQ \$QFLHQW 5RPH ± \$TXLQDV
 UHIUDPLQJ +LOODU\ &OLQWRSLVLDQW\ XGA DV DUW RI
 NH\ SROLWLFDO FRPPXQLFDWLRQWLDWHJLSSR %DFRQ)
 SUHVLGHQWLDQ VHOI WKH EHOHWULVWLF PRYHPHQW %O
 UHIXJHV %RHWKLXV ± &DPSEHO *HRUJ
 refutatio &DSHOOD 0DUWLDQXV &LFHUR
 UHJLPHV RI PRELOLW\ 'HVLGHULXV (UDVPXV GHYHORS
 UHJLVWHUV RI DQDO\LV ± (DVWHUQ VFKRROV RI LQ
 UHJUHVVLYH OHDUQLQJ HLJKWHHQWK FHQWXU\ ± RI JO
 UHJXODU WUDQVLWLYH FRQVWUXFWLRQRPDV ,VRFUDWHV
 UHJXODWLRQ GHPRFUDF\ DQGLGGOH \$JHV ± PRGHUQLW\ ±
 5HLFKDUGW 5ROI FRQQRWDWLRQV RI 3ODWR S

4XLQWLOLDQ ± 5DPXV 3/DVX Xadmir R5 ROOLQ
 &KDUOHV 5RPDQ (PSLUH 6DUW LQHWKHDQ 3DXO
 VHYHQWHHQWK FHQWXU\ VDLWLKHSRLQWWhE50Pufd UWRRQ
 FHQWXU\ ± 6RSKLVVW VDWVWHFDQVFKRROVUDWLRQ
 RI :KWHO\ 5LFKDUG 6DXVVXUH)HUGLQDQG GH
 UKHWRULFDO DQDO\VLV ± DQDQQLQHU LQHWKWRULFDQGH ±
 GHYLFHV FRQWHPSRUDVFDQGDQOV ±
 GLVFXUVLYH DSSURDFKHV WFRHSWLFMDOODFLRXV
 DUJXPHQWV ± ¿JXUHV RFKSFDWLVDPALRQ
 ± OLQJXLVWLF ORJ 6FKRLVWUXFDWQH SDUWLVDQV
 DQDO\VLV RI DUJXPHQWDWLRQRODVWFRWDSKRFW ± LQWKI
 UHFRQVWUXFWLQJ VHPDQWLFV RI DUJXPHQWV
 ± WKHRUHWLFDQ SHUVSchedarLTHUKDUG
 WUDGLWLRQDO DSSURDFKHVFKXEHUW &KULVWRSK ±
 UKHWRULFDO VWUDWHJLHV 6FKXO] +HLQHU
 Rhetoric \$ULVWRWOH ± 6FLHQFH DQG 7HFKQRORJ\ 6WXGLHV
 Rhetoric in Detail -RKQVWRQH VFLHQFH FOLPDWH FKDQJH DQG
 UK\WKP ± VFLHQWL¿F UDWLRQDOLVDWLRQV
 5LFH &RQGROHH]D VFRUHFQDUGV
 ULJKW ZLQJ SROLWLFV SDUWFRWODQGHGHEOHWLQJ WXUQV LQ 3
 SRVWHUV SULQW PHGLDQGHVSHDQGLWLFDO± UHSUHVHQW
 SROLFLHV ± ZepulishHV ZRPHQ LQ 3DUOLDPHQW
 ULVN PDQDJPHQW Second Assessment Report , 3 &
 5LYLQ 75 VHFQODULVP DV DQ DQDO\WLFDO F
 5RFNHIHOHU)RXQGDWLRQ DQWL%ULWLVK FRORQLDOLVP
 5RMR 0DUWLQ /XLVD ± GLVFRXUVHV RQ JRRG DQG ED
 UROH PRGH DFWLRULW\ OHJLWDFWLRQ ± PD[LPDOLVW DQ
 UROHV LQ PHHWLQJV ± PRGOV ± QDWLRQVWDWHV
 5ROOLQ &KDUOHV WKHRORJ\ DQG ± VWUDWHJLF
 5RPDQ (PSLUH (DVWHUQ VFKRROWKRI8QMMRSLQJGRP ±
 UKHWRULF DQG :HVWHUQ8QMMR8VWDLWHKJWRULF
 VHFQODU ODQJXDJH
 5RPDQLDQ SDUOLDPHQW VHGLPHQWDWLRQ ±
 5RPH VHOI GHWHUPLQDWLRQ GHPRFUDFV
 5RRVHYHOW)UDQNOLQ ' self-direction 45
 5RRVHYHOW 7KHRGRUH VHOI UHSUHVHQWDWLRQ RI JRYHU
 5RXVVHDX -HDQ -DFTXHV PHGLDWHG RI SROLWLFDO FDQ
 5ZODQGVRQ 7KRPDV VHPDQWLF QHWV
 5XELQ 6DP ± VHPDQWLFV RI DUJXPHQWV ± F
 5XJJLH -RKQ GLVWLQFWLRQ IURP SUDJPDW
 UXOHV RI IRUPDWLRQ)RXFDXGVRUPDWLRQPSKRULVDWLRQ
 FRQFHSWV IRUPDWLRQ RPHVROFRPDWLRQ UHIHUHQFH
 PRGDOLWLHV IRUPDWLRQURDZMRQWV
 IRUPDWLRQ RI VWUDWHJLHVHPLRVLV
 UXOLQJ FODVV VHPLRWLF HFRQRV\
 5XVVLQ \$UP\ VHPLRWLFV ± RIsedBISDWK\ ±
 commemoration
 6DFKV -HuUH\ VHPLRWLFV RI SROLWLFDO FRPPHP
 6DFNV +DUYH\ HOHPHQWV RI
 6DwG (GZDUG VHPLRWLF VWDELOLW\
 VDOHV PHDVXUHPHQWV VHPLRWLF WHFKQLTXHV
 6DOLQDV &DUORV sensory diegetic images 457
 6DOPRQG \$OH\ ± VHQQWHQH DQG WH[W VHPDQWLF S

VH[LVP VRFLDO ULVN PDQDJHPHQW
 VH[LVW MRNHV VRFLDO ULNV ±
 VH[XDOLW\ DFFHSWDEOH VRFLDO QWFXULWPEROLF
 RSSRVLWHV RI , VUDHO DQ VRFLDO VVQDFWLFDFWLRQ
 VKDPH VRFLDO WKHRU\ ±
 VKDSHVKLIWHUV perevertni VRFLDO ZRUOG FRQVHUYLQJ WUDQ
 VKDUHG PHPRU\ ±
 6KHSKHUGVRQ & VRFLHWDO GHSROLWFLFLVDWLRQ
 VLGH SDUWLFLSDQWV VRFLHWDO GLUHGHQWLDWLRQ V\VV
 VLJQL¿HU WKH LQ %RXUGLVRFLRFRPSWLDYH DSSURDFK YDQ
 ± ± ÁRDWLQJ VLVRFLRULDJQRQWLF FULWLTXH
 /DFDQ ± LQ 6DVRVXIRORJLFDQGHGXFWRQLVP
 VLJQL¿HG ± VRIW IRUPV RI SRZHU GRPLQDWLRQ
 VLPXODWLRQ VRODU UDGLDWLRQ UHGXFWRQRRI
 VLQFHULW\ SROLWLFDO ±VRPDWLVDWLRQ ±
 6LQJDSRUH JOREDOLVDWLRQVRDQV ±
 VLQJHUV UROH PRGHV 6RQWDJ 6XVDQ
 6NLQQHU 4XHQLW 6RSKLWV
 VORJDQV Against the Sophists, VRFUDWHV
 6ORYHQLD ± VRXOV psychagogia
 VPDOO VWRULHV VRXQG DSSOLFDWLRQ RI 0 & '\$ D
 6PLWK \$GDP FRPPXQLFDWLYH DFW LQ KXQLWQJ
 6PLWK +DUU\ ± DQG GLVFRXUVH ± see PHORGLHV
 VRFLDELOLW\ also music; national anthem, the
 VRFLDO FDSLWDO VRXQGELWHV
 VRFLDO FKDQJH source-centred approaches to political
 VRFLDO FODVV see also FRPPXQLFDWLRQ
 class struggle VRXUFH GRPDLQV
 VRFLDO FRJQLWLRQ 6RXWKHUQ \$IULFD
 Social Constructionist paradigm 474 VRYHUHLJQ SRZHU
 VRFLDO FRQVWUXFWLYLVP VRYHUHLJQW\ FROOHFWLYH ± G
 VRFLDO GHYHORSHPHQW ± H[WHUQDO LQGLYLGXDQ
 VRFLDO GLVFULPLQDWLRQ QDWLRQDO
 VRFLDO KLVWRU\ VSDFH UDFH
 VRFLDO LGHQWLW\ 6SDLQ DXVWHULW\ PHDVXUHV &
 VRFLDO LQWHUDFWLRQ FODVV ZDUIDUH FRQWDFW ZLV
 social-justice movements 544 H[LVWHQWLDQ LQTXDOLW\
 VRFLDO OHDUQLQJ SURFHVVHYLFWLRQV LQTXDOLV
 VRFLDO ORJLHV PRUWJDJH ODZ UHVRXUFH LQH
 VRFLDO PHGLD DuRUGDQFHVFLGLFRVWRSe also 3\$+ 3ODWIRU
 WDLORUHG DGYHUWLVLQJ WKHFRUHVVHGH E\ ORUWJDJHV
 VRFLDO PRYHPHQWVDFWLYRSDU VWDWH
 PRQLWRULQJ see also political 6SDQLVK , QTXLVLWLRQ
 :HE FRPPXQLFDWLRQ VSDWLDQ OLQJXLVWLFV
 VRFLDO PRYHPHQWV FLWLJHOMNLHDI SDRPHIC
 FRQWHQW IUDPLQJ SURVSHLHV FRQVWLWXWLYH LQWHUHV
 PRELOLVLQJ VWUXFWXUHVSHFL¿QWZLWLV
 WKURXJK VRFLDO PHGLD speech events VSDWLV RI ± LQ SROL
 VWUXFWXUHV ± VW\ side also political speeches
 VRFLDO SUDFWLFHV VSHHFK DFWV
 VRFLDO UHODWLRQV *UDPWHFHQJHODVYDQGHWRULFDQ WKH
 (QJHOV RQ RI SURGXVSHLHQ UHODWHG PHWDSKRUV
 VRFLDO ULJKWV VSRUWV PHWDSKRUV

6SUDGOLQJ 6FRWW ± VWUXFWXUDOLVW VHPDQWLFV
 VWDNHKROGHU DQDO\VLV ± VWUXFWXUHV DQG HYHQWV
 VWDNHKROGHU HQJDJHPHQW VWUXJJOH PHWDSKRUV
 VWDNHKROGHU PDQDJHPHQW VW 6WHSKHQ +XQJDULDQ NLQJ
 VWDNHKROGHU UHODWLRQV KLSXQBQWJHPXQSW
 VWDNHKROGHUV GH¿QLWLRQ\OHLGHQWLRXLFDOXDWG *UDPVF
 SULRULWLVLQJ ODQJXDJHVRDQGSBHF WLFHV RI
 &65 ± DV REMHFWV RI JRYEMHFDQF/HDFDQDQ QRWLRQ SK
 VHOHFWRQ DQG UHLQYHQWLRQ RI ODQJXDJHV
 6WDOLQLVP VXEMHFWLYH YDFWLRQ SURFHVV
 6WDPSV 3HWHU ± ± VXEMHFWLYLW\
 VWDQFH WDNLQJ VXE PDUNHWV %RXUGLHXVLDQ PHV
 6WDU 6SDQJOHG %DQQHU 6%LFLGH ± SLWFK
 PHORG\ UK\WKP V&R&RZHGFRWHRHQW
 SKUDVLQJ VXSHUGLYHUVLW\ ± GH¿QLWLRQ
 VWDVLV PRWLRQ LQ UK\WK Psuperstructure see base-superstructure
 VWDWH WKH \$OWKXVVHU ± XSSORLGHVSWRVLRQHFDUGV ±
 .RVHOHFN GHFOLQH RXSSORLGHVSWRVLRQHFDUGV ±
 DQG JOREDOLVDWLRQ XDWGLQ\$ELGHVW RJJLFDQ
 VWDWH DSSDUDWXV ,6\$ VXVWDLQDQDQDGHYHORSPHQW P
 QDWLRQ VWDWHV ± UHODWLYH
 VHSUDWLRQ IURP UHOLJLWZH HDWUHSUHVVLV VWDWH
 DSSDUDWXV 56\$ 6ZHGHQ SDUOLDPHQW S
 VWDWLWVLFDO DQDO\VLV XVH RI)DFHERRN DQG 7ZLWWHU
 VWDWLWVLFV FRQIHUHQFHV
 VWDWXV FLWLJHQVKLS DV 6ZLVV 3HRSOH↑V 3DUW\ 693 ±
 6W \$XJXVWLQH Sydney Morning Herald
 6WHLQGO ,PUH ± VIPEROLF /DFDQDQ QRWLRQ ±
 VWHQRJUDSKHUV ± VIPEROLF RUGHU
 VWHUHRW\SHV LQ FRPLFV WPEROLF SRZH See %RXUGLHX
 YLVXDO VIPEROLF SUR¿W %RXUGLHXVLDQ P
 6WHUQEHUJHU HW DO VIPEROLF YLROHQFH FODVV U
 VWLJPDWLVWLRQ KRULJRWDO GHÁHFWRQV RI
 VWRULHV FRPSRQHQW VGERONQFH IURP
 QDUUDWLYHV GLVWLQFWQRVDJEBWLSFORWVHXHWLDO WHUP
 'UHDPHUV PRYHPHQW HPSORVWVHG
 SURRW\SLFDO see also MHD 60ULJD
 commissions V\VHPDWLF LQWHUSUHDWLRQ
 VWRU\WHOOLQJ E\ D 6]ODPVVH)HNUHQF
 SROLWLFV RI ± ± 6]U\V 0iW\iV
 VWRU\ZRUG SRVLWLRQV ±
 VWUDWHJLF PDQRHXYULQJ WDFWHSW
 VWUDWHJLF SXUSRVLYH LQWHDWHRVQGRPDQV
 VWUDWHJLF VWDNHKROGHUWD[DWLRQ
 VWUDWHJ\ %RXUGLHX↑V Q Rebuilding 474
 VWUDWL¿FDWLRQ RITDDQJDXH XVH
 VWUDZ PDQ IDODF\ WHFKQLXH RI REIXVFDWLRQ ±
 VWUHHW SURWHVWHUV WHFKRFUDWLF JRYHUQDQFH
 VWUHWFKLQJ RI ZRUGV technologies of discipline 77
 strict father morality 574 see also metaphor; technologies of dominance 77
 /DNRu technologies of the self 77
 VWURQJ GLVFRXUVHV %RXUWHFKQRORJLVWLRQ RI GLVFRXUVH
 VWUXFWXUDOLVP WHFKQRORJ\ FOLPDWH FKDQJH

WHFKQR PDQDJHULDOLVP see 1D]L GLVFRXUVH 1D]L JHQRFLC
 WHFKQRVFDShV Newspeak
 WHOHYLVHG GHEDWHV ± WRXJK JRYHUQPHQW
 WHPSRUDOLVDWLRQ RI FRQFRSXFPLQ VFRSHPDmentation
 WHQVLRQ LQ VRXQG PXVLF WRXULVWV
 WHUURULVP DFDGHP LF SHUWBRWKDYO PHHWLQJV VSHHFKHV
 FRQFHSWXDOLVDWLRQV RI & GLQFURQLDOLVDWLRQ ±
 RI GHQLWLRQ GHORJZQLPHLQGLRORH
 GLVFRXUVH RI XV YHU trade liberalisation 544
 GLVFXUVLYH SUDFWLFHV WUDQSVLRQDO IDMRHO OHFWXDOV
 RI SROLWLFDO FRPPXQLFDWURGLWRQDOHQDQWLPDWLRQ
 LGHRORJ\ RU PRYHPHQW WUDQVGLWLPDFLDOGLW\
 RSSRVLWLRQDO SROLWLFDOVIRYHHPHQWV
 SDUWLVDQV UHVLVWDQWHDQKWRHFDWLRQVBLDQV
 FRQVWUXFW VWUHHW SURVQHWHQWUDWLRQDQSR SROLWLFDO
 7UDQVLWLRQ JURXS
 WH[W LPPLQDQW FUSWLTXH WUDQVORFDOLVDWLRQ
 WH[W PLQLQJ WUDQVPLVLRQ LQ UDFLVP ±
 texts, stabilising role in parliamentary WUDQVQDWLRQDOLVDWLRQ
 GHPRFUDF\ ± 75& 7UXWK DQG 5HFRQFLOLDWLRQ
 7KDLODQG (032:(5 JOREDOLVDWLRQ DQG
 PLQLXP ZDJH 7UHDW\ RI /LVERQ
 7KDQNVJLYLQJ WUHHV 6DXVVXUHDQ DQG /DFDQLD
 7KDWFKHU 0DUJDUHW 7ULHW -RVW
 WKHRUHWLFDO UDWLRQDOLVDWLRQVHJLWLPDWLRQ ±
 7KHUERUQ *UDQ WURSHV see rhetoric
 Third Assessment Report , 3 & WUXH SDUWLVDQV
 7KLUG 5HSXEOLF RI +XQJD truncated multilingualism 547
 WKUHH SDUW OLVWV WUXWK JDPHV RI)RXFDXOGLDQ
 Times, The ± WUXWK FRPPXQLFDWURGLDQ 7UXWK DQG
 7LWOH ,, , μ/DQJXDJH ,QVWUXFWRQLDOLVDWLRQVPPPLVLRQ
 (QJOLVK 3URQLHQW DQG ,PFRUDQW 6WXGHQWV¶
 ± 7XFKROVN\ .XUW
 71&V WUDQVQDWLRQDO FRVSRUDDWLRQV
 7RERFPDQ 6HWK ± WXUQ WDNLQJ V\WHPV ±
 7RGRURY 7]YHWDQ JHVXUDO FXHV SDUWLFLS
 7RPDVKHYN\ %RULV ± SROLWLFDO PHHWLQJV ± YLVX
 7RQJD WXUQ W\SH SUH DOORFDWLRQ V\W
 WRROV IRU FRUSXV DQDOVWZHHWV * PHHWLQJ
 WRS GRZQ YLHZ RI SROLF\ LPSOHPHQDOLVDWLRQ%RVV¶
 7|SuHU 5RGROSKH 7ZLWWHU HOLWHV 0(3V ± P
 WRSLFV ± FRQWHQW 2FFXS\ SURWHVWV
 topoi topoi ± ± VWXGHQW JURXS 8. SROL
 ± see ±: HE
 ± see argumentation WZR SDUW\ GLDORJXHV ±
 topoi RI UHVSQRVLELOLW\ WZR VLGHG VFKHPDV
 WRWDOLWDULDQLVP FRQFRSXFPLQQR ± <XOLD ±
 totalitarian regimes: afterlife of totalitarian
 GLVFRXUVH ± &U\WVD 081 SJKWOLDPHQW see also
 Kristallnacht) VWDWH SRJURP Westminster system
 RI GRXEOWKLN Hukim Parliametary election campaign
 LQVLGHU LQIRUPDWLRQ RI RVFLDQGLWFRXUWU 2SHUDWLRQ :
 ± ODQJXDJH XVH ± 1BRQWHVWRXU\HGHIHQFH GLVFRXU

election turnout and results 444; explicit Verständigung FRPPXQLFDWLRLQ
 UHIHUHQFH WR 5XVVL D Habermas ±
)DWKHUODQG 3DUW\ ± vibratoLPSOLFLW
 UHIHUHQFH WR 5XVVL YLWVRLQDRUWVWLYHQR ±
 %ORF ± SROLWLFDO SDUULOHQFH QWGHUWVRLQDRUWVWLYHQR ±
 SDUOLDPHQW 5DGLFDO 9DGLFDO; te Rorish DWRK
 /LDVKNR ± XQGHYHORSHGLFDOVXWHFKHWRULFRI
 political parties 444-5; uprising 444 YLVXDO DQDORJ\
 Umbrella Movement 544 YLVXDO DUW OHJLWLPDWLRQ DQG
 8PP .RXOWKXP YLVXDO KXPRXU
 XQDXWKRULVHG LQWHUUXSWLRQDO PHWDSKRUV
 8QFOH 6DP YLVXDO PRGDOLW\
 underemployment 544 YLVXDO SHUVRQDO DXWKRULW\ OHJ
 8QGHUKLOO -DPHV ± YLVXDO VWHUHRW\SHV
 XQGHUVWDQGLQJ Verstehen YLWDO see QHTXDOLW\
 Habermas YRQ :HLJIFNHU 5LFKDUG
 unemployment 544 YRWHUV
 81(6&\$3 9UDQLWJN\)UDQJ
 8QLWHG .LQJGRP 8. DXVWVHURWV SROLHFLRV
 ± +RXVHRI &RPPRQV GHEDWH
 PLGGOH FODVV VRFLO DQ: DQKHLR .XSWFWXUH
 VWRULHV SROLWLFDO FDUWRROHLSUHVHGWVWLRQRI ZRPH
 (QJOLVK UHOLJLRQ walk and talk sub-genre 575
 FDUWRRLVWV VHFOD: DQV DULVDWLRQ ± FDWHJRUV
 μVLFN PDQRI (XURSH ± ZFURIPXQEDDWLRQORJLVWLFDO
 GLVGDQIRU DUWLFXODF\ V\VZHLNLQJ FDUWRVU DEXVHV LQ &K
 QRWLRQRI PDVFXOLQLW\ IDFWRULHV DV D ORZ FRW DF
 8QLWHG 1DWLRQV)UDPHZRUVWVWLRQ RQHROLEHUDO JO
 &OLPDWH &KDQJH 81)&& SURGXFWLRQ DQG UHWDLO ± R
 8QLWHG 1DWLRQV *OREDORPSDFXQWLQJ SURFXUHPHQW V
 FULWLFLLPVRI ± /LQN VRIWZDUH ± VWDNHKROO
 8QLWHG 1DWLRQV +LJK &RPPVXSSOLHUWVFRVHFFDVGV ± ZRU
 VXSSOLHUW\ IDFWRULHV
 8QLWHG 6WDWHVRI \$PHULFD DQDULVWVWLRQV
 GHQLDO RI FOLPDWH FKDQJHWRQURVSDWV WKH
 SRV V\VWHP SROLWLFDO FDUWRRLQV ± GHQLWLR
 UHOLJLRQ VHFODULVP GLVFRVWVWLRQ GLVFRXUVH R
 8QLWHG 6WXGHQWV \$JDLQVWVWLRQVWVWLRQV -XV :D
 XQSDUOLDPHQWDU\ ODQJXDJH OHJLWLPDF\ ± PRGHUQ YLH
 XSULVLQJV QDUUDWLYH FRQVWUXFWLRQVRI
 8WRSLDQV SUHFLSLDWLQJ HYHQWV WHU
 XWWHUDQFH :DU & FRPPXQLFDWLRQV 5HVHDFK 8
 ± ± ZDU IUDPHRI WHUURULVP
 ZDU PHWDSKRUV
 :DU RQ 7HUURU F
 YDOLGLW\ FODLPV FRQVWVWLRQVIRUPQDUUDWLYH
 UDWRQDOO\ MXVWLHG FDUWRRLVWLRQVWLRQVWLRQ %UDQGW
 symbolically mediated modes of 45 :DUVDZ 7UHDW\RI
 YDQ 'LMN 7HXQ \$ ZDWFKGRJ UROH
 YHLOLQJ :HE
 YHUEDO FRPPXQLFDWLRQ :HE GHQLWLRQ JHQUHV
 YHUEDO SURFHVV FDXVHV K\SRWKHVLV QRPDOLVDWLRQ
 YHUQDFXODU PDWHULDOLVP ± see also SROLWLFDO :HE FRPPX

ZHE FUDZOHUV :RUGOH
 :HEHU 0D[ZRUG OLVWV
 ZHEVLWHV FDQGLGDWHV† SZRUOGDFRQZHE\$WVHDQGG FRUSXV
 FHQWUH DQG FHQWUH ULJKW \$DUDLGDWD OHIW \$DQJHV DQG
 SDUWLHV SHUVRQDO LP SRUHVVISROD PDQDVRH HQW SULPDUY
 SROLWLFDO SDUWLHV DQVFRQGLWLVFBQVHV RI
 ULJKW ZLQJ SDUWLHV :RUGVPLWK OLQJXLVWLF WRRO
 ZHGGLQJ FHUHRQLHV ZRUG VWDWLWLVFV
 :(',5' :HVWHUQ (GXFDWHG ZRUGXVWUFDLWVH/ ÀH[LEOH ZRUN V
 5LFK DQG 'HPRFUDWLF RYHUWLPH LQVWDELLOLW\ DQG
 ZHOIDUH VWDWH ODERXU DEXVHV ODQJXDJH
 :HVW *HUPDQ\ GHPDQGV PLQLXP ZDJH LQ
 :HVWPLQVWHU V\VVHP SDUOLDPHQW†V VXSSOHHIDFWRULH
 :HVWSKDOLDQ V\VVHP class
 West Wing, The 79 VHULHV ZRUNLQJ SDUOLDPHQW
 ± FRPSDQDQZLVZRUNSODFH GLVFRXUVH
 VHULHV ¿FWLRQDO:RUOGGLRQ SRGLWLVFV
 :KDWHO\ 5LFKDUG :RUOG (FRQRPLF) RUXP
 :KHHOHU 1LFKROVRQ 0DOFRZRUOG ODQJXDJHV :/V GLVDSS
 ZKLWH SDSHUV KRPRJHQLVLQJ ±
 :LFNHG :LWFK RI WKH :HVW ZRUOG RI QDWLRQV
 :LOG :HVW ¿OPV World revolutionary propaganda /DVVZHOO
 ZLOO IRUPDWLRQ GHPRFUDF\ DQG ± ±
 :LOOLDP ,,,:RUOG 6RFLDO)RUXP :6)
 :LOOLDP RI 2UDQJH ZRUOG YLHZV FRPLF ERRNV
 :LOOLDPV 5D\PRQG :RUOG :LGH :HE
 :LOVRQ :RRGURZ :ULJKW (ULF 2OLQ
 ZLWQHVVVLQJ :ULWLQJ &XOWXUH ZRUNVKRS
 women in politics: adopting linguistic norms ZULWWHQ PLQLVWHULDO VWDWHPH
 ± DGRSWLQJ PDVFXOLQULWVHGSRUOLDPHQWU\ TXHVWL
 OHDGHUVKLS EDUUDFNLTJ ERUOG &UDFQ 2UJDQL]DWLRQ
 &DUPH ± Sex to the front;QG
 LQ HJDOLWDULDQ FRQWH[VWQRSK+RDLRSHH+acbr MD
 LQWHUYHQWLRQV LQ SROLWLFDO GHEDWH
 OHDGHUVKLS VW\OHV YDU\DNH 'RRQGLD±
 SRUUD\DO RI 0HUNHO<DQNRD\FK 3DQWU
 6DUDK SHUFHSWLRQV RIRQDGHUVKLS VW\OHV
 UHSUHVHQWDWLRQV ± 7KDWFKHU
 0DUJDUHW ± WRXJKQH\DSYDMLWWDV
 FRPSDVVLRQ PDQDJLQJ =DXJGWH\ 'DQLHO
 UHSUHVHQWDWLRQ RI HOHFWRORR\FH±SRVLWLRQV
 see also Clinton, Hillary àLàHN 6ODYRM
 ZRUG FORXG VRIWZDUH